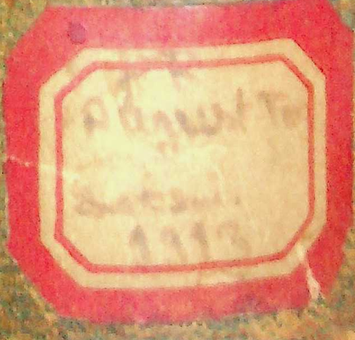
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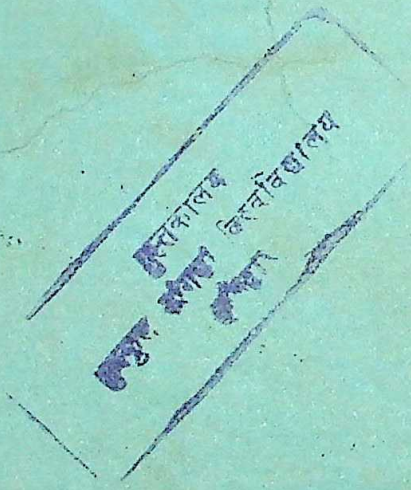
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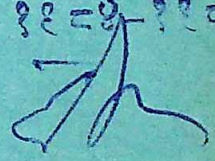
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AUGUST, 1913

Whole
No. 80

THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

Contents :

	Page
Frontispiece—The Birth of the Sacred Plant Tulasi—By Abanindro Nath Tagore, C.I.E.	113
My Interpretation of Indian History—Rabindranath Tagore and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.	113
Christianity and other Religions—Rev. J. T. Sunderland, M.A.	118
Ali, Hasan and Moawiah—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, Lecturer, Calcutta University	121
The Relative Claims of the Factory, the Workshop, and the Cottage Industry in the Economic Life of India—Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A.	126
Some Bengali Idioms—J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (Retired), Reader in Bengali, Cambridge University	129
History of the Press Legislation in India—R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B.	131
Indians in Canada—Nand Singh Sihra	140
Promotion of Learning during the Muhammadan Rule—Kumar Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L.	150
Mushalman Artisans of Kashmir—Mukandi Lal	153
The Origin and Purpose of Morality—Wilfred Wellock	161
The First Andhra Conference—V. G. K. Iyengar, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law	169
England (a poem)—D. L. Roy, M.A. and Harinath Dey, M.A.	173
The Life-Work of Shri Ramadas—P. K. Kotval	174
The Ruin of Indian Agriculture—Dwijadas Datta, M.A.	182
M. Loisy and the Roman Catholic Church—Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A.	190
The World's Greatest Exposition at San Francisco, 1915—Taraknath Das, M.A.	197
Guru Nanak (a poem)—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	201
An Introduction to Hindu Polity—Kashiprasad Jayaswal, B.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law,	201
Notes	207
Gleanings	209
Reviews and Notices of Books	229

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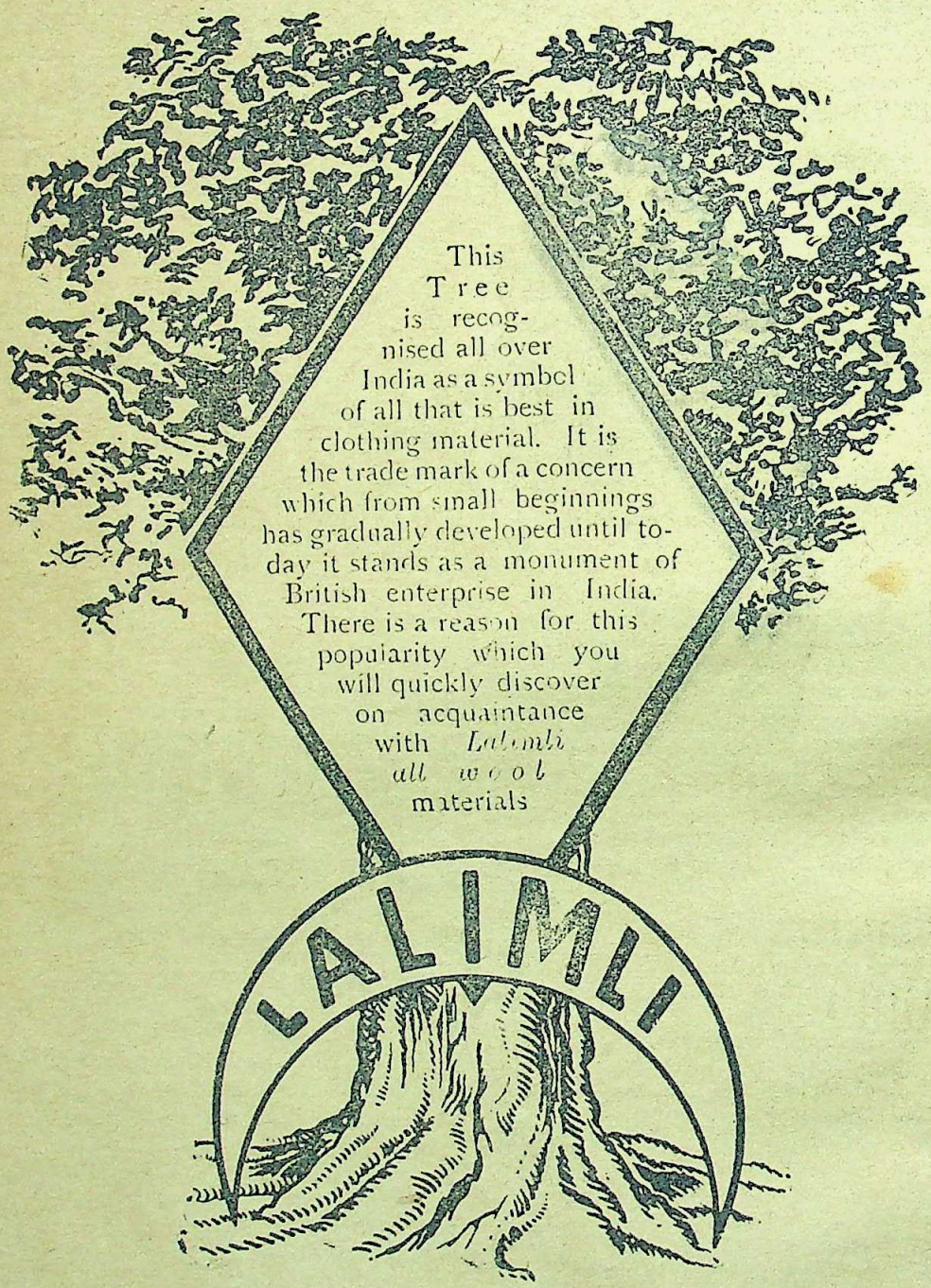
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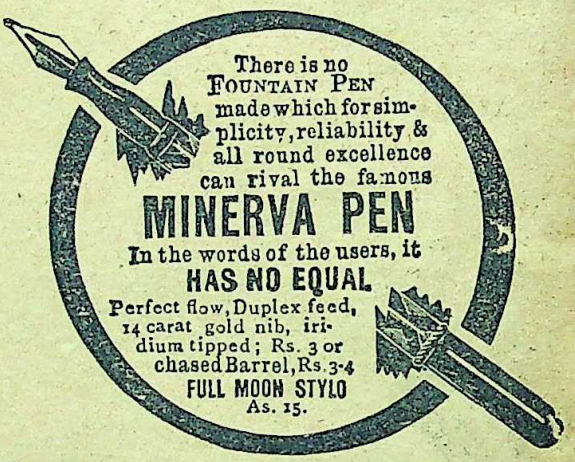
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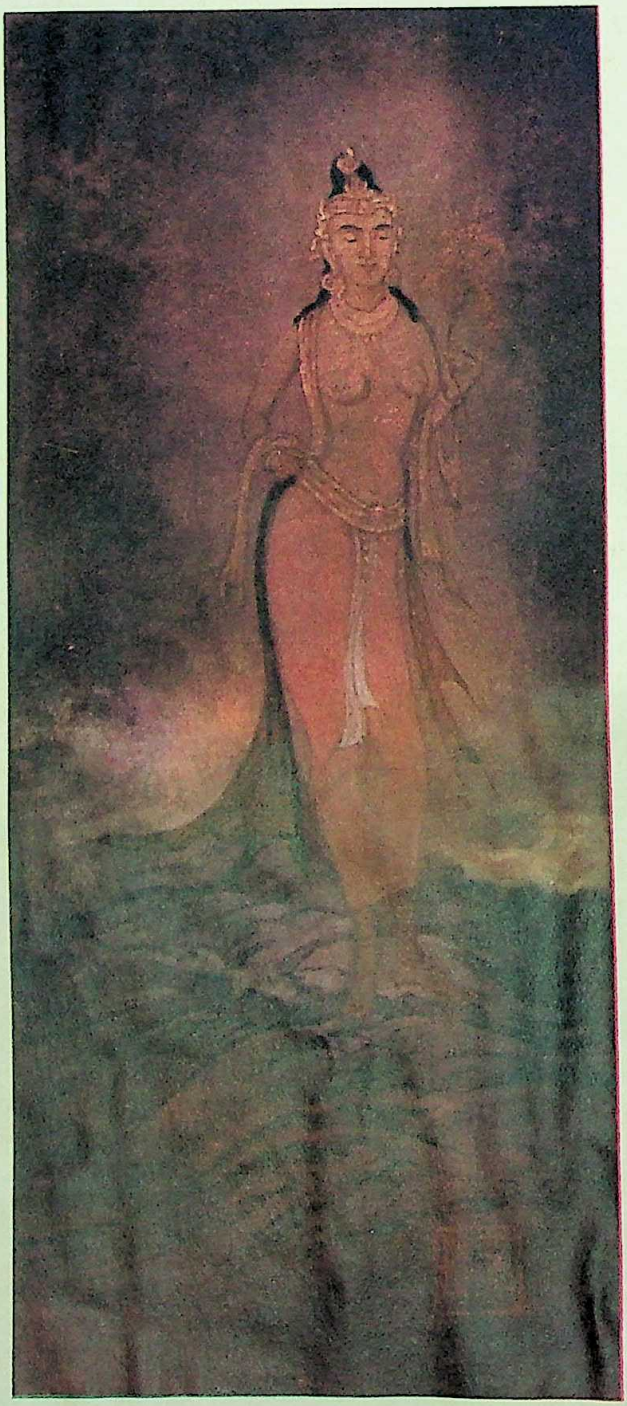
A TRIAL IS ALL WE ASK.

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BIRTH OF THE SACRED PLANT TULASI.

By Babu Abanindro Nath Tagore, c.i.e.,
through the courtesy of the artist.

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No. 80

MY INTERPRETATION OF INDIAN HISTORY

(*From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore*).

I. The Vedic and Heroic Ages.

THROUGH all the operations of the universe there runs the alternation of inhaling and exhaling, closing and shutting, sleeping and waking;—an eternal rhythmic beat is going on with its alternate swell and cadence, first inwards, then outwards. The ceaseless union of pause and motion alone keeps the universe going.

At one extremity the pendulum of creation touches Yea, at the other Nay; at one end One, at the other Two; at one end Attraction, at the other Repulsion; at one end the Centripetal force, at the other the Centrifugal force.

The entire rhythm of the universe springs from the union of *two* forces; our world-epic is in rhymed couplets,—its verses go in pairs.

The rhythm of universal Nature is clear and free; not so the rhythm of human Nature. There, too, we have the same mystery of expansion and contraction; only we cannot reconcile them so easily, so naturally, as universal Nature does; the end has to be achieved by strenuous effort. We often cling to one extreme so intently, that it costs much time and effort to return to the other extreme, and the rhythm of our lives is lost. Man is being pulled from two sides by self and others, acquisition and giving away, self-restraint and freedom, custom and reason; the true education of humanity consists in learning how to balance both the forces, so as to reach the middle point. Human history is the history of the efforts to acquire this balancing power. India affords us the means of clearly observing the picture of the quest of this harmony.

When the curtain rises on the first scene of India's history, we behold a tremendous race-conflict between the Aryans and the aborigines. The first fury of this conflict roused among the Aryans a hatred of the non-Aryans which enabled Aryan society to consolidate itself internally.

There was need of such consolidation. For, the Aryan immigrants had entered India in different bands and at various periods. They did not all agree as to their sept (*gotra*), tutelary god, or sacrificial formula. If a strong external force had not confronted them, then the Aryan colony would have speedily split up into a thousand branches and dispersed (over the face of the land.) They would not have perceived their essential oneness, but would have magnified their petty external points of difference. The struggle with aliens first made the Aryans realise their racial oneness.

Like all other things of the universe, even conflict has two opposite poles,—difference and union. Hence it was that India's history could not for ever stop short at the self-contraction bred in Aryan society at the first stage of the conflict by the spirit of preserving the distinct existence of one's own race. India had to turn into the path of expansion, turn towards assimilation, under the law of the world-rhythm.

We know not who were the heroes of Aryan society in the age of *conflict* with the non-Aryans. India's epics have not cared to unfold their life-story with any fulness. May be, the story of Janme-

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jaya's snake-sacrifice shadows forth the history of a terrible primeval war. This Puranic legend tells us that Janmejaya cruelly undertook to avenge himself on hereditary enemies by exterminating the snake-worshipping non-Aryan Naga tribe; but that king has won no very high place in our history.

On the other hand, he who succeeded in the endeavour to *unite* the Aryans and the non-Aryans, is even to-day worshipped all over our country as an incarnation of God!

The fusion of the Aryans and the non-Aryans was one aspect of the grand national enterprise of that age. The *Ramayan* mentions three Kshatriyas,—Janak, Vishwamitra and Ramchandra,—as the leaders of that enterprise. These three were connected not only by personal history but also by unity of aim. We can well understand that Vishwamitra ordained Ramchandra for his life's mission,—and that the high aim he placed before Ram he had derived from king Janak.

In the annals of time the three may or may not have belonged to the same age, but in the history of thought they were contemporaries. Janak and Vishwamitra symbolise a particular spirit in Aryan history. Our early records give us a glimpse of the fact that in one epoch a band of Kshatriyas conceived a very lofty ideal of religion and conduct, and waged a long and severe struggle with their opponents. There is evidence, too, that their chief antagonists in this contest were Brahmans.

We have one indication of the way in which the Kshatriya ideal came to differ from the Brahman ideal. The sacrificial rituals were hereditary tribal possessions. Each sept of the Aryan immigrants preserved its special prayers, spells and processes of humouring the gods, in the hands of its own tribal leader (*kula-pati.*) Only those who had mastered these things could earn special fame and wealth by officiating as priests. Thus, religious ministration grew into a profession, reserved for a few, like misers' hoards. It required long special study and practice. Hence, while one section of society undertook conquest and similar fresh enterprises, another section engaged itself in the special task of keeping pure and intact the ancient religion of the race and the record of its memorable events.

But, when a particular class is charged with the safe-keeping of the nation's religion, the harmony between the intellectual development of the nation and its religious growth is checked,—because that special class keeps the religious rules firmly entrenched in one place, and they lose touch with the mental progress of the body of the nation. In course of time by unperceived degrees the harmony is destroyed so completely that only a revolution can reconcile the two again. Thus, while the Brahmans in charge of the traditional customs and rites of the Aryans were continually making those rites more complex and elaborate, the Kshatriyas were advancing in triumph, conquering every natural and human obstacle. In that age the chief field of union among the Aryans was *Kshatriya society*. No union can be so strong as that of men who die fighting together against a common enemy. Those who have faced Death together cannot possibly make too much of their mutual differences.

The sense of tribal distinctness, which sprang from diversity of traditional customs and external ceremonies, could not conquer the fighting manly practical Kshatriya mind. In their hands lay the thread which strung all the Aryans together by means of self-defence and colonial expansion. Thus, one day the Kshatriyas alone perceived that amidst all seeming differences the Eternally True was one and one alone. Thus, knowledge of God (*brahma-vidya*) was peculiarly a Kshatriya science; it denounced the Vedic lore as minor theology and sought to reject as futile the oblations, sacrifices, and other rituals carefully preserved by the Brahmans. This clearly proves that the new spirit had clashed with the old in that age.

When a great idea becomes epidemic in society, it refuses to stop at any ring fence. As the Aryans began to realise their own racial kinship more and more clearly, every section of their society began to perceive that the gods were diverse in name but one in essence. Therefore, the belief that each clan must have its separate form of worship, naturally began to disappear among all classes. And yet it is true that the knowledge of God found its home—of welcome specially among the Kshatriyas; therefore, *brahma-vidya* is called *raj-vidya* or the lore of the kingly caste.

This difference between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas was no slight one. It was the polar difference between phenomenon and noumenon. When we look at the outside of things, we only see plurality

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and diversity; when we look within we realise the ONE. When we adored external powers as gods, we tried to win them over to our side by means of external agencies like spells and diverse ceremonies. Thus when the external forces of Nature formed our vast pantheon, our religion consisted of rituals only.

This parting of ideals in Aryan society was embodied by two gods: Brahma was the deity of the old Vedic ritualistic school, Vishnu was the adored of the new party. Brahma's four faces are the four Vedas,—motionless in eternal trance, while Vishnu's four arms are active, ever proclaiming as with the peal of a conch-shell newer and newer fields of beneficent action, holding aloft the discus emblematic of [political] equality, wielding the mace as a badge of legal chastisement, and sporting the lotus of beauty.

When our gods remain outside, when the human heart cannot feel any relation of kinship with them, we are tied to them solely by the bonds of desire and fear. We flatter them in our hymns in the hope of getting earthly gifts from their good will; we cower in dread lest our sacrifices should be imperfect and incorrect in any particular and thus provoke their wrath. Such worship, based on greed and fear, is external. But when our God becomes truly a treasure of our heart, the heart's worship begins,—it is the worship offered by devotion (*bhakti*).

We discern two opposite currents in India's divine lore (*brahma-vidya*),—the abstract God and the personal God, monism and duality. There cannot be worship unless we admit duality, and yet there cannot be devotion unless we fix our gaze on one. Therefore the religion of devotion through love (*prem-bhakti*) originated in India as an offshoot of *brahma-vidya*, and Vishnu is the god of this religion of devotion.

When the revolution ended, the Brahmans accepted the Vishnu-cult. But evidence has been preserved that at first they had resisted the new creed. The legend of the Brahman Bhrigu spurning at the bosom of Vishnu epitomises the history of a conflict. This Bhrigu figures in the Vedas as the initiator of sacrifices and the ideal of those who are benefited by sacrifices.

This Vishnu-cult of devotion originated specially among the Kshatriyas, as is proved first by the Kshatriya Sri Krishna figuring as the teacher of this faith and dealing hard blows at the Vedic spells and ritual; and secondly by the fact that the two men whom the epics of ancient India recognised as incarnations of Vishnu were both Kshatriyas: they were Krishna and Ramchandra. This proves that the devotional religion of the Kshatriya party was spread equally by the teachings of Krishna and the exploits of Ramchandra.

From the professional difference between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas this antagonism of principles grew and grew, till it caused a social revolution, whose history is figuratively set forth by the story of the strife between Vashishta and Vishwamitra.

These two were not historical persons but merely the names of the Brahman and Kshatriya parties respectively. Not that *all* the Kshatriyas were ranged together against all the Brahmans. Many kings supported the Brahmans; witness how king Harishchandra ruined himself in the attempt to save the lore of the Brahmans from the oppression of Vishwamitra.

Or, take another example. A second leader of this primitive revolution was Krishna, who stood up to free society from futile ritualism. He slew Jarasandha, the enemy of the Kshatriyas, the captor and oppressor of many Kshatriya kings. Mark also that when Krishna entered Jarasandha's capital with Bhima and Arjuna, they had to disguise themselves as *Brahmans!* The slaying of this Brahman-cherishing anti-Kshatriya king by Krishna and the Pandavas is not a mere stray episode. Society was then split up into two camps on the question of Krishna. When Yudhisthir held the *raj-suya* sacrifice in the hope of reconciling the two parties Shishupal, as the champion of the opposite party, insulted Krishna. At that sacrifice Krishna was offered the holy presents (*arghya*) as the highest person present, among all the assembled Brahmans and Kshatriyas, priests and kings.....This social quarrel was at the root of the war of Kurukshetra. The sides mutually opposed in it were Krishna's partisans and Krishna's adversaries. The foremost general opposed to Krishna's friends was the Brahman Drona; Kripa and Ashwatthama, too, were no mean antagonists of the Pandavas, and both of them were Brahmans.

Thus we see that originally both the

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national epics of India were based upon this ancient social revolution, *i.e.*, the conflict between the old and the new spirits in society. We clearly see that in the age of the *Ramayan* the cause of the new party was taken up by Ram, who early in life followed Vishwamitra, the antagonist of his hereditary priest Vashishta. Indeed it was Vishwamitra who made Ram lose his heritage. The policy followed by Ram was not approved by Dasharath, though the latter could not successfully resist the overpowering influence of Vishwamitra. In a later age when this epic was written, the tradition of this momentous historical conflict of policies in primitive Aryan society was bodied forth as a domestic intrigue in a particular royal family, and the banishment of Ram was set down to the uxoriousness of a weak old king,—an incredible tale !

Our History bears yet another testimony to the fact that Ram adopted the policy of the new party. Parashuram was a lineal descendant of that very Brahman Bhrigu who had once kicked at Vishnu. His vow was to exterminate the Kshatriyas ; Ram had to disarm this terrible foe of the Kshatriyas. That Ram subdued him instead of slaying him, proves that at the very outset of his life's mission of uniting the nation, Ram put an end to the quarrel between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, partly by his valour and partly by his magnanimity. In all the acts of Ram we see traces of this noble manly patience.

Ram's marriage with Sita is metaphorical. The real facts are that Janak was an ideal Kshatriya king ; true theology (*brahma-vidya*) was developed by him ; it was not a mere matter of the intellect to him, but was incarnated in his whole life ; it was kept inviolate by him in all his varied sphere of action as king.....The highest glory of the Indian Kshatriyas is this that they marvellously reconciled the acts of their daily life with the sublime knowledge, with devotion. Our noblest Kshatriya chiefs proclaimed renunciation as the end of acquisition, action as the highest means of salvation.

This king Janak cultivated theistic lore, and at the same time tilled the soil with his own hands. This proves that one of the duties of the Kshatriyas was to spread Aryan civilisation by means of agriculture. Far away in the past the Aryans had been a pastoral people ; the Brahman hermits of the forests considered cows as their main wealth ; the forest easily afforded them pastures ; and the pupils of the hermitages were mainly engaged in tending their teacher's herds. But in a later age the conquering Kshatriyas pushed the forest back from Northern India and made agricultural wealth prevail over pastoral....That Janak was the king of Mithila (North Bihar) indicates that the Aryan colonies had in his time reached their natural limit of expansion at the eastern end of Aryavarta. But south of the impassable Vindhya range lay the virgin forest, where a Dravidian civilisation had grown up as a rival to the Aryan. Ravan had vanquished by his prowess Indra and other Vedic gods, disturbed the sacrifices of the Aryans, and thus established the supremacy of his own god Shiva. Our tradition that he conquered the gods of the Aryans really means that he defeated the *human* worshippers of these Vedic gods repeatedly in battle, because every race of men in a particular stage of its growth has believed that its victory in battle only proved the power of its tutelary god.

At this stage of our national history, Aryan society was exercised over the question, 'Who would break the bow of Shiva ?' Only he who could defeat the strength of the Shiva-worshippers and carry into Southern India the agriculture and theology of the Aryans, would be truly married to the supernatural, ideal daughter of the model Kshatriya Janak. Vishwamitra guided Ram to the severe trial of breaking the bow of Shiva. When Ram made his way into the heart of the forest and slew some dominant and fierce Shiva-adoring human warrior, he was said to have *broken Shiva's bow ;* he then became entitled to carry off *Sita*, which literally means the furrow dug by the ploughshare.

When Ram emerged [from the wood] in company with Vishwamitra, he had already in that tender age passed through three great trials. First, he had defeated some Shiva-worshipping demons and thus broken Shiva's bow. Secondly, he had proved his skill in agriculture by restoring life to the hard soil which had been long lying waste like stone, being unfit for driving the plough (*hal*) in,—whence its name *A-halya*,—and which had been first accepted but afterwards rejected as accursed, by the sage Gautam, one of

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the pioneers in the Aryan colonisation of the Deccan. Thirdly, this disciple of the Kshatriya sage Vishwamitra had conquered with his strong arm the growing Brahman hatred of the Kshatriyas (as embodied in Parashuram.)

The sudden interruption of Ram's investiture as heir and his banishment immediately after, very likely shadow forth the conflict of two powerful parties at the time. The party opposed to Ram [and his policy of assimilation] was undoubtedly very strong, and it had naturally very great influence over the queens in the *harem*. The old king Dasharath could not defy this party, and so he had most unwillingly to send his dear and gallant son into exile. During those twelve years of exile Ram's heroic lieutenant was Lakshman, and his life's companion was Sita or in other words his mission [of spreading Aryan civilisation and religion.].....

The legend of the Kshatriya Ramchandra embracing the low-caste (*Chandal*) Guhak as his friend, still perpetuates the memory of his marvellous liberality of mind....[The *Uttar-kanda* of the *Ramayan* is an interpolation of a later age]. Here the conservatives falsely ascribed to him the beheading of a Sudra ascetic in order to make Ram out as a champion of the old order in society! So, too, the legend of his banishment of the innocent Sita out of a sense of social duty, is another proof of the attempt made in the *Uttar-kanda* by a later generation to prove that Ram, the greatest of Aryan heroes, the ideal man adored as a god, was on the side of preserving social usage. The history of a social revolution lurks behind the story of Ram; a succeeding age effaced all traces of that revolution as far as possible and recast the legend of Ram in accordance with the social ideal of the new age. Ram's life thus transformed was proclaimed as the supporter of the domestic system and social conventions.....

But for all that India has not forgotten the fact that he was the comrade of a *Chandal*, the god of the monkeys, and the ally of a demon (Bibhishan). His glory was not that he destroyed his enemies, but that he won them over! He crossed the *ocean*-barrier, of conventional ban and race hatred; he built a *bridge* of love between the Aryans and the non-Aryans.

Anthropology tells us that most savage races honour a particular animal as their totem; they often hold themselves to be its offspring, and their tribe is named after it. Such was the *Naga* (serpent) race of which we read in Indian epics and history. The non-Aryans conquered by Ram in Kishkindhya must have been called monkeys for a similar reason. The tribe of the Bear totem, also, ranked among his followers. These two could not have been terms of contempt.

Ram conquered the monkeys not by a stroke of policy, but by inspiring them with the religion of personal devotion (*bhakti*). Thus, Hanuman's devotion raised him into a god. Everywhere in the world we see that when a great man kindles among mankind the religion of devotion in the place of mere ceremonialism, he himself becomes an object of adoration. Witness Krishna, Christ, Muhammad and Chaitanya. So, too, among the Sikhs, Sufis and Kabir-panthis, the teachers who develop true faith (*bhakti*) are raised into gods by their followers,—as if, in trying to reveal the inmost connection between God and His votary, they too have crossed the boundary-line between the human and the divine. Thus did Hanuman and Bibhishan come to be renowned as adorers of Ram and devout Vaishnavas.

It was by religion alone that Ram conquered the non-Aryans and gained their devotion. He did not extend his empire by defeating them by force of arms. He preached in Southern India agricultural civilisation and monotheism based on *bhakti* (personal faith). For long centuries afterwards India reaped what he had sown. In that very Southern India the fierce Shiva cult at last took the form of a faith based on devotion; and a day came when from that very Southern India theistic knowledge (*brahma-vidya*) gushed forth in the two streams of *bhakti* and monism and flooded all India.

We thus see the interaction of expansion and contraction, individuality and catholicity, in India. . . . There was a day when the champion of her conservative spirit was the Brahman, while the spirit of expansion was represented by the Kshatriya. When the Kshatriya tried to advance, the Brahman no doubt opposed him; but when the Kshatriya had succeeded in dragging society towards expansion in scorn of all obstacles, the Brahman agreed to link the new with the old, assimilate the whole, and set up a fresh boundary (further off). Such has ever been the work of the Brahmans in India. European observers represent it as the result of the professional cunning of the

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Brahmans! They forget that Brahmans and Kshatriyas are not racially distinct,—they are only two different natural powers of the *same* race, like the Liberals and Conservatives in England.

We see, no doubt, that India has not been able to hold the balance perfectly even between conservation and progress. After every struggle the Brahman has asserted his supremacy in society. The absurd theory that this result was due to the Brahman's peculiar cunning, is historically false. The circumstances of India give a more natural explanation of the phenomenon: the race-conflict in India has been a conflict between widely dissimilar races whose difference of colour and ideals has been so serious that the shock has roused up all the conservative spirit of India. If India had taken the path of expansion, she would, under the circumstances, have run the risk of completely losing her individuality; and that was why society ever stood vigilantly on self-defence.

The life of Ram proves that one day the Kshatriyas found in religion a great unifying agency, which enabled them to bridge the gulf between themselves and the non-Aryans easily by means of a policy of conciliation. A deadly feud between two parties continued for ever can never be good for any society. In the end the Brahmans bowed to this policy of fusion and even compeletely appropriated it.

When the Aryans began to mix with the non-Aryans, there arose the need of an understanding with the non-Aryan *religion* too. At that time the Aryan worshippers were at strife with the non-Aryan god Shiva; and in that strife victory alternated between the two races. Krishna's disciple Arjuna had once to admit defeat at the hands of Shiva, the god of the savage Kirats. Krishna's grandson Aniruddha abducted Usha, the daughter of the Siva-worshipping demon Ban, and in this contest Krishna triumphed. At the Vedic sacrifice [of Daksha] the non-Aryan Shiva was not admitted as a god, and therefore the non-Aryan votaries of Shiva broke up the sacrifice. At last, Shiva was identified with the Vedic god Rudra, and thus the religious quarrel of the two races ended in a compromise.

The *Mahabharat* clearly shows that even amidst their disputes, the Aryans were mingling their blood and faith with the blood and faith of the non-Aryans. But as cross-breeds and cross-religions thus began to multiply, the conservative spirit of society in the same proportion tried to assert itself by fixing new boundaries one after another: Manu's condemnation of mixed castes and his contempt for idol-worshipping professional Brahman priests indicate that though the infusion of non-Aryan blood and religion had [perforce] been accepted, the spirit of resisting them was never dormant. Thus, again and again, expansion has been followed in our history by the assertion of a strong spirit of contraction within self.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER RELIGIONS

BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

ONE hundred years ago it was the almost universal practice in Christian countries to divide religions into two classes, the true and the false. Christianity was set down as the true religion, and all the rest were classed together as untrue and of the devil. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that much protest was heard against so narrow and superficial a classification. But during the past fifty years many scholars, in different lands, have made careful and extended studies of the various great religions of the world outside of our own, and have published in periodicals and in books the results of their studies. The principal non-Christian sacred books have been translated into English and the other leading languages of Christian

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YASODA AND KRISHNA.

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nations. Through travel, too, and through Christian missions, we have been brought into contact with the so-called "heathen" religions and their literatures. The result has been very enlightening and very broadening to our thought. Prejudices are beginning to pass away. We are beginning to see from a wholly new stand-point. A new study is beginning to be recognized in the world of scholarship, namely, the study of comparative religion. Perhaps the greatest promoter of this study was the late distinguished Professor Max Muller of Oxford, England, whose writings on the religions of India, and whose translations (with the aid of other scholars) of the extended series of Sacred Books of the East, have opened up to the Christian peoples of the West whole new worlds of religious history, thought and life.

The comparative method of study is very fruitful in results wherever it is applied, and it is coming to be applied almost everywhere. We are coming to understand that he who knows only one book knows none, he who knows only one science knows none. Just so, he who knows only one religion knows none. All religions are related as all sciences are. There are great laws that govern the rise and development of religions and the origin and growth of sacred books. All the great sacred books of mankind belong to one family. The Christian Bible has a place in that family: so has the Koran of the Mohamedan, so have the Vedas of the Brahmans, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Avesta of the Parsees and the Five Kings of Confucius. A knowledge of any one of these sacred books throws light upon all the rest.

An event occured twenty years ago which drew the attention of the Christian peoples of the world as nothing had ever done before to the importance of the study of the non-Christian faiths of mankind. The event was the great Parliament of Religions held in connection with the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. To that parliament came distinguished representatives of all the leading faiths of the world,—Chtistianity in its various forms, Mohamedanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Parseeism, Confucianism, and others. For thirty days, twice each day, these men met, in the presence of great audiences, not to fight one another, not to denounce one another's religions as false, not to call one another hard names, as "infidel," "heathen," "unbeliever," or "atheist," as would have been done a hundred or even fifty years earlier, but to worship together as brothers, to listen to presentations of the truth as it was given to each one to see it, regarding all the great problems of religion and all the great verities of the spiritual life. Was there no enlightening and no broadening influence in such meetings? Could men who attended those remarkable gatherings every day for a month go away at the end and divide the religions of the world into two great classes, the true and the false, and claim that Christianity is true and that all the rest are untrue? No, the Parliament of Religions added powerful emphasis to the lesson which the study of comparative religion for the past fifty years has been teaching, that no hard and fast line can be drawn between religions separating them into God-made and devil-made, or God-made and man-made.

But while all religions belong to one family, and while all sacred books do the same, it does not follow that all religions and all sacred books are of equal value. They are far from equal in value. Some contain more truth than others, some contain higher truth than others. All contain imperfections. The Christian Bible contains many limitations incidental to the age from which it came. All the sacred books of the world possess a transient element and a permanent. This is true of all the great religions. Religion is a thing of growth. Revelation is progressive. No truth is born into the world full-stature. It first appears "a babe in a manger." As a child grows it gets too large for its clothes. So religion, as it grows, gets too large for its creeds, its liturgies, its forms, its methods of thought. The real infidelity is the spirit which clings to the old when it is dead, and refuses to accept the new truth fresh from God. All religions born in the far away past contain outgrown elements which ought to be laid aside. On the other hand, there is no religion—certainly there is no one of the great historic religions—that does not contain much that is true and good and strengthening to the higher life of man, and therefore much that is from God. As Matthew Arnold has well written:—

> Children of men! the unseen power whose eye
> Forever doth accompany mankind
> Hath looked on no religion scornfully
> That man did ever find.

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Which hath not taught weak wills how much they can ?
Which hath not fallen on the dry heart like rain ?
Which hath not cried to sunk, self-weary man,
"Thou must be born again ?"

As Christians we have been narrow and bigoted in supposing that we possess all the light that God has poured into the souls of men. We have wronged God in claiming that He has selected one people or set of peoples from among the nations of the world (since all have equal claim on Him) and has confined His favors, His inspiration, His revelation to that one. Instead of cherishing views so narrow and unworthy, we ought long ago to have learned from Jesus that God is the "Universal Father," God, the Infinite Spirit, is the "light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Long ago we ought to have sat down at the feet of St. Peter and listened to his world-embracing declaration, "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." This larger and worthier view of religion, of God and of inspiration, has been growing steadily and surely in Christendom now for half a century. It will grow much more rapidly during the next half century.

ALI, HASAN AND MOAWIAH

Translated from the German of Dr. Weil's Islamitische Volker,

BY KHUDA BUKHSH, M.A., B.C.L. (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN HISTORY OF ISLAM.

MOAWIAH, on the other hand, was not inactive during the six months which elapsed between the murder of Othman and the subjugation of Bassorah. Having a large army at his command he could have saved Othman if he had so intended, but he remained listless and apathetic at Damascus. Probably he too was aiming at the Caliphate and he anticipated that Ali and his confederates would soon disagree and fall out. He, therefore, made the fact of the murder of Othman the basis of a strong agitation. His blood-stained shirt was publicly exhibited in the mosque and all blame was fixed upon Ali, who was present in Medina and stood in intimate relations with the rebels, who later even filled the most important place in his army. As many of the leaders of the Syrian troops belonged to the family of Othman it was easy enough for him to urge them on to avenge Othman and thus he could, with perfect confidence in his army, reply to the messengers of Ali, who from Kufa several times summoned him to render obedience to him, that he would not submit until the murderers of Othman had received the punishment they deserved.

Between law and anarchy, which Ali had called forth or at least had encouraged; between the heathen principles of blood-revenge and self-help and the precepts of Islam to which Ali had appealed and by which he, in a certain measure, had justified the insurrection against Othman, the transgressor of the laws of the prophet; finally, between the old Mekkan aristocracy which had found its exponent in Moawiah, the son of Abu Sufyan and the idea of hereditary monarchy to which Ali had clung as the nearest kinsman of the prophet—war was now inevitable.

In April 657, with an army of some 7,000 men, Ali started from Kufa and crossed the Euphrates at Rakka. From Syria alone Moawiah mustered more troops than Ali did from the rest of the provinces put together. The Syrian army was a model of discipline while the army of Ali, composed of men from various countries, showed a lamentable lack of discipline and organisation. This situation was aggravated by his incessant reference to his divine rights, as also by his stern and unbending spirit, which stood in striking contrast to the pliant and engaging manners of Moawiah.

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On the plain of Siffin, a few miles above Rakka, on the Western banks of the Euphrates, lay the two armies facing each other. Several months rolled away in negotiations, single combats and petty skirmishes. Neither of the two contending armies wished to precipitate the war, which offered neither the prospects of great booty nor the hopes of paradise as had been the case with the earlier wars against the unfaithful which inspired alike love for battle and contempt for death.

The two armies had followed their leaders to the battle-field, and had resolved to fight for them, but at heart they were for a peaceful termination of the dispute, for inspite of all the eloquence of Ali and Moawiah, who sought to give a religious colour to the war, most of the combatants felt that they were being sacrificed rather in the interest of power and ambition than in the cause either of the state or of their faith.

As the two chiefs of the army (both of whom were aspiring to the Caliphate) could not agree—there occurred, at last, a fearful battle (25th of July) which, with fluctuating fortune, lasted for three days. There, as once at Badr and Ohod, Ali fought with youthful courage and energy. On the third day, when the aged Ammar Ibn Yasir, one of the oldest and the most influential companions of the Prophet, stirred the Iraqians on to fight, the battle became more fierce than ever. He called out to them: "Follow me, ye companions of the Prophet. The gates of heaven are open, the *Houris*, richly adorned, are ready to receive us. Let us conquer and meet Mohamed and his companions in paradise." With these words he flung himself into the very thick of the battle and fought until he succumbed to his wounds. This not only roused the troops of Ali to vengeance but also produced a depressing effect upon the Syrians. Even the descending darkness of night did not put an end to the carnage, and on the morning of the 28th of July, the Syrians were so hopelessly pressed that Moawiah despaired of victory.

To avoid a complete and crushing defeat Moawiah, upon the advice of the cunning Amr Ibn Ass (who after the murder of Othman had repaired to Syria and had joined him) had recourse to a ruse. He ordered his soldiers, in the front rank to fasten the Qur'an to their lances, as a sign and token that war should cease and that the decision should be referred to the holy book. The Syrians, under the protection of the Qur'an, now called out to the advancing Iraqians: "Oh! ye faithful, were we to continue to kill each other what would be left of Islam? Who would then fast, pray or fight the infidel. Let the sword rattle no more and let us submit to the divine revelation in which we all believe." This ruse saved Moawiah from a total defeat. Ali saw through it and warned his men not to fall into a trap, for only the fear of a complete defeat had now led Moawiah to appeal to the Qur'an, in which neither he nor his friends Amr or Abdullah Ibn Abi Sarh had any faith. Nevertheless the Iraqians who surrounded Ali (a very few out of respect for the Qur'an but the majority for love of peace or out of treason) insisted upon the suspension of hostilities with a view to fresh negotiations for a settlement. Ali had to yield (for the traitors threatened his life), and had to stop Malik-ul-Ashtar in the very midst of victory from fighting any more. When Moawiah was questioned as to how he intended to obtain a decision according to the holy Qur'an he proposed that two arbitrators, a Syrian and an Iraqian, should be appointed with full powers to make over the Caliphate to him who had the most legitimate claim to it according to the law of Islam, and he accordingly appointed Amr as his arbitrator. Ali accepted the proposal, for he could not conceive the possibility of a decision in favour of Moawiah if the decision was actually founded on the Qur'an. The two nominees of Ali were rejected—Abdullah Ibn Abbas on the ground of his kinship with him and Malik-ul-Ashtar on the ground that he was the author of the civil war. Before Ali could think of another the very same men who had forced him to stop the war shouted out: We would have no other arbitrator than Abu Musa. In vain did Ali protest against the choice of a man who hated him because he had deposed him from the governorship of Kufa, and who even when in office had betrayed him. Ali at last was browbeaten into accepting Abu Musa and Amr as arbitrators of his fate and that of the Empire, and he was even made to consent that in the treaty that was to be drawn up he was only to be mentioned as the chief of the Kufans and not the Prince of the Faithful. Scarcely was this

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arrangement effected (2nd August 657) when some 12,000 Iraqians banded together and accused Ali of weakness and cowardice and summoned him to confess his fault and to annul the arrangement.*

The malcontents, whom the Arabs called *Khawarij*, reckoned among their ranks men of different shades of temper and belief. There were those who sought to sow the seed of dissension ; then there were the readers of the Qur'an who desired the settlement of the dispute through the Qur'an, but did not intend that the decision should be left to two intriguers but to men of wisdom and probity ; finally there were the bold and heroic warriors who had distinguished themselves in the battle of Siffin and who could not forgive Ali for the weakness he had shown in concluding peace contrary to his conviction. Before the retreating army of Ali had reached Kufa, the malcontents retired to Harura, where they encamped and sent out missionaries to invite support to strengthen their party, but they could not prevent Ali from sending out Abu Musa to the Syrian borders to confer according to the treaty with Amr regarding the question of the Caliphate.†

Ali, to be sure, could not expect anything from the arbitrators appointed. Abu Musa was his enemy, and Amr was an avowed partisan of Moawiah. Amr set up the claim of Moawiah on the score of kinship with Othman. Abu Musa took exception to this proposition, for to him the Omayyads were even more hateful than Ali was, and urged that if kinship was the determining factor then the son of Othman had a higher claim than any one else. He suggested some other names but Amr rejected his nominees, one and all. Thereupon Abu Musa said : Since we cannot agree as to the choice of the Caliph the best course for us is to depose both Ali and Moawiah and leave it to the Muslims to choose a Caliph for themselves. Amr assented to this proposal, but after Abu Musa had deposed Ali, Amr called out : You see even the arbitrator appointed by Ali deprives him of sovereignty. In this I am in entire agreement with him but I proclaim Moawiah as the rightful Caliph. Abu Musa saw too late that he was overreached by Amr, who triumphantly returned to Damascus where Moawiah received afresh the homage of the Syrians.

No one in Kufa was induced by this fraud to accept Moawiah as Caliph. Abu Musa, despite his hatred for Ali, protested against it, and when Ali declared the truce at an end and summoned the Iraqians to battle they hastened to his banner to fight Moawiah once again.

The Khawarij however would have nothing to do with Ali since he refused to acknowledge his fault. They took up their position at Nahruwan between Baghdad and Wasit.* Ali took no notice of them and hoped to win them over by kind treatment as there were among them many genuine enthusiasts whom he could not very well honestly condemn or find fault with. But soon their number grew and they began to ill-treat the followers of Ali. The Kufan troops in the meantime showed a refractory spirit and Ali, while on his way to Syria, was compelled to return again to fight the Khawarij at Nahruwan. He conquered them without much difficulty, for only some 1200 to 1500 men, the merest fanatics, held their ground and fought to the last.

Victory notwithstanding—this event was most unpropitious for Ali, for when after the destruction of the Khawarij he sought to pursue his march to Syria, the Kufans desired time for a few days to rest and to supply themselves with provisions. But, once at home, they refused to go and fight abroad. Thus Ali was forced to remain inactive at Kufa while Moawiah extended his rule in all directions. Egypt was the first to pass under his sway.

Ali's governor, Mohamed, the son of Abu Bakr, tried, contrary to the advice of his predecessor, to extort homage from some of the provinces of upper Egypt which wanted to remain neutral until the result of the war. He was beaten and driven into the camp of Moawiah Ibn Hudaij who openly appeared against Ali at Fustat.

Ali now sent Malik-ul-Ashtar, with some thousand men, to replace the devoted but

* [See Prof. Browne's Lit. Hist. of Persia, pp. 222 et seq.—Tr.]

† [The conference took place at Dawmat-ul-Jandal, a place, in the Syrian desert just south of the thirtieth degree of latitude, and about equidistant from Damascus and Bassorah, in February, A. D. 658.—Tr.]

* From Harura they advanced towards Mada'in (Ctesiphon) with the intention of occupying it but they failed to do so. They then continued their march to Nahruwan, near the Persian frontier.

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unwise Mohamed. But on the way, at the instigation of Moawiah, he was poisoned. The troops which he led returned to Kufa. Thus Amr, whom Moawiah now appointed the governor of Egypt, managed to conquer the country all the more easily, since already before his arrival with 5000 Syrians, Mohamed had been driven out of Fustat.

Mohamed even ventured upon a battle, but his troops did not hold their ground, and he was killed in flight. Moawiah's troops now roamed about killing and plundering along the Euphrates and the Tigris and even in Arabia itself. In the year 660 not only Mekka and Medina but even the province of Yaman rendered homage to him, so that Ali really ruled over only Iraq and Persia although his supporters were not slow in making incursions into the territories conquered by their opponents and even succeeded in re-occupying Medina and a portion of Yaman. This state of mutual slaughter and mutual plunder weighed so heavily on Muslims that three persons swore to kill the three enemies of the Empire : Ali, Moawiah, and Amr, the authors of all the calamities brought upon the Arabs. Friday the 15th of Ramadhan (January 22, 661) was the day fixed on on which Ali, Moawiah, and Amr were to be stabbed, while at prayer in the respective mosques of Kufa, Damascus and Fustat—to put an end to the unhappy wars conducted not only with sword on the battle-field but also in the pulpit with the weapons of mutual curses and imprecations. But only Ali was mortally wounded and died on the 3rd day (24th January). Moawiah received only a slight wound and instead of Amr, who on the day in question did not happen to be in the mosque, his representative was killed whom the assassin mistook for him. Ali died at the age of 63 and according to some reports was buried at Kufa, according to others he was intered in Medina, but probably at the instance of Moawiah he was buried at an unknown spot in the desert, in order that his grave might not become an object of veneration and a centre of opposition in after days. By his sympathy with the insurrection against Othman as also by raising the leaders of the rebels to the first offices of the state Ali had trampled under foot the dignity of the Caliphate and had to pay with life for his folly. The chief fault of Ali in the eyes of the *Khawarij* (and among them were men of noble purpose and genuine conviction as was proved by their constancy and self-sacrifice at Nahruwan) consisted in his accepting the truce and the treaty instead of dying, like Othman, cheerfully at the hands of the rebels. Not only the intriguers and power-seeking men but also the aged companions of the Prophet, men of unsoiled virtue, had refused to recognise the claims of Ali to the Caliphate.

We should not therefore readily give credit to the traditions, subsequently forged in favour of Ali, nor should we unceremoniously set down Moawiah as a usurper.

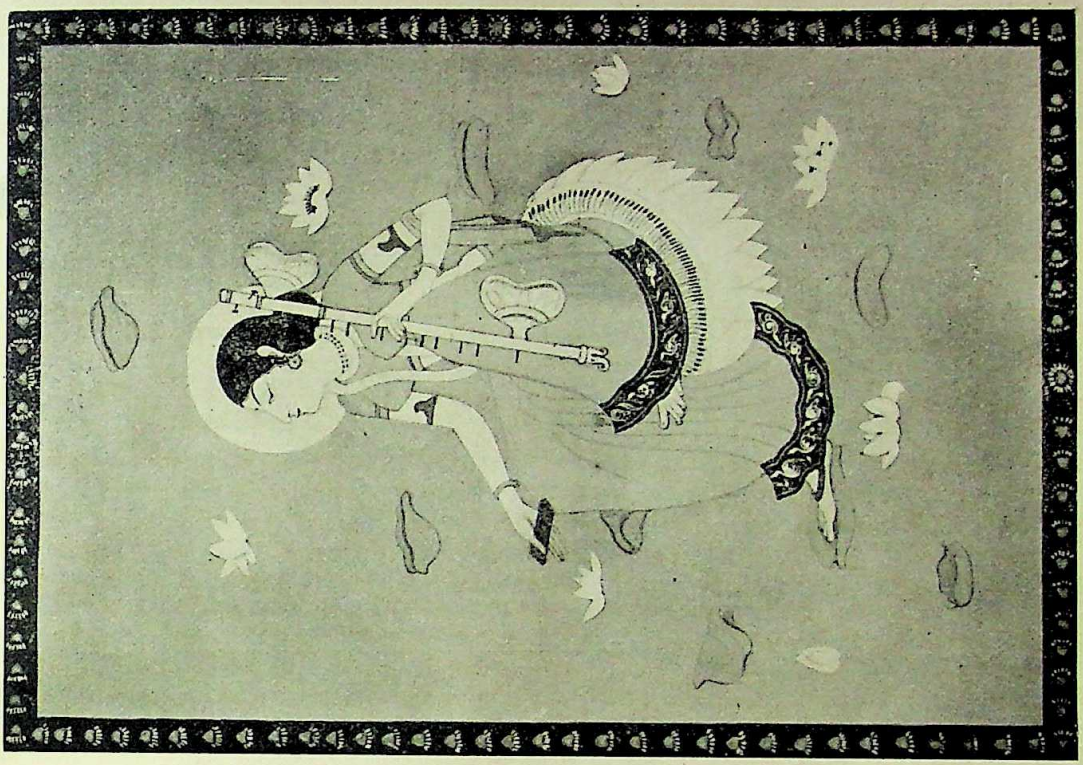
Still from credible sources it is clear enough that Ali surpassed not only Moawiah but even Abu Bakr and Omar in his unfailing love of righteousness, in bravery and eloquence. But it was precisely his love of truth to the extent of bluntness that made him many enemies, while Moawiah by his courtesy and pliancy made more and more friends. Ali owed the veneration, bordering upon worship, not so much to his personal merits as to a systematic opposition to the Omayyads and the Abbasids and to the doctrine of the incarnation of deity imported from Persia into Islam, a doctrine which was gradually mixed up with the Christian doctrine of the Paraclete with which the popular imagination had identified him. His own and his son's tragic death as also the persecutions to which his whole family was exposed awoke a profound compassion and produced a form of deification similar to that of the Persian princes who were regarded as the descendants of a higher being.

In generosity and in simplicity of life Ali fully resembled his two predecessors. Similarly like them he renounced every pleasure of life except continence. After the death of Fatima, in the second period of his life, he concluded six, some say eight marriages, in addition to some 19 slave girls who, according to the then custom, were his concubines.

The supporters of Ali, specially those, who on account of his connexion with the Prophet had recognized him as their Caliph and Imam, acknowledged, after his death, his first son Hasan as their sovereign. Even a portion of the Khawarij who had condemned Ali on account of his weakness inclined towards Hasan and showed their willingness to fight for sovereignty on his behalf with Moawiah. But Hasan was a voluptuary to whom a quiet, peaceful life

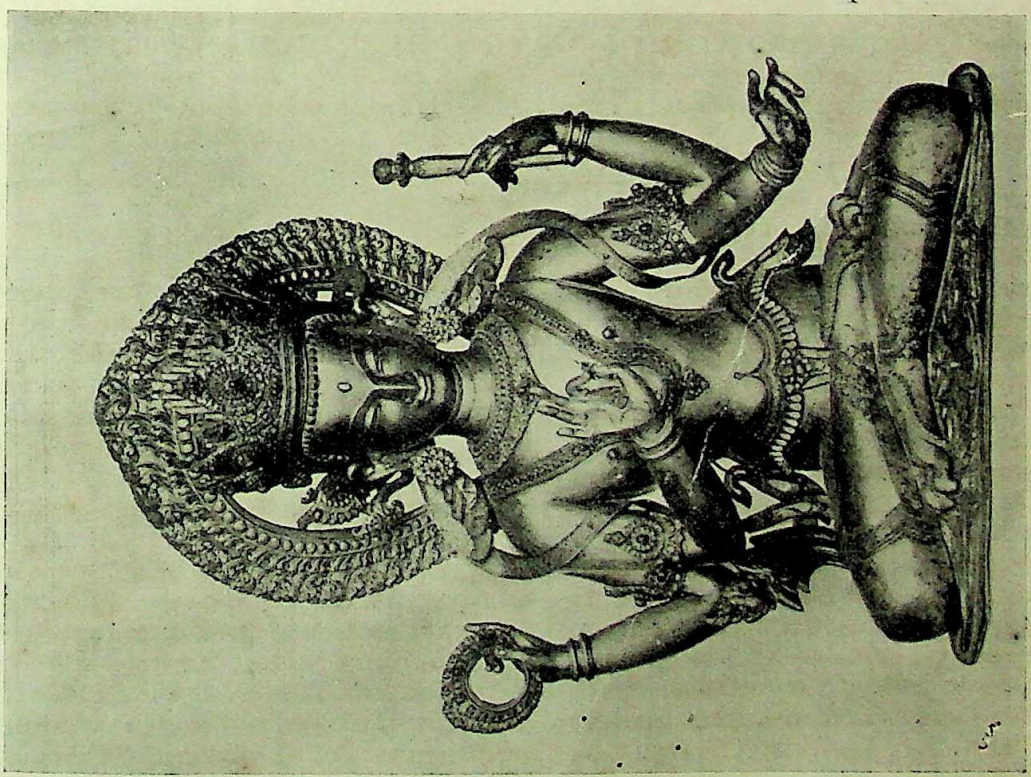
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SARASWATI.

From the water colour of Mr. Surendranath Kar, by the courtesy of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts.



VISHNU.

(From an old copper-gilt bronze from Nepal).

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appealed more than sovereignty or martial renown.

It was precisely for this reason that at the Coronation Ceremony he only pledged himself in a general manner to rule according to the Qur'an and the precepts of the Prophet, but he declined to pledge himself, as it was required of him, to fight the enemies of Islam unto destruction. Without being guilty of perjury he wanted from the very moment of his accession to reserve to himself the right of renouncing the throne in favour of Moawiah if he was so inclined, and from the very outset, it seems, he was determined to do that as soon as he could obtain from him security of person and sufficiency of means to continue undisturbed the pleasures of the Harem and the duties of his faith. Instead of leading against Moawiah the Iraqians, at the white heat of passion, for the murder of Ali, he remained for months at Mada'in probably negotiating terms with Moawiah and exposing the advance guard of the army to the attacks of the Syrians. The defeated Iraqians were so indignant over it that they openly revolted and on their return to Mada'in even maltreated Hasan. Using this as a pretext he without further delay concluded peace with Moawiah who to become the undisputed ruler, willingly offered to pay him a few million dirhams, a yearly stipend and granted amnesty to his friends and relatives. As soon as the treaty was signed, Hasan disbanded his army and renounced the throne publicly. Thereupon Moawiah made his triumphant entry into Kufa; while Hasan, after a brief rule of six months, retired to Medina (September 661).

THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF THE FACTORY, THE WORKSHOP AND THE COTTAGE INDUSTRY IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF INDIA

By Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, m.a.

In the last chapter we have considered the small workshops and the home industries together, and pointed out that they possess some special advantages in certain branches of production as compared with the large industry. In these branches they shew a great life-force and are rapidly increasing in number. The cottage industries, again, have some characteristic advantages of their own which the workshops lack and which are particularly true of our country. In the rural tracts of the country the cottage industries are always found going hand in hand with all sorts of small industries in agriculture, like gardening, poultry farming, &c., very often the cottage industry becomes by-occupation to agriculture. The conditions of our agriculture leave the cultivators out of employment for several months in the year, the vast amount of surplus labour being utilised in favour of home industries. Thus during certain months of the year all the cultivators of the villages are turned into basket-makers, rope-makers and even weavers of coarse cloths. The industry becomes usually the second string in the bow to the agriculturist. Moreover, as the industry is carried on in the midst of the family, the artisans can work much longer hours than an operative in a workshop and factory does. The women also in the interval of their domestic work assist the artisans materially in the easier processes of the industry. The artisans thus find an energetic support not only in the collaboration of the members of his family but also in the moral element which is the consequence of the work in his home.

Both the small workshop and the cot-

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tage industry have been shewing great vitality and making progress throughout the West as the result of the recent developments in applied science and the mechanical arts. If we analyse the respective advantages of both the great and the small industries, we find that the following three factors are in favour of the former ;—(1) division of labour and its harmonic organisation; (2) economy in the cost of motive power; and (3) the advantages offered for the purchase of raw materials, tools &c., and the sale of the produce. Of these three factors, the first exists in small industries as well and to the same extent as in the great ones (watch-makers, toy-makers and so on); the second is more and more eliminated by the progress achieved in applied science. The recent improvements in applied science place the artisan in a much better position to compete with the big manufacturer than was possible a few years ago.

The modern developments of the use of electricity might now transmit motive power cheaply to the cottage of a small producer. The electric installation is not only less expensive but also relatively more productive than the steam-installation. The economic advantage of the larger over smaller installations is not so great as in the case of steam, while the absolute productiveness is greater in the case of electricity. Thus the electric installation has one tendency to take large dimensions. The advantage of storing electric energy in batteries is considerable especially to a craftsman whose work is intermittent. Again the motor can be used even by the most unintelligent. By the inventor's skill, the mere pressing of the button sets it going while any chance of accident is removed by safety appliances. Again, there have been several petty motors which have proved very successful in the West. The most satisfactory types of them are the water pressure engines, the gas or oil-engines. The latter have now become the formidable rivals of the steam-engines, and even very large sizes are now tried. It cannot indeed be doubted that gas will give steam only a subsidiary place in future. The small petrol engines of motor cars have great advantage and they have been improved a great deal. Their peculiarity of having little bulk and proportionately large power has made them useful for a variety of purposes, e. g., lawn-mowers, pleasure-boats, æroplanes etc. As regards the respective advantage of oil and gas engines, the relative cost of coal and oil has an important bearing on the question of economy of the two types. The cost in the case of oil-engines is five times that of the gas engines, yet the popularity of the former has been steadily increasing, for reasons such as less consumption of water, less attendance, less risk of breakdowns, less space, less upkeep, less future wastage at starting and no nuisance of smell, etc. In industries where continual working is needed, gas is more convenient. But in most cases, where the load factor is low, say 50 hours, oil-engines are much more suitable. The best oil-engines at full load use 4 lbs. of oil per Brake Horse power, while the best engines will take about 8 lbs. of coal. These machines can, in the limited sphere of action from 6 to 3 horse-power, contend successfully with the steam engine. Their work is cheap, thus they are the veritable motors of the people carrying with them the germs of complete transformation of the small cottage domestic industries. By adopting such motors, we can give our artisans working in cottages the motive power under fair conditions of economy, practically equivalent to those which secure to the capitalist the steam engine of great power, revive by this means the domestic industry where it exists and re-establish it where it has disappeared.

"If we use the gas in an engine is it possible to get a good economy. The reason is easily seen, when one realises that the fuel is burnt in the cylinder of a gas engine and not under a boiler, which makes steam to deliver to an engine. In the latter case we have the efficiency of the furnace and the inefficiency of the border, as well as the radiation of the steam pipes and cylinders, items which do not appear in the heat balance sheet of the gas engine.....Again, we may use oil as a fuel for firing a boiler or for driving an engine. As regards the efficiency of the engine as compared with the steam engine, the one is 34 p.c. as compared with 9 p.c. of the heat value of the fuel." (*The Choice of Power*: By Mr. S. T. A. Mills, A.M., L.M.E, *Indian Trade Journal*, May 16, 1912. "Tendencies of Engineering Science", by A. Sen. The Indian Guild of Science and Technology, p. 63.)

Prince Kropotkin has remarked:

"The number of motors which were exhibited in the Galerie du Travail bear a testimony to the fact that a cheap motor for the small industry, is one of the leading problems of the day. Motors weighing only 45 lbs. including the boiler, were exhibited in 1889 to answer that want. Small two-horse-power engines, fabricated by the engineers of the Jura (formerly watch-makers) in their small workshops, were at that time another attempt to solve the problem—to say nothing of water, gas and electrical motors. The transmission of steam-power to 230 small workshops

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which was made by the Societe des Immeubles Industriels was another attempt in the same direction, and the increasing efforts of the French engineers for finding out the best means of transmitting and subdividing power by means of compressed dynamic cables, and electricity as indicative of the endeavours of the small industry to retain its ground in the face of the competition of the factories."

"Everyone knows what an immense progress has been realised since the motors used in motor cars and aeroplanes and what is achieved now by the transmission of electrical power. But I leave these lines as they were written, as a testimony of the way in which the conquest of air began, and of the part taken in it by the French small industry."

Thus the progress achieved in the transmission of power and the introduction of cheap motors have tended greatly to the advantage of the small industry.

As regards the third factor, viz., the advantage of the large industry in the purchase of the raw materials &c., and the sale of the products, this can also enter in the small industry as the artisans develop among themselves the spirit of association. In these countries where the small industries are showing great vitality, the number of artisans who work single-handed is greatly declining. The following statistics of the small industries of the German Empire bear on this question:

		1882	1895	1907
1.	Artisans working single-handed	1,430,000	1,237,000	995,000
2.	From 1 to 5 employees	746,000	753,000	875,000
3.	From 6 to 50 employees	85,000	139,000	187,000
4.	Over 50 employees	9,000	18,000	30,000
	TOTAL	830,000	910,000	1,092,000
	(with the artisans)	(2,270,000)	(2,147,000)	(2,086,000)

Prince Kropotkin remarks:

What appears quite distinctly from the last census is the rapid decrease in the numbers of artisans who work single-handed, mostly without the aid of machinery. Such an individual mode of production by hand is naturally on the decrease, even many artisans resorting now to some sort of motive power, and taking one or two hired aids; but this does not prove in the least that the small industries carried on with the aid of machinery should be on the wane. The census of 1907 proves quite the contrary, and all those who have studied it are bound to recognise it.

He then quotes Dr. Zahn:

"Of a pronounced decay of the small establishments in which five or less persons are employed, is, of course no sign. Out of the 14·3 million people who live on industry, full 5·4 million belong to the small industry."

Dr. Vander Borght also says,

"It is true that the numbers of artisans working single-handed have diminished in numbers in most industries; but they still represent two-fifths of an industrial establishments, and even more than one-half in several industries. At the same time, the small establishments (having from one to five workers) have increased in numbers, and they contain nearly one-half of all the industrial establishments, and even more than that in several groups."

The isolated artisans and workers are always at the mercy of the wholesale dealers who bring their wages almost to starvation level. On the contrary, wherever there has been an association of the artisans and workers for buying the raw materials and selling the products, the condition of the artisans has greatly improved. Prince Kropotkin has come to the following important conclusions after thorough investigations into the conditions of the small industries in Germany, in France and in Russia:

"In an immense number of traders it is not the superiority of the technical organisation of the trade in a factory, nor the economics realised in the prime-motor, which militate against the small industry in favour of the factories, but the more advantageous conditions for *selling* the produce and for *buying* the raw produce which are at the disposal of big concerns. Wherever this difficulty has been overcome, either by means of *association*, or in consequence of a market being secured for the sale of the produce, it has always been found,—first, that the condition of the workers has immediately improved; and next, that a rapid progress was realised in the technical aspects of the respective industries. New processes were introduced to improve the produce or to increase the rapidity of its fabrication; new machine tools were invented; or new motors were resorted to; or the trade was reorganised so as to diminish the costs of production."

Again:

"The small industries do not perish because a substantial economy can be realised in the factory production—in many more cases than is usually supposed, the fact is even the reverse—but because the capitalist who establishes a factory emancipates himself from the wholesale and retail dealers in raw materials; and especially, because he emancipates himself from the buyers of his produce and can deal directly with the wholesale buyer and exporter; or else he concentrates in one concern the different stages of fabrication of a given produce. The great concern would thus find its advantages not in such factors as are imposed by the *technical* necessities of the trade at the time being, but in such factors as could be eliminated by co-operative organisations."

Thus the co-operative system will receive the small industries when they are dying and give a new life to those which are at present maintaining themselves with difficulty in the competition with the large industries.

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SOME BENGALI IDIOMS*

AS I have been allowed on previous occasions to say a few words about the Bengali language and have thus, I hope, established a claim to be heard, if only on the pretext that an outsider and a foreigner will sometimes note linguistic facts which escape a native from sheer familiarity, I am emboldened now to add a few remarks on one of the most admirable characteristics of Bengali—its remarkable wealth of idiomatic expressions. I shall take as my text the newly published "Practical Bengali Grammar" of Mr. W. S. Milne, I.C.S. I may mention, in passing, that Mr. Milne is unknown to me and that his book only fell into my hands by accident. It is, I think, by far the best and most original Bengali Grammar yet written by an Englishman. It contains a full account of the formal and Sanskritic elements in Bengali Grammar as analysed and explained by Bengali Grammarians. But its chief merit in my eyes is that it is an anthology of the popular idioms of Bengal, which are a real outcome of the national genius for expression. We must all feel a due respect for the venerable, the classical elements in the modern languages of the civilised world, but believers in the evolution of humanity, in the progressive improvement of human conditions, including our means of expression, will take a special interest in the modern developments of human speech. One of the most wonderful of these has been the transition from inflected to analytic language. Many of the old words are retained, but language acquires a new flexibility and significance by the growth of a multitude of subsidiary words; prefixes, suffixes, adverbs, and such like. In this respect, Bengali has shared the common evolution of the great Indo-European languages, and has cast aside most of the inflexions it borrowed from its parent Prakrit. It has become, in the main, an analytic language, like most of the living daughters of the Aryan classical speeches. In the process of analytic loosening of the bonds of inflexion it has perhaps not gone so far as some of the other modern languages of India and Europe. But what makes Bengali one of the most interesting languages in the world to philologists is the fact that it has produced a new way, almost confined to itself, of treating the few inflexions that survive. May I be permitted to draw the attention of speakers of Bengali to this remarkable peculiarity of the tongue they use with native ease and precision? I am not sure that I have arrived at a correct explanation of the linguistic device to which I am about to call attention. I noticed it, of course, long ago, but my notice was particularly drawn to it by the admirable examples contained in Mr. Milne's Grammar.

It has been said, from time to time, that the cases are employed very 'loosely' in Bengali. Stated in this way, the fact seems to imply blame or depreciation. Perhaps those who make the statement in this form have not reflected that the natural development of modern language is in the direction of what may be called laxity. But, be it noticed, the laxity is morphological laxity, and does not necessarily imply looseness of logical connexion, or a want of accurate thought and expressive utterance.

What is called 'idiom' in analytic languages is often precisely an expansion of inflexion forms into new and more supple forms of expression. Such a phrase as *il est on ne peut plus heureux* in French, is an example of such an expansion, such an expressive laxity. Grammatically, it may be called a license, an idiom, but logically it is correct enough, and as a mode of expression it is a distinct addition to human powers of speech. There is an exactly analogous phrase in Bengali—তিনি যার পর নাই

* See "A Practical Bengali Grammar" by W. S. Milne, I. C. S. Published by the Author, Writer's Buildings, Calcutta, 1913. Rs. 10-0-0.

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সন্তুষ্ট। Similarly, it is arguable that the so-called laxity of case signification in Bengali is an advance in the analytic progress of the language. The idiom to which I now wish to draw attention is the power the language possesses of idiomatically appending the case-suffixes to the subject of a verb in order to express faint shades of meaning, differing slightly but unmistakeably from the sense understood when the uninflected nominative is used. Perhaps some confusion has arisen from the necessity we endure of naming these inflexions by the time-honoured appellations of Sanskrit or Latin cases, such as দ্বিতীয়া, তৃতীয়া, &c., genitive, dative, &c. As a matter of fact, only three really survive, the so-called genetival, objective, and locative suffixes in —এর, —কে, and —এ or এতে। I do not think that it can justly be said that the sense of these is "loose." But they can be used idiomatically to express shades of meaning which are, perhaps, not similarly expressed in other languages of India or Europe. They are still used to express meanings as cases in the old inflexional way. But in Bengali they are also used to modify the sense of a phrase by being applied to the *subject* of a verb.

The most common instance is that which Mr. Beames identified as a survival into modern times of the old Prakrit nominative form. We are all accustomed to such familiar phrases as লোকে বলে; গরুতে ঘাস খাইতেছে; মানুষে গড়ে, বিধাতা ভাঙ্গে; &c.. &c. Most Grammarians, I think, now accept this as a true nominative, and decline to believe that it is either (1) a locative used as a nominative, or (2) an instrumental used as a nominative in imitation of such Hindi phrases as *us ne kaha*. They admit, of course, the substitution of case suffixes such as আমাদের দেও, (genitive for dative), and আমি কাণে শুনিয়াছি, (locative for instrumental).

Now it is noticeable that this inflected nominative has a shade of significance of its own. Mr. Milne notes that in such phrases as ঘোড়ায় গাড়ী টানে, তোমার গরুতে আমার গাছ নষ্ট করেছে, the inflexion suggests a natural or habitual trait. We might almost translate "horses usually draw carriages", "your cattle (with their usual perversity!) have destroyed my trees." It is obvious that this shade of significance was not borrowed from the usual sense of the Prakrit nominative and is a modern development. It is possible that the *form* of the Prakrit nominative, resembling that of the Bengali locative, led to one of the misunderstandings common in all languages. But a mere misunderstanding would not necessarily produce a new and expressive idiom, and if this explanation be the correct one, it is certainly a happy blunder which has increased the expressiveness of the language. Another idiom which has puzzled foreign students of Bengali is what we may be permitted to call the impersonal passive. This is a very expressive and useful idiom. Take phrases like তাহা পারা যায়। আপনাকে আবশ্যকমতে ডাকা যাইবে। তাহার খাওয়া হইয়াছে। এ পথে চলা যায় না। এ ঘরে শোওয়া যায় না। Here there is a distinct advance on the corresponding passive in Hindi, owing to the tendency to use ডাকা, খাওয়া &c. as verbal nouns and not as past participles. Apparently the passive with যাওন is in a transition stage. In my reading I have recently come across the following phrases, এই শক্তি না থাকিলে অনেক গ্রন্থকার মারা যাইতেন, and অল্পকাল পরেই তাঁহার পিতা যুদ্ধে মারা যান। Here মারা is obviously still participial. Whether there is any shade of difference of meaning between the nominal and participial use, I must leave it to Bengalis to say. But the question is one which has not, I think, been analysed in the ব্যাকরণs, and it is perhaps worth consideration, especially as, in examination papers, questions are often asked as to the true nature of the Bengali passive.

Again, the objective inflexion is often used in a very idiomatic way. An instance is cited at pp. 296, 297 of Mr. Milne's Grammar. What is the correct explanation of such a phrase as সুশীলকে দশ টাকা দিতে হইবে? It means "Susil must pay ten rupees." In what case is সুশীলকে? Mr. Milne gives good reasons for thinking that it is not in the dative. It is not the morphological equivalent of "it is necessary *for* Susil to give ten rupees." What then is the real construction of this phrase, and of such similar phrases as আমাকে যাইতে হইবে; হিন্দুদিগকে বিধবা বিবাহ করিতে নাই; আমাকে তোমার মনে পড়ে না; আমাকে ভাল লাগে না, &c., &c.?

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Bengali grammarians explain most of these examples by the statement that the word in the objective form is really the subject of the verb (কর্তৃপদ). May it not be that this is the true explanation, and that the addition of the —কে to the subject gives it a slightly *subsidiary* sense? This certainly seems to happen when a verb has a double object, as when it is said that গাছকে আমরা উদ্ভিদ্ বলি। Is it not possible that a second subject is understood or implied? It is tempting to suppose that this is the real explanation of the reflexive use of the verb দেখান (which is causal in form.) Take the cases cited by Mr. Milne. (1) চন্দ্রকে ছোট দেখাইতেছে। (2) চন্দ্রকে উজ্জ্বল দেখাইতেছে। (3) চন্দ্রকে উজ্জ্বল দেখা যাইতেছে। Here it is obvious that চন্দ্র, though objectival morphologically, is logically the subject. Mr. Milne attempts a literal translation of the third sentence as "the seeing of the moon as bright is going on." This, no doubt, gives the sense correctly enough, but it may be questioned whether such idioms can be rendered into languages which do not possess corresponding turns of phrase. May it not be that the objectival form of the subject is due to a sense in the speaker that there is another and more prominent logical subject,—the person by whom the moon is seen?

What is much needed in a discussion of such matters as this is a historical account of the growth of such idioms. They are expressive, or, in other words, intelligible enough, even to foreigners. But what is required is an explanation of how they came to have their present form, and this can only be obtained by a patient study of old literature, from Prakrit downwards. To say that the inflexions are used 'loosely' is not sufficient. It is necessary to discover if possible when the new shades of meaning came into existence. Presumably the language of Bihar had its origin in the same Prakrit as that which produced Bengali. When we find idioms in Bengali which do not exist in the dialect of Bihar, it ought to be possible to discover when and how the new expressions came into being. My own (quite tentative) suggestion is that Bengali uses nominatival inflexions to express various differences of sense, and that this is a device peculiar to the language. Perhaps a foreigner can do good service in pointing out such constructions, since a native uses them instinctively, and without fully recognising that his language has achieved an important or unusual development.

J. D. Anderson.

HISTORY OF THE PRESS LEGISLATION IN INDIA

By R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B.

I

I PROPOSE, in this article, to trace the history of the Press legislation in India from its beginning down to the year 1910 when the New Press Act was enacted.

The state of legislation with regard to the Press in any civilized country is a matter of great public interest and importance, since such legislation cannot but affect the position and fortunes of an institution, which, on the whole, had come to be a potent instrument of national education and advancement. The Press is a great factor in the progress of nations in the modern world. Nobody indeed, contends that every sheet exercises influence, much less wholesome influence, on the advancement of society; and no doubt the commonplace maxim "There are black sheep in every fold" would apply to the Press no less than to other institutions. In every country that has a Press worth the name, there will be found a few papers which are conducted more with the commercial spirit than with the honest desire of advancing truth, and educating the people on public

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affairs, and which, therefore, at times do more harm than good by pandering to popular prejudices and generally playing to the gallery. But, there is no institution in the world that cannot be prostituted to base ends. Even religion, the greatest force that has appeared in the world and raised mankind from barbarism to civilization, has been debased to evil purposes. But from this, no sane man concludes that religion is not a noble institution, though the horrors committed in its name and for the supposed furtherance of its ends in ancient times have led some impatient spirits to question its value as a civilizing agency. In the same way, it would be sheer injustice to judge of the merits and results of such a wide institution as the Press from the character of a small section of it. Every institution must be judged after the fullest and most dispassionate consideration of the points that may be urged in favour and against it; and if the Press is judged in this way, there can be no doubt that the verdict will be that it is an institution that has, on the whole, exercised very beneficent influence upon social advancement in every region of the world. Some European critics who have their own axes to grind, are in the habit particularly in times of political excitement and agitation, of depicting the young institution of the Press in Oriental countries, in the darkest colours possible, not only branding its conductors as a set of raw, half-educated youths who have adopted this profession from their incompetence to practice any other, but ascribing to it every mischief and every evil that may afflict the body politic. The abuse that is sometimes heaped upon the Indian Press, for instance, would lead a stranger not acquainted with the real facts to suppose that it is an utterly monstrous institution, the wonder about which is that it is still allowed to exist. But even in India and other countries of the Orient, none but those whose judgment is clouded by passion and prejudice would deny that the Press has produced a vast preponderance of good in promoting popular education, teaching the people their duties as citizens, evoking their patriotism, arousing their self-consciousness, broadening their outlook, liberalizing their ideas, and, in general, making them much better and more useful members of society. Such being the influence, actual as well as potential, of the Press, it becomes a matter of great moment to uuderstand the attitude of the Government towards it and the consequences of that attitude upon its future development.

Of course, there is a world of difference between the position of the Press in advanced Europe and America, and its position in comparatively backward countries like India—backward, I mean, from the point of views of modern civilization. In western countries with their representative institutions and responsible government, the Press has become an immense power which the authorities have always to reckon with, and can never defy; it has attained to a position of secure eminence from which there is not the remotest possibility of its being ever dislodged. It has become an essential element in their body politic. The Freedom of the Press has come to be recognised as one of the fundamental rights, and any attempt to curtail it has become almost an impossibility, thanks to the growth of a strong, vigilant public opinion. So long ago as in 1858, John Stuart Mill could say with perfect truth that the "time is gone by, when any defence would be necessary of the liberty of the Press as a security against corrupt or tyrannical Government." And what was true in 1858 holds with still greater force in 1912. Even in Japan which did not know what a newspaper was until after the Restoration, the freedom of the Press has already come to be recognised as an essential and useful element in their national life. Article 39 of the Japanese Constitution provides that "Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations."

In India, however, the Press is still in a state of transition. Though an exotic, it has won its way into the hearts of the people, and become a deeply rooted institution in our national life. It has exercised considerable influence upon our national progress, and that influence would have been still greater if the extension of education had kept pace with it. Considering that, according to the census of 1901, more than 94 per cent of the population are still illiterate, the progress of the Indian Press is truly wonderful. But though the Press has thus grown in influence and importance, the attitude of the Government towards it is still one of suspicion and distrust. It is still far from receiving that generous and sympathetic treatment which

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from the good work it has been doing, is its due. Its liberty is insecure and the Government have not failed to curtail it whenever they wished to do so. In justice to the Government however, it must be said, as this article will show, that their policy towards it has never been one of unmixed and continuous repression ; it has alternated between freedom and repression, the restrictions placed upon the Press by one Viceroy have been removed by his successor ; and moreover whenever a repressive act was enacted it was sought to be defended as being required by the peculiar circumstances of the time, and not on the ground of principle. But the unfortunate thing is that the Indian people have no control over their own liberties ; which are at the mercy of the Government, liable to be suspended or destroyed whenever they may think it necessary or desirable to do so.

The history of the Press Legislation in India extends over a period of a hundred years. That legislation was at first directed against the Anglo-Indian Press. During the first half of the 19th century, the Indian Press was practically non-existent. The few papers that were published had a very small circulation, not exceeding 300 copies, and exercised very little influence over the people or the Government. The Press that really counted was the Anglo-Indian Press. Of course, it did not represent the interests of the Indian people, but of the small non-official Anglo-Indian community. As John Stuart Mill said :—

"The English newspaper press in India is the organ only of the English society, and chiefly that part of it unconnected with the Government. It has little to do with the natives and with the great interests of India."

It was in a state of constant antagonism to the Government and severely criticized its policy and measures. Nowadays the Anglo-Indian Press is the staunchest supporter of the Government and the bureaucracy; the virulent attacks made by some of the Anglo-Indian dailies in Calcutta upon H. E. Lord Hardinge for the transfer of the capital to Delhi and the modification of the partition of Bengal, are an exception, and can only be paralleled within the last generation by similar attacks made upon Lord Ripon for his liberal policy. But in the early days of British rule, the Anglo-Indian papers were often the severest critics of the Government. They strongly opposed every measure of reform such as the wider employment of the Indian people in the Civil Service.

The early policy of the Government towards the Press was characterised by extreme severity. In 1799, Lord Wellesley passed some regulations for the better control of the Press. Every paper was to be inspected by a censor before publication, and immediate deportation to Europe was the penalty for offending against the regulations. The Marquis of Hastings softened these regulations a little, but the general policy towards the Press remained unchanged. The Press was still prohibited from publishing "animadversions" on public measures and "discussions" tending to alarm the Indian people. Many Anglo-Indians defied these regulations and suffered punishment for their opinions. We may not approve of their views and methods, but certainly they deserve a meed of praise for being the first martyrs to the cause of the liberty of the Press in India.

It was, however, in 1822 that the question of the freedom of the Press in India came to the front. In that year, Sir Thomas Munro, who was then Governor of Madras, wrote his memorable minute on the subject under the heading "Danger of a Free Press in India." Sir Thomas Munro was a statesman of liberal ideas and principles. He was in favour of giving the people of India an increasing share in the administration, and had very liberal notions about their future. He, however, was strongly of opinion that a free Press in India was a serious danger to British rule. The minute is so important and has exercised such influence upon the Government whenever they desired to undertake anti-press legislation that it deserves to be carefully read by every educated Indian. I, therefore, make no apology for quoting the following extracts* therefrom :—

"I cannot view the question of a free press in this country without feeling that the tenure with which we hold our power, never has been and never can be (?) the liberties of the people. I therefore consider it as essential to the tranquility of the country and the maintenance of our Government that all the present restrictions should be continued. Were the people all our own countrymen, I would prefer the utmost freedom of the press, but as they are, nothing could be more dangerous than such freedom. In place of spreading useful knowledge among the people, and

* The minute is published in extenso in Vol. II of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot's selections from the minutes and other official writings of Sir Thomas Munro. The more important passages will be found quoted in "The treatise on the Law of Sedition and other Cognate Offences in British India" by Walter Donogh, Bar-at-Law and also in his biography.

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tending to their better government, it would generate insubordination, insurrection and anarchy.

"Those who speak of the Press being free in this country have looked at only one part of the subject. They have looked to its freedom among the natives, to be by them employed for whatever they also may consider to be for their own benefit and that of their countrymen. A free press and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together. For what is the first duty of a free press? It is to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, and to sacrifice to this one great object every meaner consideration; and if we make the press really free to the natives as well as to Europeans, it must inevitably lead to this result. We might wish that the Press should be used to convey moral and religious instruction to the natives and that its efforts should go no further. They might be satisfied with this for a time, but would soon learn to apply it to political purposes, to compare their own situation and ours, and to overthrow our power.

"The advocates of a free press seek, they say, the improvement of our system of Indian Government, and of the minds and the condition of the natives, but these desirable ends are, I am convinced, quite unattainable by the means they propose. There are two important points which should always be kept in view in our administration of affairs here. The first is that our sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest possible period, the second is, that whenever we are obliged to resign it, we should leave the natives so far improved from their connection with us as to be capable of maintaining a free or at least, a regular government among themselves. If these objects can ever be accomplished, it can only be under a restricted press. A free one, so far from facilitating, would render their attainment utterly impracticable; for by attempting to precipitate improvement it would frustrate all the benefits which might have been derived from a more cautious and temperate proceeding.

"We cannot have a monopoly of the freedom of the press. We cannot confine it to Europeans only. There is no device or contrivance by which this can be done, and if it be made really free, it must in time produce nearly the same consequences here which it does everywhere else. It must spread among the people the principles of liberty, and stimulate them to expel the strangers who rule over them and to establish a national government.

"Were we sure that the press would act only through the masses of the people after the great body of them should have imbibed the spirit of freedom, the danger would be seen at a distance and there would be ample time to guard against it; but from our peculiar situation in this country this is not what would take place, for the danger would come upon us from our native army, not from the peoples. In countries not under a foreign government, the spirit of freedom usually grows up with the gradual progress of early education and knowledge among the body of the people; this is its natural origin, and were it to arise in this way in this country while under our rule, its course would be quiet and uniform, unattended by any sudden commotion; and the change in the character and opinions of the people might be met by suitable changes in the form of our government. But we cannot with any reason expect this silent and tranquil revolution; for owing to the unnatural state in which India will be placed under a foreign government with a free press and a native army, the spirit of independence will spring up in this army long before it is ever thought of among the people. The army will not wait for the slow operation of the instruction of the people and the growth of liberty among them but will hasten to execute their own measures for the overthrow of the government and the recovery of their national independence, which they will soon learn from the press it is their duty to accomplish.

"The high opinion entertained of us by the natives, and the deference and respect for authority which have hitherto prevailed among ourselves have been the main cause of our success in this country; but when these principles shall be shaken or swept away by a free press, encouraged by our juries to become a licentious one, the change will soon reach and pervade the whole native army. The native troops are the only body of natives who are always mixed with the Europeans, and they will therefore be the first to learn the doctrines circulated among them by the newspapers; for as these doctrines will become the frequent subject of discussion among the European officers, it will not be long before they are known to the native officers and troops. These men will probably not trouble themselves much about distinctions regarding the rights of the people and forms of government, but they will learn from what they hear, to consider what immediately concerns themselves, and for which they require but little prompting.

"I do not apprehend any immediate danger from the press. It would require many years before it could produce much effect on our native army. But though the danger be distant, it is not the less certain, and will inevitably overtake us if the press become free. The liberty of the press and a foreign yoke are already stated to be quite incompatible; we cannot leave it free with any regard to our own safety..... The Press must be restrained either by a censor, or by the power of sending home at once the publisher of any libellous or inflammatory paper at the responsibility of Government, without the Supreme Court having authority on any plea whatever, to detain him for a single day.

"Such restrictions as those proposed will not hinder the progress of knowledge among the natives, but rather insure it, by leaving it to follow its natural course, and protecting it against military violence and anarchy. Its natural course is not the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets among the natives immediately connected with Europeans, but education gradually spreading among the body of the people, and diffusing moral and religious instruction through every class of the community. The desire of independence and of governing themselves, which in every country follows the progress of knowledge, ought to spring up and become general among the people before it reaches the army; and there can be no doubt that it will become general in India, if we do not prevent it by ill-judged precipitation in seeking to effect in a few years changes which must be the work of generations. By mild and equitable government, by promoting the dissemination of useful books among the natives without attacking their religions, by protecting their own numerous schools, by encouraging by honorary or pecuniary marks of distinction those where the best system of education prevails, by occasional allowances from the public revenue to such as stand in need of this aid; and above all, by making it worth the while of the natives to cultivate their minds, by giving them a greater share in the civil administration of the country, and holding out the prospect of filling places of rank and emolument as inducements to the attainment of knowledge we shall by degrees banish superstition, and introduce among the natives of India all enlightened opinions and doctrines which prevail in our own country.

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"If we take a contrary course—if we, for the sole benefit of a few European editors of newspapers, permit a licentious press to undermine among the natives all respect for the European character and authority, we shall scatter the seeds of discontent among our native troops and never be secure from insurrection..... We are trying an experiment never yet tried in the world—maintaining a foreign dominion by means of a native army, and teaching that army, through a free Press, that they ought to expel us and deliver their country. As far as Europeans only, whether in or out of the service, are concerned, the freedom or restriction of the Press could do little good or harm, and would hardly deserve any serious attention. It is only as regards the natives that the Press can be viewed with apprehension, and it is only when it comes to agitate our native army that its terrible effects will be felt. Many people both in this country and England, will probably go on admiring the efforts of the Indian Press, and fondly anticipating the rapid extension of knowledge among the natives, while a tremendous revolution, originating in this very Press, is preparing, which will, by the premature and violent overthrow of our power, disappoint all these hopes, and throw India back into a state more hopeless of improvement than when we first found her."

It is impossible not to admire the refreshing candour with which Sir Thomas Munro has expressed his views on the subject. There can be no abler and more outspoken defence of the policy of restricting the freedom of the Press in India than what is contained in this remarkable minute. This is not the proper occasion for considering how far Munro's arguments are sound, but it may be pointed out that the premises from which he draws his conclusions, viz., that it is the first duty of a free Press to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, and that the Indian Press, if free, can not fail to work for this object, whatever force they may have in countries where the people are imbued with a strong sense of nationality, cannot apply to a country like India where the love for a free national existence is so weak that journalists as a class, like other leaders of thought, deem it their first duty not to countenance any extravagant views or measures, but to promote gradual progress in every direction, so that whatever national improvement may be brought about, may rest on a sound, enduring basis and not be liable to any serious set-back or reverse. Even in the abstract, the proposition that the first duty of a free press is to strive for national independence cannot be accepted without qualifications. Whatever that may be, as a matter of fact, there is no general desire among us for anything more than self-government under the British flag, such as exists in the British Colonies.

Munro's views, however, commended themselves to the Court of Directors. They wrote :—

"A free press is a fit associate and necessary appendage of a represen tative constitution..... But in no sense of the terms can the Government of India be called a free, a represtative or a popular government; the people had no voice in its establishment, nor have they any control over its arts. The Government in India exercise a delegated authority, derived from the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The Government of India resides in this country (England), and is, of course, responsible to the English public, in common with the Government of England. *It is in this country, therefore*, and *not in India that its measure's ought to be discussed.*"* (The Italics are mine.)

The views of Raja Rammohun Ray on this point are worth quoting. He says :—

Men in power hostile to the liberty of the Press which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine that it might in some possible contingency afford the means of combination against the Government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable, Your Majesty is well aware that a free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the Supreme Government and thus get them redressed, the ground of discontent that excite revolution are removed; whereas where no freedom of the Press existed and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe or if prevented by the armed force of the Government the people continued ready for insurrection."

Again—

"It is well-known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever attends the exercise of tyranny and oppresion, and the argument they constantly resort to is that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since as a people become enlightened they will discover that by a unity of effort the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization anarchy and revolution are most prevalent, while on the other hand in nations the most enlightened any revolt against Governments which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare and that the resistence of the people advanced in knowledge has ever been not against the existence but against the abuses of the Governing power. Canada during the late war with America afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabitants of that Colony finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complaints listened to,, and their griev-

* This paragraph is quoted from Mr. Dutt's "India in the Victorian Age." It is rather strange that Mr. Dutt, while tracing the history of the Press in India has nothing to say about Munro's historic minute.

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ances redressed by the British Government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact it may be fearlessly averred that the more enlightened a people become the less likely are they to revolt against the Governing power as long as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion."

But the views of Sir Thomas Munro prevailed, and on 5th April 1823, a regulation was passed called "A Regulation for preventing the establishment of printing-presses without license, and for restraining under certain circumstances the circulation of printed books and papers." This regulation applied to Bengal only, and, therefore, in January 1827, a similar regulation was passed by the Bombay Government.

The principal provisions of these regulations were:—

(1) No printing-press was to be established, and no book or paper to be printed without a license from Government.

(2) All books and papers printed under license were to be submitted to the Government for inspection.

(3) The circulation of any newspaper or book might be prohibited by notice in the Government Gazette.

We learn from the *Mirat-al-Akhbar*, the Persian newspaper published by Raja Rammohun Ray, that

"The eminently learned Dr. Bryce, the head minister of the new Scotch Church, having accepted the situation of clerk of the stationery belonging to the Honourable Company, Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the [*Calcutta*] *Journal*, observed directly as well as indirectly that it was unbecoming of the character of the minister to accept a situation like this; upon which the Governor-General, in consideration of his disrespectful expression, passed an order that Mr. Buckingham should leave India for England within the period of two months from the date of the receipt of this order, and that after the expiration of that period he is not allowed to remain a single day in India."

Miss S. D. Collet, the biographer of Raja Rammohun Ray, continues the story as follows:—

The *Journal* was suppressed, and at the close of 1823, Mr. Arnot, Mr. Buckingham's assistant editor, was arrested and put on board a home-going ship. The notice expelling Mr. Buckingham was followed up, suddenly and without notice, on March 14th, by a rigorous Press Ordinance from the Acting Governor-General in Council. * * * The Ordinance, prescribed that henceforth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary. Before this regulation could come into force, the law required it to be fixed up in the Supreme Court for twenty days, and then if not disallowed, registered. It was accordingly entered on March 15th. On the 17th, Council moved the Court to allow parties feeling themselves aggrieved by the new regulation to be heard. Sir Francis Macnaghten, the Sole Acting Judge, fixed the 31st for the hearing of objections, but suggested that in the meanwhile the objectors would do well to state their plea in a memorial to Government. Foremost among these objectors was Ram Mohun Ray. He and his friends set about promoting the suggested petition.....Another memorial of the same tenour was hastily drawn up next day, signed by Rammohun and five other distinguished native gentlemen, and by counsel submitted to the Supreme Court. This memorial was attributed by its opponents to an English author, but was really, as was generally acknowledged later, the work of Rammohun. It may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian History. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East. * * * On this memorial being read, its prayer was supported by the speeches of Counsel, Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Turton. But Sir Francis Macnaghten gave his decision in favour of the Press Ordinance. * * * There was but one resource left to the defenders of a free Press, and of that resource Rammohan did not hesitate to avail himself. He and his co-adjutors appealed to the King in Council. The Appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought recall the eloquence of the great orators of a century ago. In a language and style forever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British History."

This memorial, too, proved unavailing. The Privy Council declined to comply with the petition.

It will be seen from the above that these regulations introduced licensing as well as censorship of the Press.

These restrictions on the Press continued in force till 15th September 1835. In that year, they were repealed and replaced by a new Act, viz., Act XI of 1835.

The way for the removal of these restrictions and making the Press free had already been paved by Lord William Bentinck. Though himself violently attacked by the Anglo-Indian Press for his liberal policy towards the people of India, he treated it with perfect toleration instituting not a single prosecution, and allowing the regulation to remain practically a dead letter. He retired in 1835 and was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe as acting Governor-General. Sir Charles Metcalfe's appointment was purely provisional; nevertheless he had the courage to signalize his brief administration by repealing the regulations and granting perfect freedom to the Press. In this noble work, he was ably and loyally supported by Lord (then Mr.) Macaulay, the Law Member.

The new Act, viz., Act XI of 1835, which

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was substituted for the old regulations was quite an innocent measure, its object being simply to make printers and publishers "accessible to the laws of the land." It was drafted by Macaulay on the lines of a corresponding English statute, and was the first Press Act enacted for the whole of India. It abolished censorship and the system of licenses, and introduced in their place a system of registration. Every owner of a press and every printer and publisher of any book or periodical work was obliged, under a penalty, to sign and file before a magistrate a declaration setting forth "a true and precise account of the premises wherein his printing or publishing was carried on."

Sir Charles Metcalfe's press policy was not approved of by the Court of Directors. They remonstrated with him and condemned it as opposed to their own views and sentiments. And they suggested that the old restrictions would have to be reimposed after the arrival of the new Governor-General, Lord Auckland. Probably, Sir Charles Metcalfe would have been confirmed in his office, had he not incurred the displeasure of the Directors by his press policy. Be it said to Lord Auckland's credit, however, he made no attempt to reverse that policy.

The Charter of Freedom thus granted to the Indian Press by Sir Charles Metcalfe remained in existence for about 22 years. In 1857, the Mutiny broke out with all its horrors, and naturally the Government feared that a free Press would take advantage of the rebellious state of the country and add fuel to the fire. On 13th June 1857, a bill was introduced for the better control of the Press and passed on the same day. It is known as Act XV of 1857.

This Act applied to the whole of British India and re-enacted some of the provisions of the regulation of 1823. At the same time, the provisions of Act XI of 1835 were expressly maintained. It thus restored the old system of licenses without at the same time disturbing the later system of registration then in vogue. In one respect, the new Act was more liberal than the old Regulation. There was to be no censorship of the press.

One of the most important provisions of the Act was that it was to have effect only for one year; and *it deserves to be noted that though the public excitement caused by the Mutiny had not quite subsided, it was not renewed at the end of the period.*

The next step in Press Legislation was Act XXV of 1867. It is still in force as amended by Act XX of 1890. It repealed and re-enacted with slight changes, the provisions of the Act XI of 1835. It had been originally intended to provide rules for the preservation and registration of books only, for which no provision had hitherto existed, but at a later stage, the bill was amended so as to include the provision of Act XI of 1835.

We now come to the year 1870. In that year, the famous section 124 A, dealing with the offence of sedition, as it stood before its amendment in 1898, was embodied in the Penal Code. The draft Penal Code was framed by Macaulay in 1837, but the Code itself was not enacted till 1860. The section dealing with sedition originally stood as Sec. 113 of the draft Code, but it came somehow to be omitted when the Code was passed. This omission has not been satisfactorily explained.

Neither the Act XXV of 1867, nor the inclusion of the sedition section in the ordinary penal law of the land interfered with the legitimate freedom of the Press. The sedition section was drafted on the lines of its English prototype and though in later years, particularly in the memorable Tilak trial of 1897, it received a very strict interpretation from the Bombay High Court, the section itself evoked no opposition when it was embodied in the Penal Code. So with the exception of one single year, viz., that of the Mutiny, the freedom conferred upon the Indian Press by Sir Charles Metcalfe, continued to be enjoyed by it till 1878, when it was again partially suspended by the Vernacular Press Act.

That Act, as its name indicates, applied only to the Vernacular Press, the English papers whether published by Indians or Anglo-Indians being exempted from its operation. At this distance of time it seems rather difficult to understand why it was then thought necessary to gag the Vernacular Press, but a crisis in the relations of the Government of India with Afghanistan was approaching, and indeed a war soon broke out between India and Afghanistan; and probably the Government of Lord Lytton wanted to take precautionary measures with a view to prevent the people, particularly the Mahomedans, from giving

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expression to their inmost feelings in the event of war. At that time there were no elected members either in the Imperial or the Provincial Legislative Councils, and in fact, there was only one Indian member present in the Council when the Vernacular Press Act was passed—the Hon. Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore. He candidly admitted that he was not in a position to judge whether the ordinary penal law was or was not sufficient to put down any abuse of the freedom of the Press, but he loyally accepted the view of the Government on the point and voted in favour of the measure. The Act was passed in hot haste in one sitting without a single dissentient vote.

The object of the Act was stated by the Hon. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, who introduced the Bill, to be of a two-fold nature :—(1) To repress seditious writings in the Vernacular newspapers and (2) to check the system of extortion to which, it was alleged, Native Feudatories and Native employees were at times subjected by unscrupulous native editors. No evidence was given by the mover of the Bill in support of the existence of this system, and on reading the debate in the Council, one is painfully struck with the unquestioning ease with which this serious charge against the Vernacular Press was accepted by the honourable members.

The principal provisions of the Act were as follows :—

(1) The Magistrate may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government require the printer or publisher of any such paper to enter into a bond binding himself not to print or publish in such newspaper anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government, or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions or sects and not to use such paper for purposes of extortion. The Magistrate may further require the amount of this bond to be deposited in money or securities.

(2) If any newspaper (whether a bond has been taken in respect of it or not) at any time contains any matter of the description just mentioned or is used for purposes of extortion, the Local Government may warn such newspaper by a notification in the Gazette; and if in spite of such warning, the offence is repeated, the Local Government may then issue its warrant to seize the plant, &c., of such newspaper, and when any deposit has been made, may declare such deposit forfeited.

(3) As the provisions regarding the deposit of security and the forfeiture of the deposit would perhaps be found to press unduly on some of the less wealthy newspaper proprietors, clauses have been inserted enabling the publisher of a newspaper to take his paper out of the operation of this portion of the Act for such time as he pleases, by undertaking to submit his proofs to an officer appointed by the Government before publication, and to publish nothing which such officer objects to.

Any publisher may, if he chooses, do this at the time when he is called upon to deposit security, and if he does so, no security can be demanded from him.

Again, if he does not choose to avail himself of this provision at that stage, he may subsequently in the event of a warning being issued against him, offer such an undertaking, and if the Magistrate accepts it, the proceedings are at an end.

The Act also empowered the Local Government to seize seditious books, pamphlets &c., published in British India, as also those published out of British India, but circulated there. With regard to the latter class of publications, the Governor-General in Council (but not the local governments) was also empowered to prohibit their importation altogether. The Act barred all judicial action and an appeal lay only to the Governor-General in Council against anything done under the Act by a Local Government or any inferior authority.

The Vernacular Press Act was an enabling one. It was to take effect only in those parts of India to which they might be especially extended by the Governor-General in Council. Moreover the application of its chief provisions was permissive and depended upon the discretion of the Executive Government.

As was to be expected, the Act evoked a good deal of hostile criticism not only in India but also in England. It met with the emphatic disapproval of three distinguished members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and it was condemned in Parliament by a large minority amounting to over 150 members. The late Mr. Gladstone who was then the leader of the opposition, made a very fine speech strongly opposing it. He said :

"They (the people of India) have or think they have plenty of causes of complaint. I am sorry to say,

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I regard this Press Act as one of the most salient among them: but as I observe most of all from reading extracts sent home in order to make a case for the Act, all these complaints in India appear to me to be particular complaints. They complain of the errors of Government just as we complain of them in this country."

With regard to the hot haste with which the Act was passed he said :

"I think, if one thing is more obvious than another, it is that, whatever we do give, we should not retract, and that when we have communicated to India the benefit which is perhaps the greatest of all those that we enjoy under our own institutions, viz., the publicity of proceedings in which the nation is interested, and the allowance of sufficient time to consider them at their several stages, to afford securities against wrong and error—it is deplorable in a case like this in India that the utmost haste should have been observed, not in amending or altering, but in completely overturning, so far as the Press was concerned, a cardinal part of the legislation of the country."

In according sanction to the Vernacular Press Bill, the Secretary of State expressed an opinion that the clause providing for censorship was liable to abuse, and requested the Government not to act upon it, leaving it to their judgment to decide whether the clause should be left in abeyance, or be altogether repealed. Accordingly, on 16th October 1878, a bill was introduced, called "The Vernacular Press Act Amendment Bill" and all provisions relating to censorship were removed from the Act.

The Vernacular Press Act was in operation for a little over three years. It is, however, bare justice to say that the Act was kept on the Statute-book without being enforced. Only in one instance, was action taken under the Act, and that action, too, did not go beyond giving a warning. Lord Lytton was succeeded by the Marquis of Ripon, and on 7th December 1881, his Government introduced a bill to repeal the Act. The reasons for this measure were stated to be that "in the opinion of the present Government, circumstances no longer justified the existence of the Act."

In defence of the repeal, Sir William Hunter made a speech characterised by such statesmanlike breadth of views that it deserves to be carefully studied by every friend of the Press in India. Particularly, his advice to the Vernacular Press might well be laid to heart by our journalists. He said :

"Any one who examined the materials for the early history of the Indian Press would be compelled to the conclusion that the Anglo-Indian journalist occupied, for some time, a larger position, in the public mind and in the official imagination, than he was entitled to either by his talents or his integrity. Yet during that very time, and indeed for more than fifty years, the Anglo-Indian journalist did his daily work under the terrors of confiscation, fine, imprisonment and deportation. More than one of the pioneers of British Journalism in India edited his paper from within the walls of a jail. Even after these rigours had fallen into disuse, the Anglo-Indian Press still remained disaffected so long as the repressive regulations remained unrepealed. It was not until Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1835, gave the sanction of law to the liberty of the Press, that Anglo-Indian journalism became loyal.

"The Council could not reasonably expect from the Vernacular Press a higher standard of moderation or of public spirit than was found in British and in Anglo-Indian journalism at the same early stage of their development. The experience of many countries proved, that, before journalists realised their responsibility, they were apt to write a good deal that was foolish and hurtful. But experience also proved that in Great Britain and her dependencies this state of things could not now be met by repressive regulations. It was well worth while to bear with the wild growth of immature journalism for the sake of its ripened fruits. When that wild growth led to offences against individuals or the State, the Penal Code was strong enough to vindicate private reputations and the public honour. But in dealing with Vernacular Press there were three influences which the Council could invoke, more powerful, because more continuous in their action, than any punitive laws. There was, in the first place, a large intelligent section of the Vernacular Press itself. The editors of such journals knew perfectly well that they were the chief sufferers, both in reputation and pocket, from a low tone among their contemporaries. It was their interest, alike from a political and a pecuniary point of view, to raise the standard of the whole Vernacular Press. If they set a high example, their less instructed brethren would sooner or later follow their lead. For nothing was more contagious among the members of a profession than respectability. The native Press had an opportunity now which it had never before. For, after all, it was the chief organ of representation in India, and never before was so serious a desire evinced by the Government to give representative institutions a fair trial. The Indian Press was a Parliament always in session, and to which every native was eligible who had anything to say that was worthy of being heard. The Vernacular journalists should realize two things. If they now used their liberty aright they would strengthen the hands of those who wished to foster the popular element in the administration. But if they abused their liberty, they would furnish a most powerful argument for postponing the further development of representative institution in India.

"Another influence from which the Council might hope much was to be found among the powerful body of native journalists who conducted their papers, not in the Vernacular dialects but in the English tongue. .....The Anglo-Native journals formed the advance guard of the Native Press ; but their effective power largely depended upon the conduct and discipline of the main Vernacular body behind. They knew that the approval of the Press was, in England, one of the chief incentives to public virtue and its legitimate reward. The leading Anglo-Native journals could do much to bring about a similar state of public opinion in the country ; but they could only do so by insisting upon a high standard among their Vernacular brethren. For a national Press must first purify its own springs before it could become the fountain of honour.

"But while the Vernacular Press could do much, and

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the Anglo-Native journals could do more, the Government could also do something to ensure good results from the Bill which the Council would pass today. The preamble to Act IX of 1874 set forth the ignorance of the people as a ground for obtaining repressive regulations against the Press. 'And whereas,' it said, 'such publications are read by and disseminated among large bodies of ignorant and unintelligent persons, and are thus likely to have an influence which they otherwise would not possess,' and so forth. The Council would observe that it was not the inherent character of the publications that was alone complained of; but the special effect of such publications upon ignorant men. Now it could not be denied that the action of a free Press among densely ignorant masses was attended with some peril. But the only true remedy for the dangers of popular ignorance was the spread of popular education. If therefore in finally emancipating the Press, the Government could also see its way to more widely educate the people, it would send forth Liberty not alone upon her travels, but Liberty and Sincerity hand in hand. A great work had already been done in public instruction upon the basis of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854. But a still further extension of Vernacular schools would form the true complement of the now perfected freedom of the Vernacular Press."

The repeal of the Vernacular Press Act was a highly statesmanlike measure and greatly contributed to the popularity of Lord Ripon and his government.

INDIANS IN CANADA

A PITIABLE ACCOUNT OF THEIR HARDSHIPS

BY ONE WHO COMES FROM THE PLACE AND KNOWS THEM.

A REGULAR reader of the "Modern Review" must be well aware of the fact that Indians outside India are working under a great many disabilities perceiving which one is very much upset and his heart palpitates with feelings of love and sympathy for the Indians. The instinctive tendency for emigration transmitted from generation to generation from our early forefathers of the old Aryan civilization down to us always asserts itself in the mind of the Indian. He does not care for facility or obstruction, trouble or danger, happiness or sorrow, but following the dictates of his wandering instinct he is led away from his dear ones. In this respect our bold peasantry, the greatest pride of the Indian Nation, are the pioneers, and lead the day in this twentieth century—the era of the social, economic and political changes and advancement all over the world. It was the revival of this ancient element which took away thousands of our compatriots to all parts of the world even so early as far as 30 to 40 years back.

Thus after the Boxer troubles in China, and even sometime before that, many Indians emigrated to the near and the far East and practically settled in Malay States, Hong-Kong, Shanghai, the interior parts of China and the Phillipine Islands, towards the South they reached Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, etc., till the doors were shut against them. This was effected in such a way that nobody could ascertain how it was brought about. Most of the people settled in these places are from amongst the agricultural classes of India. When one thinks deeply over it, one quietly comes to the conclusion that there must be much that is wrong with the circumstances of agricultural occupation which compells them to desert their farms and go across the waters to any place they can reach for mere existence—inspite of so many irrigation projects launched and completed in India by the Government. This is a question which has so often been put to the writer for answer by some of the prominent members of the British Parliament in England during his last visit to that country.

While these people were living and working for their livelihood on the Chinese coast and round about it, they were brought into touch with some parts of the new world by the daily steamships going back and forth from Hong-Kong and the Phillipine Islands across the Pacific waters. Through these Liners they came to know that th ere was a very large field and scope of work for

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Mr. Narain Singh. Mr. Nand Singh Sihra. Mr. Bulwant Singh.

those who would proceed to that land of cosmopolitan inhabitants. Thus a few of them, in the beginning, who were of a more enterprising spirits, took up the chance and proceeded to Canada which was waiting as it were for the immigrants to share the toil of reducing her to its present productive and agricultural power. The years 1905-06 brought their total to a figure of about 6,000 men in Canada, till the advent of 1907 shut the doors to any more of them. They did not restrict themselves to Canada alone but some of them went farther northwards to Alaska. They number about 4,500 *men, men alone, for no women are allowed to enter*, in Canada, 3000 or so in the U. S. A., 800 in Panama, and a few hundreds in Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Chilli and Argentina, thus spreading over practically the whole of the North and South American continents. It cannot be affirmed positively that they are still living in Brazil, Peru and Chilli in large numbers, but there is no doubt about it that there had been hundreds of Indians in these parts and the writer is personally acquainted with many who had been there of late and who still claim that there are a good lot of them still in Mexico and other places. In Panama all 800 are working successfully on the new Panama Canal under construction.

In this short survey I would restrict myself only, at the present moment, to that section of our people who settled in Canada, for that is the work entrusted to me by my brethren in the dominion of Canada.

It was in the year 1905 that real immigration of Indians of any account into Canada, began and up to the year 1907 their number rose to 6,000 as mentioned above. It was a time when lots of Japanese and Chinese and other oriental people were dropping into Canada in large numbers. Indians also were taken into the same boats by the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company. The labor unions were said to be up in arms against the importation of any aliens from any of the oriental countries. I would like to quote the very words of a well-known Canadian gentleman, Mr. W. W. Baer, in the "Victoria Daily Times" about August 1911. As he says —

"We had to hunger for European immigration and we have had to apply ourselves to the adaptation and utilization of those who offered us their sadly-needed help from the Far East. This, together with the fact that our immigration laws have had to be devised at Ottawa and by Parliament, the majority of whose members have never been able to understand our industrial and economic problems, has put every immigrant approaching our shores from across the Pacific Ocean in the same class, and we have largely lost sight of many important and inherent distinctions that should have been maintained.

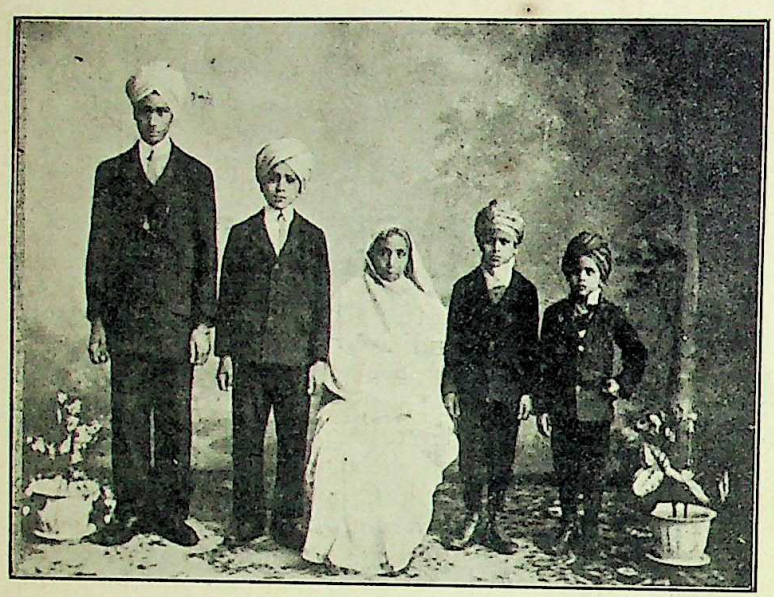
"Like the Chinese, who were first to come, and the Japanese, who were next to follow, thus our late brother—the Indian, is here, and though one of ourselves in his loyalty to the British Empire, and his constitutional adaptation to our forms of Government and our institutions, he is, in some respects, the least permitted to avail himself of the advantages of these. This not because of designed discrimination against the Hindu (Indian) but because of the collusion of conditions and the lack of that discrimination which was imperative if these very disabilities were to be avoided.

"The present Hindu (Indian) population of Canada numbers about 5000 souls, *all men, for no women are allowed to accompany them to Canada or to follow them after they have arrived and settled.* These are residents in British Columbia and chiefly in the cities of Vancouver and Victoria and on the farms in the neighbourhood, where they are industriously employed in the many forms of manual labor for which they appear to have both special adaptation and desire.

"Economic conditions in India furthered a movement of immigrants to Canada in 1905, when, and continuing until 1907, not a few came to this country. The time at which they came was the worst that fate could have selected for them to obtain a favorable reception here. At that time the whole province was in a state of political turmoil, a provincial election was

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Hakim Singh's family waiting in Hongkong to proceed to Vancouver for the last two years and are not given through steamship passage.

simmering, large number of Japanese were coming to the province and the labour unions were up in arms at the "importation" of alien labor. The whole seaboard was seething with excitement, politicians eagerly seized their opportunity to make political capital out of the events, and the most strenuous protests against immigration from any oriental country were vehemently passed and sent to Ottawa. The result was that the innocent Hindu (Indian) was compelled to accept his place as one race among several who were said to be breaking into Canada at the investigation of capital to the discomfiture of labour. No discrimination was made and no effort put forth to discover whether or not these people, new to us, were but the precursors of further economic troubles. The result was that Hindus (Indians) made their bow to occidental civilization under conditions of somewhat unreasoning prejudice against every new importation of laborers in any sphere of employment."

Under these conditions the Indian has to enter into Canada, to adopt that country as his home, work there for his existence, get the same wages which any of the Canadians do, unlike the Chinese and Japanese who bring the wage scale down to $ 1·00 or $ 1·25 dollars per day, discharge his duties very faithfully and sincerely, live in Canada in the same state as any European immigrant would; he stepped a little higher, too, to be temperate, law-abiding and peaceful. He is very steady in his work, works regardless of severe threats of winter, snowfall, rain, heat or anything else. Thus by dint of his untiring energy and industrious habits he has won the good will of the promoters of almost all the big enterprises launched all over the continent. His work in every branch of manual labor is admirable as our friend Mr. Baer says:

"*The Hindus (Indians) we have in the Province to-day are well adapted to the conditions, they are in harmony with their surroundings, they are well thought of* and in demand as farm labourers and for other forms of manual labor. To be more than this they do not seem to aspire. They are frugal, temperate, law-abiding citizens, loyal to their employers and manifesting a commendable desire to acquaint themselves with our language and national ideals. They have no alien allegiance to forswear and nothing could ever compel them to be other than British subjects. As many times before they fought for the Empire and their forefathers laid down their lives in defence of the British sovereignty, so they would again, and for no other.

"They have acquired property among us, and all of them are on the way to naturalization, though that seems a strange thing to have to say that British subjects, the sons of those who held, compact and intact, the British power in India, should have to go through just the same process in order to become a British subject in Canada as has a Japanese, a Chinaman or a Swede, is something which puzzles them, notwithstanding their training in esoteric and mystic religions.

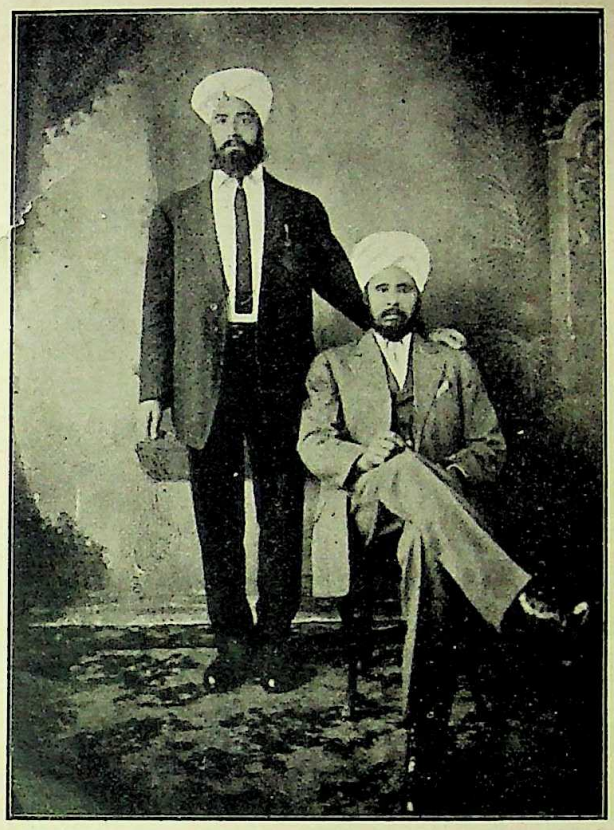
"I could print a hundred letters telling me of the faithfulness of the Hindu (Indian) in his service to his employer; the reliance that may be safely placed upon him at his work, and his unshrinking application of his strength to his varied tasks. Altogether, my opinion is that of the several racial types who have crossed the Pacific Ocean to participate in our great toil of reducing this Western Province to its final productive power, *the Hindu (Indian) is the most desirable* and I can not say that he is in any sense undesirable.

"Now, all these things are true of the Hindu (Indian) as a man. It is fitting that we take a look at ourselves. We permit the Japanese who comes to our country to acquire property, naturalize vote and have a voice in our affairs, transacting such business as his acumen dictates. We also permit him to bring with him or send home to Japan for his wife and as many offspring, male or female, as he desires to remove to this country. He may marry here if he choose, and so long as he conforms to our sanitary and social laws we interfere not with him. We do not ask him to pay any head tax when he comes to our country, we require only that he shall have $ 50 (Rs. 150) in negotiable securities or coin to guarantee us that he will not become a charge on our citizens. We have an entente cordiale between the Governments by the terms of which no more than 400 Japanese are permitted to emigrate to Canada each year. All of this works very well and smoothly, and the friction of a few years ago has ceased. We are at peace.

"We permit any reasonable number of Chinese—men or women—to come to Canada and enter our ports on payment of head tax of $ 500·00 dollars. After they are here they possess all the privileges of our civilization and may naturalize as easily as the immigrant

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Jiwan Singh (standing) and Hakim Singh (seated) are two brothers; the latters' family is waiting in Hongkong to go over to Canada.

from anywhere. A Chinaman may come here, acquire property, send home and bring one, two, three or four of his wives with him and live in polygamous relations with all of these, and we do not raise any protest. How do we know? What do we care? It is none of our business, and that is what I really think. Just while I am at this point in this narrative I may as well say that I consider it quite as creditable to a Chinaman to live in open or undisguised polygamous relation with half a dozen wives only as it is for us to pretend to practise monogamy when some of those who raise the loudest clamour against this sort of thing do not. But this is not an essential part of the story. The Hindu (Indian) is a monogamist by tradition and practise, as faithfully so as the Anglo-Saxon. *Yet he is not permitted to bring his wife to this country, and no female child of his may come near enough to smile into his eyes.* He must move among the sights and hear the happy domestic songs of those for whom he labors, but he must be allowed only to think of those who are equally dear to him and as much part of his own life as are the loved ones of ours. But his are in a far away land. He must not be guilty of an overt look, much less an overt act, lest he be considered a menace to our social safety. Not many Europeans could stand the strain of similar conditions, and yet we aggravate the discrimination in his case by permitting really less desirable and trustworthy people of other and alien nations to foster their home traditions and companionships even when their social and domestic habits defy our notions of propriety. *I do not believe there is any sane man or domesticated woman in Canada who will be found to say that this is right.* It is a condition which we do not impose even upon our pet animals, and yet we inflict it upon a people whose religious traditions are older than ours, whose domestic ideals are as pure as our own, and who are men and women of like passions as ourselves. I have always claimed when I have been compelled to champion our civilization to assert that these things are so only because we do not understand what we are doing to these people who, *though not of our race, are impartially bone of our bone and flesh of our own flesh.*

Most bitter was the prejudice against the Orientals excited by the Japanese, most intense was the hatred cherished by the labor unions, most undeveloped were the large tracts of lands in British Columbia, when our people landed at the port of Vancouver; they stood all that feeling and converted all that prejudice antipathy and hatred into a good will and commendable desire, participated in developing the land resources, gave a new impetus to the productive power of British Columbia to the best advantages of the Province and settled down with property in Canada to contribute their quota in the toil. Some eight years ago on the Pacific coast not a single Indian was visible, to-day one would find all over that portion a new India dawned, but with modified conditions in the modes of dressing, living and working. Every one of them is gay, smiling, happy, stout and strong, deprived of all the horrid scenes of plague, poverty and famine in the older land. Walking through the streets of Vancouver, Victoria and other places one would be greeted with the same old custom of brotherly feelings with folded hands in neat and clean habit. Moreover one would see them in each and every part of the town going hastily this way or that way carrying out all sorts of trades in real state and landed property, dairy farms and agriculture, mill industry and lumber works. In short British Columbia is not only a new world for the older one, but it is a new India dawned for our this dear Motherland with prosperity reigning all over. Amongst our people in British Columbia, I am quite at a loss to point out even a single individual who does not own any landed property and is not a possessor of about seven or eight thousand rupees. In the city roads the best dressed man will be found to be an Indian.

The effect of the prejudice against the Indian was that after the year 1907 not a

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Mr. Bhag Singh and his family.

single person, be that a male, a female, a child, a student or even a merchant, was allowed to set foot on the Canadian soil and thus culminated into the annihilation of the Indian immigration into the Dominions. A Continuous Journey Clause of the Privy Council Order. No. 920 which runs as follows came into force, and in the words of General Swayne "The door was shut to any more of them."

At the Government House, Ottawa, Monday, the 9th day of May, 1907. Present: His Excellency in Council. His Excellency in Council pleased, under the authority of sub-section 1 of section 38 of the Immigration Act of 9 and 10, Edward VII, to make and doth hereby make the following regulation :—

"From and after the date hereof the landing in Canada shall be and the same is hereby prohibited of any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by Continuous Journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens and upon through tickets purchased or prepared in Canada."

Those who are already in the country are not allowed to bring their families, and thus are intended evidently to be expatriated after some time, for it is impossible to stay like that for any human soul. The aforesaid clause though passed in the year 1910 was practically executively put into operation from 1907.

In the year 1908, through the one-sided reports of the press or otherwise the Dominion Government in consultation with the Imperial and the Indian Governments decided to transport the entire Indian community to British Honduras. The whole scheme was to reduce them from free labourers to the level of indentured coolies and the remuneration offered was $8·00 per month and 4 lbs. of flour, 4 lbs. of rice, 1 lb. of sugar, 2 lbs. of dried peas or daul, 1 lb. of oleomargarin (some artificial preparation of ghee), 5 oz. of curry stuff, 7 oz. of salt, as rations per week. In Canada, the Indians are earning $60 a month and the reader can well estimate the value of the above-mentioned rations which may at the most be about $4·00. So altogether about $12 or (Rs. 36) were offered in British Honduras instead of the average earning of an individual labourer of about Rs. 180 per month. See the fun of the thing! The Indians were made to send two delegates with the Commissioner of the Ottawa Government to see the country of British Honduras on the 15th of October, 1908. They had no voice in shaping this policy; the whole scheme being one-sided and shaped on false grounds naturally fell through when the delegates returned and reported the matter to their fellow countrymen. The country of Honduras is very arid, barren, and altogether an undeveloped region. There is no arrangement for artificial irrigation when there is no rain; the little water that is stored is kept for drinking purposes. Imagine the trouble if there is no rainfall. Leaving all these considerations and troubles apart, think of the simply ridiculous remuneration offered.

I believe the statement of Brigadier-General Sway, the then Governor and Commander-in-Chief of British Honduras, will throw full light on these facts and will better convince the reader. It was reported in the "World" newspaper of Vancouver, December 11th and 14th, 1908.

East India Labor is needed.

"Governor Swayne says labouring men are not difficult to get in British Honduras, and offers local Hindus (Indians) best of treatment."

No Compulsion.

"Winnepeg, December 11th. Governor Swayne and Lady Swayne left for Vancouver last evening, and speaking of his mission to the Hindus (Indians), he said to the *World* representative :—

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"I think my offer to them is too tempting to be refused." (Reader to note this.)

"In connection with the work of the development of the great resources of British Honduras, I succeeded in getting a railway built in that country. We also succeeded in getting certain men interested in the country and enterprises were set on foot. The population of the country is however very small, smaller than some people suppose, and we were confronted with the labor difficulty. It was impossible to secure enough men necessary to carry forward this work."

"I was on leave of absence in England conferring with the Imperial authorities with reference to the labor problem. While in England the question of the condition of the Sikhs who had emigrated to British Columbia came up. Owing to my sixteen years' experience in India, I knew the Sikhs very well. I understand them and sympathise with them. Many of them served under me for years in India. I was therefore deputed by the British Government to come to Canada and to confer with the Canadian Government with reference to the Asiatic question as it concerns the Dominion at the present time.

"I saw the ministers in Ottawa and Montreal and had a very satisfactory discussion of this question. *All matters in connection with the transportation of the Sikhs to British Honduras have been settled* and it is now only a question whether they will accept the terms which are offered to them. It will be entirely a voluntary matter with the Sikhs.

"I have not gone into the question of the feelings of that Province. We want labor in British Honduras and if these people come, they will be of great value to us. The winter is coming on and some of these people are destitute." [The Governor further contradicts this statement himself. Readers *please note.*] "Common humanity suggests that we should endeavour to do the best that we can for them."

"THE WORLD"

Dec. 14th. 1908.

GOVERNOR SWAYNE'S MISSION PROVEN FRUITLESS.

Swayne Mission proves a failure.

East Indians will not leave British Columbia for British Honduras.

"That the East Indians now in British Columbia will remain until such time as they desire to individually return to India, is now practically an assured fact, although a few unemployed East Indians now in the *Okanagan* may take advantage of the British Honduras scheme.

"During my two days' investigation in Vancouver *I have not found more than six indigent East Indians,*" said Brigadier General Swayne, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of British Honduras, to a *World* representative, at the Hotel Vancouver to-day, while in India General Swayne was a Commanding officer in the Indian army.

"Governor Swayne stated that there were few East Indians out of employment, as the anticipated hard times had not materialised. There were only very few indigents, he added, *as a result of the Union of Sikh which extended to all castes in British Columbia.* In fact, this elimination of caste was looked upon by the Governor as one of those grave issues which resulted from the familiarity with Whites acquired by East Indians in countries heavily populated with white people.

"Discussing the probability or improbability of the East Indians leaving British Columbia for British Honduras, Governor Swayne made interesting announcement that in the event of these people declining his offer, the labor problem in British Honduras would probably be solved by Italians. These sons of Italy have successfully displaced the Negroes in the states of Mississippi and Missouri.

"The man who so successfully followed the warlike Blacks through the impassable jungles of Somaliland took particular pains to impress the people with the fact that his visit to East Indians in British Columbia was of a great friendly nature. "The Imperial Government," he said, "would allow no compulsion in this matter.' The East Indians must act voluntarily. We want labor in British Honduras and it is the Hindus that we owe the building of that country. No better laborers than agricultural classes of India could be secured, but we certainly would not for a moment entertain any idea of taking away those Hindus (Indians) from British Columbia who have steady employment here, *for they can earn four times as much in this country as we could offer them in British Honduras.*" [Note carefully.] "We anticipate hard times in this winter and as it would be bad policy to deport any East Indians to India, the British Honduras scheme was thought to be one that would be acceptable to the Hindus and Sikhs as well as *satisfactory to the Imperial, Canadian* and British Honduras Government. There are, however, few unemployed and fewer indigents."

"Governor Swayne was of opinion that there would be no mutiny in India, although the conditions he admitted, were grave. He believed the Sikhs in their native army numbering over 50,000, were still loyal, but he deprecated the action of the Natal Government in imprisoning those East Indians who refused to register, believing this was having an evil effect in India.

"The cartoons, he said, and all other signs of opposition to the Hindus and Sikhs were being picked upon by clever agitators all over India and presented to the natives in their worst possible light. Should the Sikhs waver in their loyalty, he believed, it would require 1,00,000 white troops to cope successfully with the situation. He did not think the natives would eventually gain the mastery, most of the artillery being under the control of the white troops, but there would likely be numerous assassinations of isolated officers, their wives and families. Summed up in sentences the Governor's views are as follows :—

"I am unalterably opposed to the deportation of any East Indians indigent or otherwise, as this would aggravate the situation in India.

"The problem will solve itself in a few years. None of these East Indians have come here to permanently reside. They will all go back when they have saved a *little money to pay off the mortgages on their farms, as the door is shut to any more of them, the situation will come about without any trouble.*

"*One of those things that make the presence of East Indians here, or in any other white colony, politically inexpedient, is the familiarity they acquire with the whites.* An instance of this is given by the speedy elimination of caste in this Province as shown by the way all castes help each other. *These men go back to India and preach ideas of emanicipation which if brought about would upset the machinery of law and order.* While this emancipation may be a good thing at some

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future date, the present time is too premature for the emancipation of caste."

"*The Imperial Government desires to act fairly.* Our desire was to help East Indians. If they do not require help we will not interfere."

"I do dot regard the recent utterances of local Sikhs as being seditious, believing, they were facing much opposition they spoke in the heat of the moment, and in view of the circumstances, they restrained themselves fairly well."

Such was the situation in Canada in the year 1908, but at home neither could we know nor could we imagine what was happening to our far off brethren. They rightly doubted the bona-fides of this scheme resulting in the total deportation of their people to British Honduras, washing the Province of British Columbia clean of the Indian population. They, foreseeing the consequences, with one unanimous voice respectfully declined the offer and divided the loaf they had amongst themselves and established quite in conformity with the situation in British Columbia.

As time passed on and the organization amongst the Indians grew stronger and stronger two incorporated companies came into existence, one of them carried on mining, trust and real estate business, the other the Canada-India Supply Company Ltd, carried on all sorts of businesses. Through the example of these Companies the community began to take interest in business and real estate property. At present there are at least 15 to 20 real estate offices managed and capitalized by the Indians themselves. Many of them have made good fortunes out of these concerns, there is one man whose individual business extends in this branch to about 3,00,000. Taken as a whole if the Indian Community were compared class by class with any other nationality, they would be quite above par excelling them in every respect.

With this success and prosperity acquired, by the sweat of their brows, naturally the desire to bring their wives and children began to grow stronger, but unfortunately two clauses of the Privy Council No. 920 quoted above and 926 as follows stood in their way:—No immigrant of Asiatic origin shall be permitted to enter Canada unless in actual possession in his or her own right of two hundred dollars (600 rupees), unless such a person is a native or subject of an Asiatic country in regard to which special statutory regulations are in force or with which the Government of Canada has made a special treaty or convention." The Continuous Journey Clause along with the foregoing clauses virtually prevent all the Hindustanees from entering into the Dominion of Canada. Continuous Journey Clause is nothing but a diplomatic way of shutting us out, for there is no direct steamship-service running from India to Canada. These two clauses apparently apply to all the Asiatics but there being special treaties with Japan and China, we the British subjects are the only victims of these laws whom they totally exclude from entering into Canada. Further, clause (c) of P. C. 924 is as follows:—

1. No immigrant, male or female, other than a member of a family provided for under the following regulations shall be permitted to enter Canada between the first day of March and the thirty-first day of October both days inclusive, unless he or she have in actual and personal possession at the time of arrival, money, belonging absolutely to such immigrant, to the amount of at least $2,500 in addition to a ticket or such sum of money as will purchase a ticket or transport for such immigrant to his or her destination in Canada.

2. If an immigrant so intending to enter Canada is the head of a family and is accompanied by his or her family or any members thereof the foregoing regulations shall not apply to such family or members thereof, but the said immigrant head of family shall have in his or her possession in addition to the said sum of money and means of transport hereinbefore required, a further sum of money, belonging absolutely to such immigrant, equivalent to $25 for each member of the said family of the age of eighteen years or upwards and $12·50 for each member of said family of the age of five years or upwards and under the age of eighteen years, and in addition tickets or sum of money equivalent to the cost of transport for all the said members of the family to their place of destination in Canada.

3. Every such immigrant, seeking to enter Canada, between the first day of November and the last day of February both inclusive, shall be subject to the foregoing regulations, with the substitution of $50 for $25 and $25 for 12·50 wherever the said sums of $25 and 12·50 are mentioned in the said regulations.

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4. It shall be the duty of the immigrant officers at the various places or ports of entry or landing in Canada to see that the foregoing regulations are complied with. Provided, however, that the immigrant agent may, notwithstanding anything hereinafter contained, exempt any immigrant from the operation of the foregoing regulations if it is shown to his satisfaction that:—

(a) The immigrant, if a male, is going to assured employment at farm-work, and has the means of reaching the place of such employment, or

(b) That the immigrant, if a female, is going to assured employment at domestic service, and has the means of reaching the place of such employment, or

(c) That the immigrant, whether male or female, is of one of the following descriptions, and is going to reside with a relative of one of the following descriptions, who is able and willing to support such immigrant and has the means of reaching the place of residence of such relative—

(1) Wife going to husband,
(2) Child going to parent,
(3) Brother or sister going to brother,
(4) Minor going to married or independent sister,
(5) Parent going to son or daughter.

These regulations shall not apply to immigrants belonging to any Asiatic race.

(Sd.) RODOLPHE BOURDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

The above italicised words clearly show that the law-makers of Canada discriminate between race and race and thus are bound by the chain of race prejudice even in framing their laws ! The foregoing clause (c) coupled with the Continuous Journey Clause debar the entry of the Indians' wives and children totally. The following cases illustrate fully and clearly where the aforesaid clauses have had their full force of application.

Mr. Hira Singh with his wife and three-year-old daughter arrived in Vancouver on the 21st July 1911 on steamship Monteagle. Hira Singh lived in Vancouver for about 4 years and thus was a resident of that place before he went back to India to bring his wife and their only child to Vancouver where he was settled. On arrival he was allowed to land being a Vancouver resident, but his wife and child were forcibly separated and were ordered to be deported and to be shipped back alone to their parent country—India. "Thus Mr. Hira Singh had to work alone and incidently dwell over the fact that, an old soldier of the King, a servant of the British Raj, and on British soil, has been and was unjustly treated and oppressed."

A cash bond of 1,000 dollars (Rs. 3,000) was produced and the lady and child were allowed to land pending the hearing in the court and the granting of the writ of Habeas Corpus. The case proceeded and in the end the lady and her daughter were allowed to remain in the country as *an act of grace.*

Similarly Messrs. Bhag Singh, President of the Khalsa Diwan Society and President of the Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company, Limited, once a trooper in the 10th Indian Cavalry, and Balwant Singh who had served in No. 36th Sikh Infantry, went back to India after their residence in Vancouver of about three and a half years, to bring their wives and children. On reaching Calcutta they were refused through tickets from India to Vancouver by the agents of the Shipping Companies. This party stayed in Calcutta for 3 months struggling for their way : in the end petitioned to the Indian Government and were informed by the authorities that they could go, provided they complied with the laws, to observe which is physically impossible. They then came to Hong-Kong and from thence went to Sanfrancisco, where, too, they were not allowed to land and were returned back to Hong-Kong again at a great expense of time and money. The U. S. Immigration authorities said to them, they say, "that as the Canadian Dominion do not admit them, which is a British colony, why should the U. S. A. allow them to land." After three months they made some arrangement and sailed for Vancouver, reaching there on the 22nd January 1912 on the steamship Monteagle. Both the gentlemen were allowed to land being residents of Vancouver, but their wives and children were compelled to remain in the Immigrasion custody and were at once ordered to be deported back alone to India. Bhag Singh and Balwant Singh applied to the Minister of the Interior and furnished cash bonds of 6000 rupees pending the hearing in the courts. This litigation was a very costly affair as it lasted for 3 months and then their families were allowed to land as an act of grace.

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Mr. Hakim Singh an ex-tooper in the 19th Cavalry Bengal Lancers and one of the Directors of the Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company, Limited, after making a large fortune went to India to bring his family. But his family are still waiting in Hong-Kong for the last two years and are not issued steamship tickets to Vancouver. This is a most grievous act of injustice to a faithful soldier of the British Raj.

Mr. Hossein Rahim, a merchant, landed in Vancouver as tourist, but afterwards changed his mind and became the Managing Director of the Canada India Supply Co. Ltd. The Immigration authorities ordered his deportation and instituted a case against him. Habeas Corpus was granted and in the end he won his case.

Sometimes after this Rahim voted in the election of the Vancouver Mayor. His vote was said to be illegal and a case of deception was brought against him. Mr. Rahim had to spend upon his trials not less than Rs. 9,000. This last case was simply hushed up and no decision was made for reasons best known totheCnadian Government. This proves very clearly that Indians have not got any franchise under the flag of this Empire, at least in Canada.

Nathu Ram was another victim of the Continuous Journey Clause. He came to Vancouver in 1910 and in those days he secured somehow a through 3rd class ticket from India to Canada, but reaching Hong-Kong, the unlucky man changed it into a 2nd class one by paying excess fare. At the time of landing, the Immigration authorities said that his ticket was not a through one but from Hong-Kong and thus he was deported back.

These are the cases which fully reveal the hardships of the existing laws and disclose the whole underhand working and spirit of subterfuge.

It was this disappointing knowledge that made the Indians send a deputation to Ottawa on 15th Dec. 1911, and lay their representation before the Canadian Government with the object of creating a straightforward and righteous situation thoroughly knowing their *status as immigrants and status as British subjects.*

Our delegation was promised on the 15th Dec. 1911 that the part of our representation re the admission of our wives and children should be immediately attended to and the other parts also settled in a just and straightforward manner. More than a year and a quarter has elapsed, and several reminders have been sent to the Dominion Government, yet no settlement has been made. Even the reports of the commissioner sent to investigate the conditions of Indians in British Columbia has not been sent to us and we are quite in the dark about the official attitude towards us.

Undermentioned are some of the prominent points of the representation made to the Canadian Government on the 15th Dec. 1911.

We the delegates of the United India League and the Khalsa Diwan Society, Vancouver, B.C., instructed by them, make the following representations to your Honourable Government for all Hindustanees domiciled in Canada or who may yet become domiciled.

These representations are made with the certainty that your Government is prepared to recognise the solemn promises made by their Majesties, Queen Victoria, King Edward and King George of India, which is an integral part of our Empire, that all their subjects shall be treated alike.

Our first claim for consideration at the hands of your Hon'ble Government is that we are British subjects, of proven loyalty. More than 90 per cent. of the Hindustanees in Canada are Sikhs.....A large number of these men now in Canada have seen active service, and many among them have medals for special bravery.

Our conclusion from the above claim, for which we respectfully request your acceptance, is that our *status* in Canada is wholly distinct and differentiated from that of Oriental immigrants, be they Japanese, Chinese, or others, as a matter of fact, we cannot be justly classed as aliens.

As loyal British subjects we come to press for redress for the onerous restrictions that have gradually reduced our status as British subjects below that of the most unfavored nationalities of the Orient.

The restriction that most presses, and needs very immediate redress, is the prohibition by regulations that make it impossible for the wives and children of the Hindustanees residing in Canada joining them. The compulsory separation of families is primitive and in itself penal, and can only lawfully be applied to criminals by any civilized nation. It is contrary to every human instinct and jeopardises the existence of the family life, which is the very foundation of the British Empire as a whole. The regulation presses (contrary to all preconceived ideas of British justice and fair play) hardest on the weaker of the two parties concerned, namely the mother and the child. There are no good political, economic or racial reasons why this regulation should not be abolished. But, on the other hand, there are many cogent and weighty reasons, moral, economic and Imperial, *why it should be.* There is not a mother in Canada looking into the eyes of her child who would not sanction its repeal.

It is well to consider from an Imperial stand-point, the reflex action of this regulation on the Sikh community of India, who are so closely united by the bonds of their religion, whether it fosters loyalty or otherwise. Any and all of the unfavoured nations of the Orient may bring their wives; is it too much to

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expect, or ask, that a British subject may also? For the honour and welfare of the Empire—we hope not.

The next immigration regulation which we ask you to consider, with a view to modification or repeal is the continuous journey restriction. First, because no law or restriction has any force which is impossible to observe. Continuous Journey, as now defined, is impossible. No other country asks its own subjects to do that which, from the very nature of the case, they can not. The thinking men of India, and all who are directly or indirectly affected by this order-in-council fail to understand its application, where loyal subjects of the Crown are concerned; as a method of total restriction is another matter. But on the other hand we would ask you to consider, is there any process of law or regulation that can be directly used justly to strip a loyal British subject of his inherent right to travel or reside in any part of the Empire; if not, then why this restriction? Our common Sovereigns, their Majesties, mentioned in these restrictions, have solemnly promised all subjects of the Empire, regardless of race, equality of treatment.

We reiterate our request that Your Hon'ble Government may consider the above regulation. First, because it is not direct in its meaning and is practically construed and has the force of total Hindu (Indian) restriction, thereby practically legislating against British subjects, while fostering, in a measure, other Oriental nationalities to the detriment of your own Empire, which means a house divided against itself.

The other reasons we would urge are that the Hindustanees domiciled in Canada have economically made good, as citizens and as producers, and that they cope with every condition in which they have been placed, intelligently and successfully. In the larger centres of British Columbia their holding in land, houses and stocks, and their Savings Bank Account for the time which they have been in the country exceed any other class of other immigrants, and their faithful compliance with the law is now unquestioned.

We claim for ourselves, while our language is different and customs are not the same, that we understand your laws, are more ready to give intelligent obedience to them than most European immigrants and all orientals and, above all, we are already loyal trained subjects of the same King, and we worship the same God; moreover, that the Sikh home-life is identical in all virtues as the Christian home.

We are prepared to co-operate with your Government as to undesirables, we will give bonds to the Immigration authorities that no Hindustanees shall become a public charge. In connection with this we ask the amount required for Hindus (Indians) entering Canada shall be uniform with other nationalities and not as at present $ 200·00.

We request also that you remove the restriction on students, merchants and tourists entering Canada, and that they may be placed on the same footing as other nationalities at least. In the very near future the granting of this last clause will prove most advantageous from a commercial stand point.

The above representations we desire you to carefully consider and afterwards discuss with the delegation with a view to a favorable solution of the same, as the questions involved are not local, as being purely Canadian they are in their very nature Empire questions, and hence must be dealt with from this broad stand point. All Indians' interests are bound up indirectly in the decisions that they may follow on the matters presented by the delegation. There will either be one standard, or two, within the Empire of British subjects, interests and privileges. If the latter then it must be based on race privileges, or race superiority. Hence India is looking to Canada most anxiously as to her own present and future status. As to the Sikhs particularly both in India and Canada they base their hopes on *British gratitude and absolute reliance in British good faith in dealing with them.* Hence the presence of this delegation in the Capital at no little expense of time and money, to lay these facts before your Hon'ble Government through you as Minister of the Department to which these matters belong.

Respectfully requesting you to appoint a time at your earliest convenience when we may confer with the Government in relation to them.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Prof. Teja Singh A.M., (Harvard) M.A., L.L.B. (Punjab.)
Rev. L. W. Hall, Missionary.
Dr. Sundar Singh M. D.
Rajah Singh.

The reply to this representation was made by the Minister concerned. The Indians remained waiting and continued sending resolutions as to the decision of the Canadian Government arrived at for about a year and a quarter but to no effect. The Government officials have been trying to console them with diplomatic procrastination which forced the Hindustanees to have their case represented after all before the Imperial Government in England and their Home Government in India. Thus they delegated the present delegation which has recently arrived in India. The photograph of the members is shown at the beginning of this article.

The delegation hopes and expects every Indian heart to join in the effort to remove the obstructions put in the way of the Indian Nation. The Canadian laws have subjected all the 315,000,000 of His Majesty's subjects to a great amount of humiliation, and the unjust, inhuman and unnatural treatment to which that Government has subjected them is quite intolerable.

NAND SINGH SIHRA.

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PROMOTION OF LEARNING DURING MUHMMADEN RULE

By Kumar Narendranath Law, m.a., b.l.,

CHAPTER V (Continued).

THE brilliant reign of Firoze Tughlak was followed by the dark period covered by three successive short reigns of Ghiasuddin II., Abubaker, and Nasiruddin.

The next reign of Mahmud Tughlak was rendered gloomy by the formidable invasion of Timur who came as a tornado sweeping away all that came in its way. Many a flourishing town was depopulated, and instead of living inhabitants, their dead-corpses lay about in its streets. The people in alarm fled far away from their homes at the approach of this enemy of mankind, so that all the places through which he passed became deserts ; Delhi, once the queen of Indian cities, was given up to sack and conflagration for five continuous days. The pillage extended even up to Hurdwar.

Timur however was not without some literary traits. During the siege of the town of Loni, he ordered the houses of the Sayids, Shaikhs and learned Musalmans to be preserved and this was done,—* a concession bespeaking the literary vein that ran through his stern Tartar character and also manifested itself in his practice of keeping company with learned men, even in his expeditions.† He was himself the author of an auto-biography, Malfuzati Timuri, showing a partiality for writing memoirs which characterized almost all his descendants, e. g., Babar, Jahangir and others.

Timur in his memoirs gives us a description of his education in his infancy. When he attained his seventh year, his father took him by the hand and led him to a school where he was placed under the charge of a tutor named Mulla Ali Beg. The Mulla wrote the Arabic alphabet on a plank and placed it before the infant Timur who considered the copying of it as an amusement.

In his ninth year, Timur was taught the daily service of the mosque.*

He was thus far unlike his ancestor Chengiz Khan who scattered the Korans found in the Jami Masjid at Bokhara and used the chests that contained them as troughs for his horses, compelling the scholars, Sayids and priests to serve him as grooms by taking charge of the quadrupeds.†

It is said that Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, came into the possession of the Persian original of the Jami-ul-Tawarikh, from Uljaitu Khan, the Sultan of Persia. The author of the works spent about 60000 dinars in the transcriptions and binding of his writings, and a considerable sum for copying and disseminating them both in Arabic and Persian in the most famous cities of the Muhammadan world.‡ Shah Rukh also possessed a literary taste and the story shows that a fabulous sum being spent on the transcription and get-up of a manuscript has its ancient precedents.

Timur's bodily remains after his death found their fitting interment amid literary environment, of which he was so fond when alive. "Muhammad Sultan Mirza, the son of Jahangir Mirza and grandson of Timur Beg, founded a College just as you go out of the stone-fort of Samarkand. The tomb of Timur Beg and the tombs of all such of

* Malfūzati Timuri, Elliot III. p. 433.

† Ibid, Elliot III. p. 390.

* Stewart's Malfuzati Timuri, p. 21.

† Tarikhi Jahan Kusha by Alauddin Juwaini, Elliot II, p.p. 387, 388.

An interesting story is related of Timur that he used to station the many learned men that accompanied him in his expeditions behind the ladies in times of danger, for Timur's opinion about the courage of literary men was not very complementary to them. Blochman's Ain-i-A bari, Vol. I. p. 586. Quoting Badauni II. p. 211, Ch. III. 313.

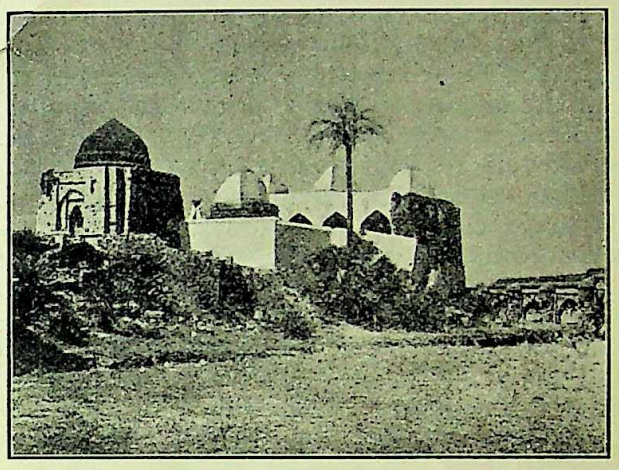
‡ Tarikhi Wassaf and Rauzat-us-Safa, Elliot III. p. 16.

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the descendants of Timur Beg as have reigned in Samarkand are in that College."*

After the death of Sultan Firoze the royal court almost ceased to be a centre of culture for more than half a century. The political change introduced no change



The Kadam Sharif (Holy footprint)—the tomb of Fatteh Khan, son of Firoze Tughlak, to which was attached a dependent Madrassa.

in this respect. Delhi and its surrounding provinces became scenes of fight and bloodshed, and the commotion in the heart of the empire agitated the whole country. The places through which Timur had passed sustained injuries which were not easy of reparation. Delhi and Firozabad had most to lose and they did lose much.

CHAPTER VI.

(The Seiad Dynasty)

The first two Seiad kings, viz., Khizr Khan and Mabarik, however, following in the footsteps of the first three Tughlaks, gave effect to their ambitious design of building towns. Khizr built Khizrabad after his own name and adorned it with some beautiful edifices, while the latter did not live to complete his Mobarakabad, owing to his assassination.† The reigns of these two Sultans were short as also the two that followed. The last Sultan, Seiad Allauddin began to live in Budayum for about 30 years, after Buhlal had wrested Delhi from him. "In this ancient city of Budayum many princes of the Pathan Dynasty kept their courts for a series of years during the reign of that dynasty in Hindustan. There, as in many parts of Cuttair, are to be seen the remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges and mausoleums."* So within 100 miles of Delhi there had arisen another centre for diffusion of education, containing numerous colleges which supplemented the educational works of Delhi and Firozabad.

CHAPTER VII.

(The Lodi Dynasty)

Delhi was however the capital of the next Sultan Buhlal, during whose reign a new city which was to play an important part in the future history of the Moslems in India, came into being. Agra was at this time founded by Sultan Buhlal†; and it made so rapid a progress that within 4 or 5 decades it would compete on equal footing with the ancient capitals. But to return to Buhlal:

This Sultan was not certainly a man of great literary acquirements but he was fond of the company of learned men whom he rewarded according to their merit.‡ It was with the advent of this Sultan that there returned peace and order, and along with them greater cultivatiou of letters and encouragement of these by the State.

The Sultan studied with much care the Muhammadan law with which he made himself well acquainted, as also the best institutes for the able conduct of his government; and he was much helped in the practical dispensation of justice and in the discharge of his royal duties by the knowledge thus acquired. The reputation which this monarch enjoyed for his impartial justice was no less due to his innate virtue than to these studies.

Sultan Buhlal was succeeded by his son Sikandar. A most important event of his reign is the transference of the capital from Delhi to Agra.§ This new city now became with the acquisition of this dignity an important place in every respect. It began to

* Erskine's Memoirs of Babar, p. 50.

† Gracin de Tassy's Translation of Syed Ahmad, pp. 29, 30.

* Franklin's "Shah Alam," p. 57.

† Calcutta Review, Keene's article "Mediœval India, LXXIX, P. 71, (1884).

‡ Ferishta Vol. I, p. 562 and Abdulla's Tarikhi Daudi, Elliot IV., p. 436.

§ Calcutta Rev. LXXIX. P. 71.

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draw towards itself the centre of gravity of the learned world, which had hitherto been at Delhi and Firozabad. Sultan Sikandar was himself a poet, highly appreciated literary merit and gave great encouragement to learning. He insisted that all his military officers should be well educated and every officer's education was inquired into. This gave a new character to the profession of arms, in which military virtues had to be combined with literary qualifications.*

Sikandar though liberal in these respects, was a bigoted Musalman. While at Narwar, he broke down many Hindu temples and built mosques in their place; and we hear of a college being established there at this time wherein he placed many holy and learned men.† "He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathura and turned the principal Hindu places of worship in caravansarais and *colleges*."‡

The Sultan was fond of hearing disputations on religious subjects in which many learned men took part. One disputation however was marred by the Sultan's religious zeal which was prompted by his learned co-religionists to the cruel and extreme length of decapitation of the Hindu disputant who maintained the opposite side. This Hindu named Budhun professed the doctrine similar to that preached by Kabir at an earlier period of this century that all religions whether Hindu or Moslem were equally acceptable to God if followed in sincerity. The monarch ordered the most learned men in his empire to assemble and argue with the Brahmin. The following learned men were brought to Sambal where the discussion was held and where the Sultan was present for the time being:—

Mian Kadir bin Shaikh Raju.

Mian Abdul Elias and Mian Allahdad } of Tulumba.

Syed Mahomed bin Syed Khan of Delhi.

Mulla Kutbuddin and Mulla Allahdad Saleh Syed Amam } of Sirhind.

Syed Burhan and Syed Alsun } of Kanauj.

Besides these, there were also present those erudite men who usually lived at the Sultan's court; such as Syed Suddruddin of Kanauj, Mian Abdul Rahaman of Sikoy, Mian Azizulla of Sambal.§

* and † Ferishta, Vol I. pp. 587, 589, 581.
‡ Tarikhj Daudi by Abdulla. Elliot IV, p. 450.
§ Ferishta, Vol I, pp. 576. 577.

The Hindu disputant boldly argued and refused to apostatize when his opponents in the discussion appealed to the king as their last argument, of which the only alternative was immediate execution. The Brahmin who had the courage of his opinion welcomed the latter.

Sikander's reign is remarkable for the fact that the "Hindus for the first time applied themselves to the study of Persian"* and the origin of the Urdu,† or Hindustani languages, which dates from this period tells us that there must have been intercourse between them and the Muslims."‡ We have noticed that such intercourse began long ago and there were not wanting stray cases of Hindus prosecuting studies of the Muhammadan languages. The present period marks a larger development of the movement which had before been only in its inception. Ferishta also records that:

"The Hindus who had hitherto never learned Persian commenced in his reign to study Muhammadan literature."§

Abdulla records the following account about a peculiar habit of Sultan Sikandar:

"Seventeen accomplished and learned men of tried merit were constantly with him in his private apartment. After midnight, he was in the habit of calling for food when these seventeen learned men after washing their hands, seated themselves in front of the Sultan who was himself seated on the couch. A large chair was then brought close to the bed and the different dishes being placed on it, the Sultan commenced eating. Food was also placed before his seventeen companions who were however forbidden to partake of it in his presence. When the king had finished, they carried their plates away to their houses and ate there."**

Under the auspices of Sikandar the writing, translation and compilation of a num-

* Keene's "Mediæval India"—Cal. Rev. LXXIX, p. 71.

† "The name Urdu is of Turkish origin and means literally 'camp.' But the Moghuls of India restricted its use to the precincts of the Imperial camp, so that Urdu-i-Muali (high camp) came to be a synonym for new Delhi after Shah Jahan had made it his permanent capital. "The classical languages of Arabia and Persia were exclusively devoted to uses of state and religion; the Hindus cherished their Sanskrit and Hindi for their own purposes of business or worship, while the Emperor and his Moghul courtiers kept up their Turkish speech as a means of free intercourse in private life. Out of such elements was the rich and growing language of Hindustan formed and it is yearly becoming more widely spread."

H. G. Keene's "Moghul Empire," page 6.

‡ Keene's "Mediæval India"—Cal. Rev. IXXIX, p. 74.
§ Ferishta, Vol I, p. 587.
** Abdulla's Tarikhi Daudi, Elliot IV, p. 446.

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ber of books took place. Under his orders the *Agar-mahabedak* or the science of medicine and treatment of disease was translated and received the title of Tibbi-Sikandari. This book, Abdulla says, was the foundation of the practice of the physicians of Hind and was thus brought into general use. * The *Wakiati Mushtaki* adds,

"Mian Bhudh succeeded to the late Khawas Khan and was confirmed in his dignity. He got together fine caligraphists and learned men, and employed them in writing books on every science. He brought books from Khorasan and gave them to learned and good men. Writers were continually engaged in this work. He assembled the physicians of Hind and Khorasan, and collecting books upon the science of medicine, he had a selection made. The book so compiled received the name of Tibbi Sikandari and there is no work of greater authority in India." †.

During Sikandar's reign, men of learning from Arabia, Persia and Bokhara, as well as those of India were induced by the Sultan's favours and encouragement to take their residence at Agra the new capital, ‡ and the noble who had the general direction of affairs in Sultan's Government bestowed lands and other rewards upon them, pursuant to the Sultan's orders. The study of *belles lettres* was much encouraged by the monarch. *.

While dwelling on the literary encouragement of the emperor, we must not ignore the generosity of a particular noble of the time named Masnad Ali Husain Khan. He was very charitable and if any one getting allowance from him died, it was given to any relation of his that survived, and even if there was none but the wife, she was made to adopt a son whom the noble *sent to school and teach him archery and riding.* †

The daily routine of theological study of another noble of Sikandar's, throws light on the rigid way in which those studies were sometimes prosecuted. He used to read 17 divisions of the Koran every day, all the while on his legs, until the task was finished. To read one of the *takmilas* of Ghaus-us-Saklain and the whole of Husn-i-Hasin was also among his daily duties. ‡

Ibrahim Lodi was not at all like his father Sikandar. The fate of India reached a crisis in his reign, for the line of Sultans under whom she would attain to the greatest prosperity would now commence.

* The Wakiati Mushtaki as quoted, in Elliot IV, p. 534.

† Ibid, Elliot IV, p. 451.

‡ Abdulla's Tarikhi Daudi, Elliot IV. p. 446.

* Ibid, Elliot IV, p. 250.

† Wakiati Mushtaki by Rizkulla Mushtaki. Elliot IV, p. 538.

‡ Ibid, Elliot IV. p. 540.

MUSALMAN ARTISANS OF KASHMIR

ACCORDING to the census of 1901 out of a population of 1,157,394, Kashmir possesses 1,083,766 Musalmans, 60, 682 Hindus and 12, 637 Sikhs. The Musalmans are only nominally so. Barring their filthy habits they are Hindus so far as their civilisation and social polity are concerned. Their shrines, which are so different from the mosques of other Musalman countries, are situated on those very spots which are associated with Hindu gods. They never think of Mekka ; *Rishis*, *Babas* and *Pirzadas* are objects of their veneration—the divine beings whom they worship in Ziyarats. But traditionally they also divide themselves into Shaiks, Saiyids, Mughals, and Pathans. Shaiks are by far the most numerous and are the descendants of the Hindus. Such Hindu caste names as Kaul, Bat, Aitu, Rishi, Mantu, Ganai derived from Brahminic names, and Magre, Tantre, Dar, Dangar, Raina, Rathor, Thakar and Naik derived from Kshatriya septs are still common among Musalmans.

Two very peculiar types of Musalman sects have to be mentioned here though strictly speaking they belong to the agricultural (Zamindar) class. There are some Musalman colonies in the south-

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THE MINSTRELS OF KASHMIR.

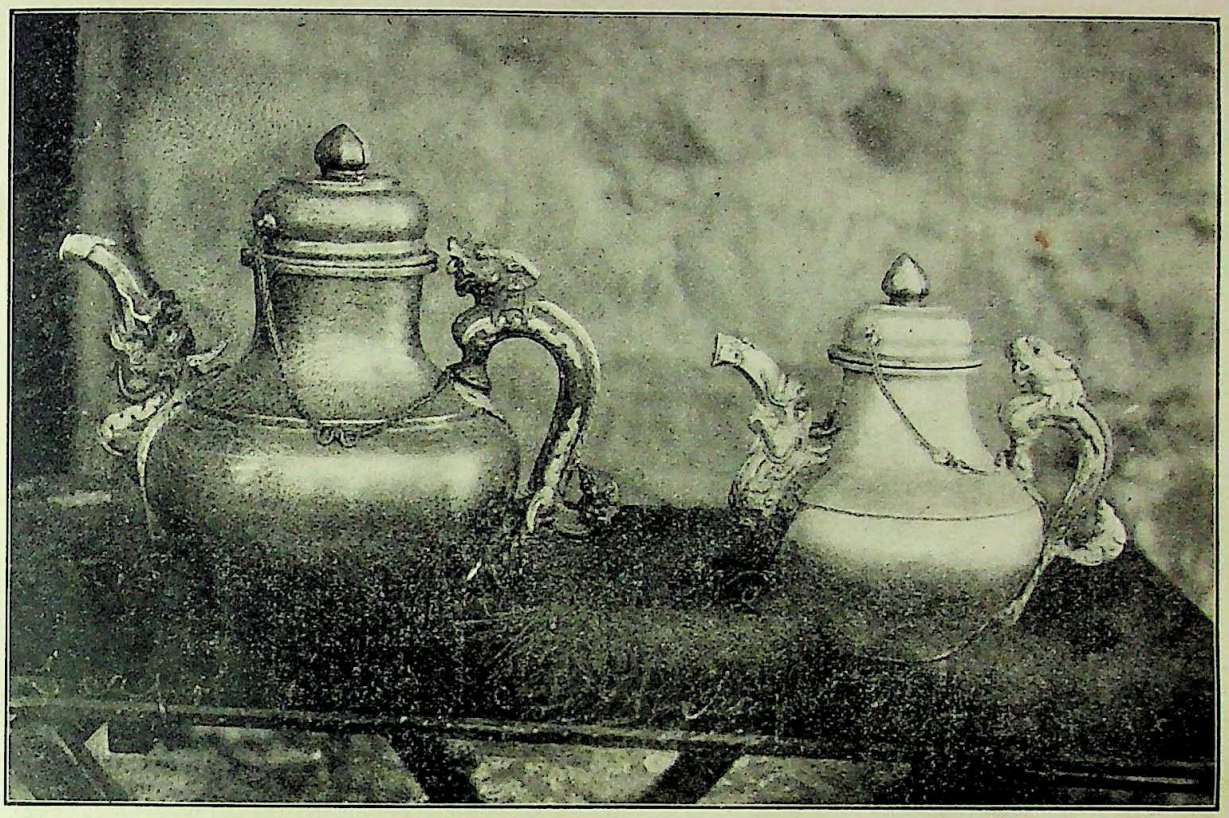
west of the valley where the Pathans had originally settled. The most interesting of these colonies is the one belonging to *Kaki-khel Afridis* at Drangham. They retain all the old Pathan customs and speak *Pastu*. They adorn their persons with a picturesque dress and carry about sword and shield on their person. They regard themselves as a brave and chivalrous people and when they are in a rage there are no men (foes) skilful and powerful enough to vie with them. They pass into the wilds and encounter bears with sword in hand on foot, or with a spear on their ponies. In the early days of the modern State of Kashmir its rulers were not indifferent to their valour and they were employed in military service, for which they held villages free of revenue.

Another sect of this type of peculiar peasants are *fakirs*, professional beggars. They own several villages and work as agriculturists in summer and go about begging in winter. They are proud of their profession and are not disliked by the people either. They contract marriages with mendicant peasant families called *Bechanwols*. This mendicant peasant tribe is scattered in the valley and does not own any particular area nor have they any marked features about their physiognomy.

TAIFDARS (ARTIZANS) :—All the Musalmans for all practical purposes are divided into two classes, Zamindars (agriculturists) and *Taifdars* (artizans). Taifdars include the market-gardeners, herdsmen, shepherds, boatmen, minstrels, leather workers and the menial servants of the villagers. No *Zamindar* would intermarry with a *Taifdar*. In this division are included some of the very important classes

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KASHMIRI POTS.

of Kashmir—Dums, Galawans, Batals (Watal) and Bhands.

In order of merit or importance, the *Dums* stand first. They claim descent from a Hindu king who is said to have scattered his sons, for fear of their numerical strength, into the valley. But some people say that they are descended from *Chaks*.* They are village watchmen. Formerly they were the guardians of the State's share of the crops. As officials they are very trustworthy and have never been found guilty of misappropriation or dishonesty. But as private citizens they are by no means a desirable set of people. They never miss an opportunity of annoying the villagers. They are an object of terror and dislike to the peaceful villagers.

GALAWANS are the custodians of horses, and people call them *horse-keepers*, and I have given, elsewhere, an account of these honourable *horse-stealers*. Violence and restlessness are engrained in their blood. Originally they eked out an existence by grazing ponies, but subsequently they found it more lucrative to steal them. Eventually they became a criminal tribe. During the Sikh rule (1819—46) they proved a terror to the people. Khaira Galawan, the legendary hero of these robbers, was killed by the Sikh Governor, Mian Singh. Gulab Singh, the founder of the modern State hunted down the tribe and transported many of them to Bunji. But they still hold a recognised position in the valley and some of them are owners of hundreds of Kashmiri ponies in addition to their being the guardians of thousands.

BATALS or WATALS are, to all practical purposes, the gipsies of Kashmir, with *patois* of their own. But since they carry on a number of professions, principally *tanning* or leather-making, they come in for mention here. They are divided into two classes—higher and lower. The one class do not eat carrion and are also admitted

Chaks are a family of once notorious Hindu Pandits. In the early parts of the 15th century Chaks sprang into prominence under Zain-ul-abidin who had to drive them out of his kingdom, but they returned in the reign of his weak successors and eventually seized the government of Kashmir. They were turbulent and brave.

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KASHMIRI GIPSIES.

into the Musalman religion. The other class eat dead animals and find no place in the Musalman community. It is due to the Kashmiri Musalmans, being descended from exclusive Hindus, that they too like their original ancestors shut out certain *untouchable* classes from their Church! The vitality of Hindu unprogressive principles is so lasting, though so fatal to itself.

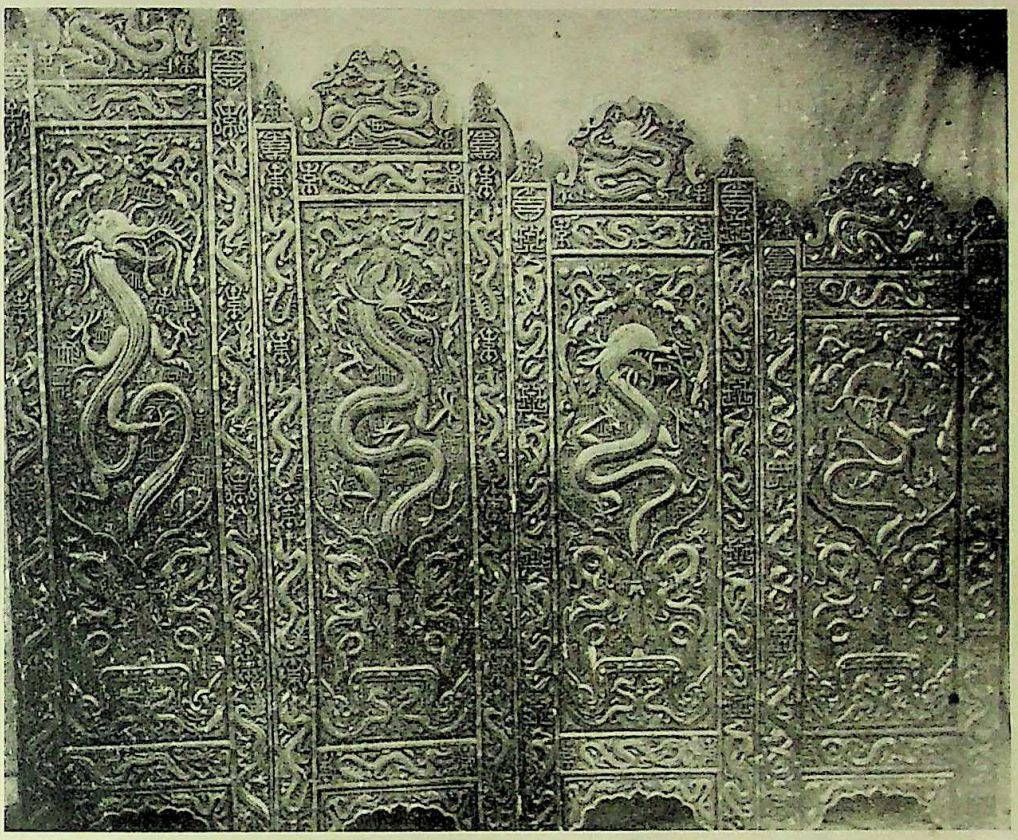
Not unlike their prototypes all the world over, these Kashmiri gipsies too are practically a nomad, wandering tribe. Pardon me if I call them omnipresent. For I have met them down in the valley and up in the mountain as that of Pahalgam. Some times they settle on the outskirts of villages, sometimes they are found in their own colonies on the slopes of low hills, in mud huts with flat roofs and one hole to enter in. But they do not stay long at one place; they move on soon after. Their chief occupation is manufacture of leather. The higher class makes boots and sandals. The lower class carries on a very precarious trade. The class which is the lowest class in Kashmir corresponds to the Chandalas of the Aryavarta and Pariahs of Dakshina. As artisans they make winnowing trays of leather and straw. As peaceful citizens they do scavenger's work. As farmers they keep poultry farms and as robbers they rob henroosts. So many callings are enough to keep the wolf of hunger away from their doors.

Their women, irrespective of their position in life, pessess a very fine stature, long and well built with masculine features and bearing—they are handsome even in their rags. Often they drift into the cities and become dancers and singers.

Once a year the Batals (the gipsies) from all over the valley assemble at the shrine of Lal Baba (in my opinion this Lal Baba corresponds to the Lal Guru of the sweepers of the Indian plains). This shrine of Lal Baba is situate near Dal-Lake in the suburb of Srinagar. Here they settle all matters affecting the tribe every year. It is s sort of republican congregation. They eschew the courts as far as it lies in

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Wood Carving of Kashmir.

their power ; and thus keep their destiny in their own hands, and are their own masters. In their own estimation they are republicans, no matter if a king consider them part and parcel of his kingdom.

Bhands are minstrels, a peculiar sort of people. They live by a profession which is the medley of so many—singing, dancing, acting, composing of couplets, together with begging. They are excellent actors ; and very clever at improvisation, fearless of its results. They can pour forth satires and calumny if any person deserves it or offends them. And this they do extempore. In their power of improvisation they are peers of the Bhands and Bhats of the plains. They are a very pleasant and mirthful set of people.

Hanzi or Hanz is an all important and at the same time most notorious class of people of Kashmir. I have already described them, at considerable length. Here I am concerned with them as artizans and shall refer to their classification and trade only.

The Hanzis (boatmen) profess that they have descended from the Hindus of Vaisya Caste. And when the captain of a vessel is irritated by the sloth of his fellow-padlers,—the crew, he will condemn them saying—"You are a Sudra." They profess to have Noah for their remote or primeval ancestor. Perhaps they are acquainted with the legend of Noah's ark and the flood. In Kashmir floods are so frequent, that every boatman plays the part of a Noah ; thus his boasting is not altogether vain. Besides in the Jhelam and the extensive lakes of Kashmir boatmen are so many Noahs to the tourists and indigenous travellers as well.

Their chief caste names (Krams) are *Danger*, *Dar*, and *Mal*. But they have another classification which depends on the trades they carry on. It is as follows :—

(1) *Bemb Hanz* are half-amphibious paddlers of Dal Lake. They in reality are mere gardeners, who grow vegetables on the lake.

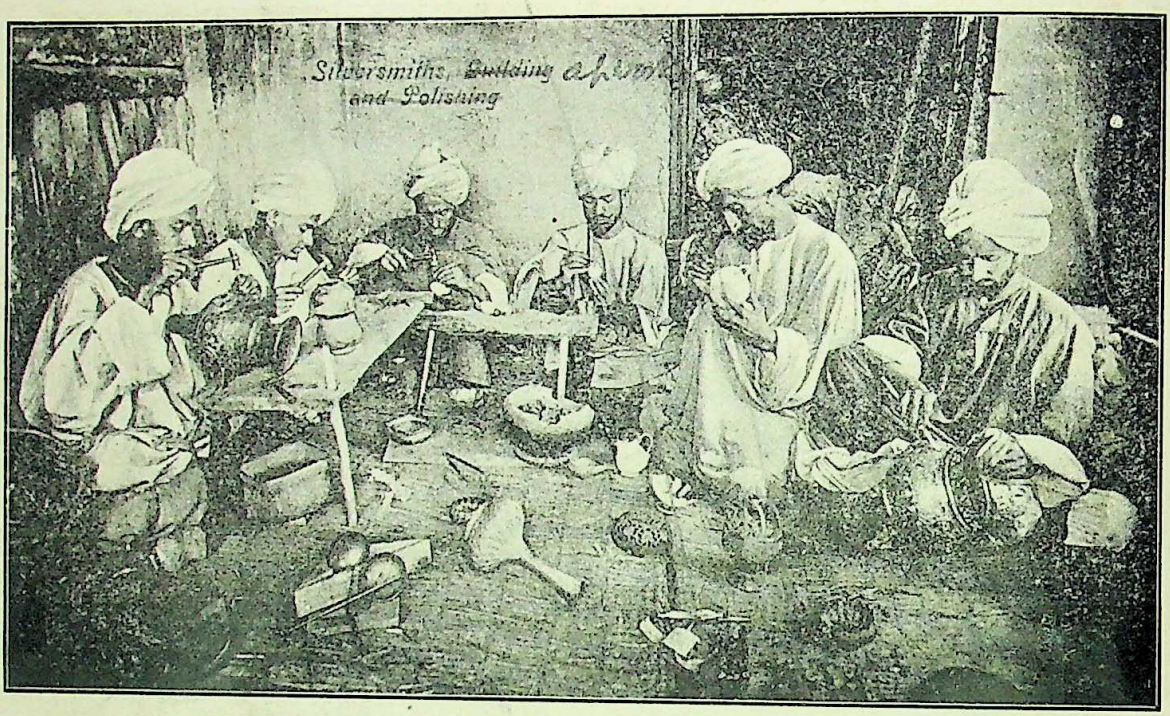
(2) *Gari Hanz*, of Walar lake, gather sugar nuts, *singara*, from the Walar.

(3) *Men of the Barges* carry cargoes of up to 800 maunds in their barges from one part of the country to another.

(4) *Dung Hanz* keep *Dongas* in which

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KASHMIRI MUSALMAN SILVERSMITHS AT WORK.

they carry about the passengers by paddling their boats.

(5) *Gad Hanz* indulge in fishing and surpass even the Dung class in power of invectives.

(6) *Hak Hanz* eke out their living by collecting chips of drift wood in the rivers.

From out of these six classes or types of Hanzis in general, and from the fourth class—the Dung Hanz—in particular, has sprung the most disreputable class of boatmen who come in contact with the tourists. I have described them at length in a previous article.

These boatmen like the Irish driver and Indian barber are great tale-tellers. Quaint and scandalous stories ooze out from their fertile and well-watered imagination.

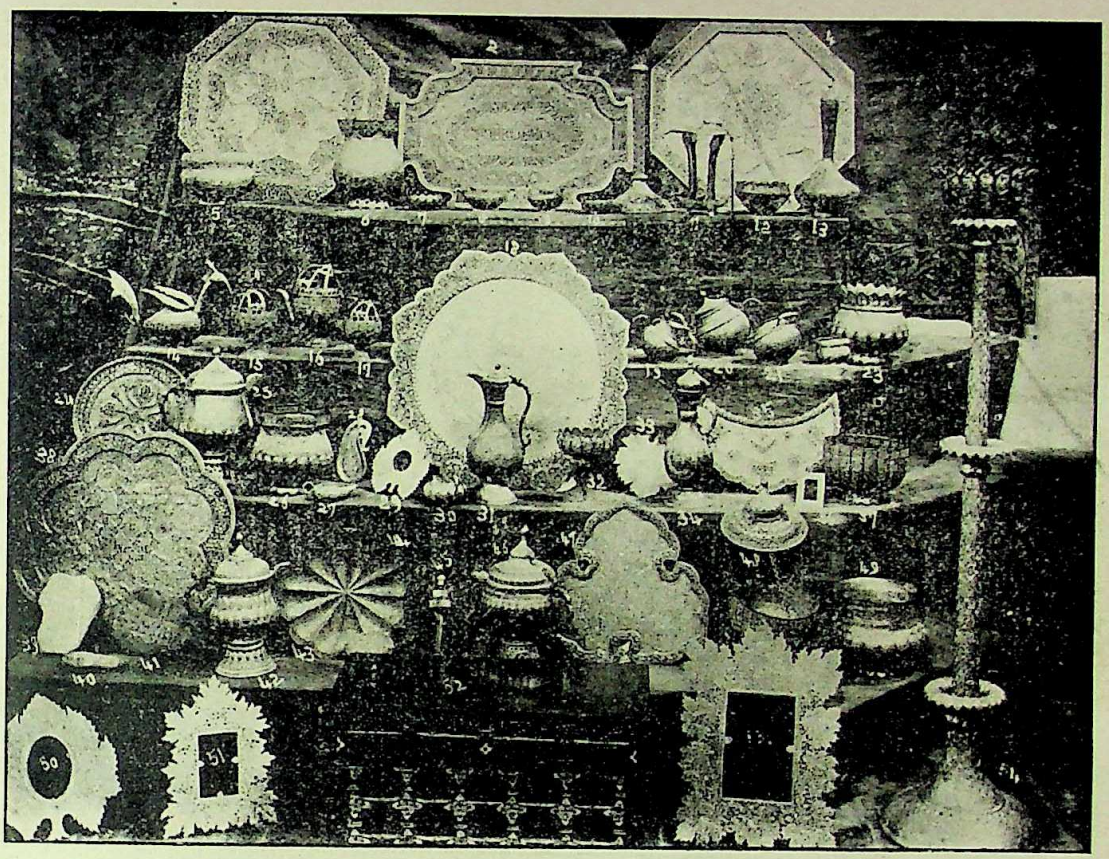
NANGARS are the village artizans and craftsmen. They also include village menial servants such as barbers, bakers, butchers, washermen, oil-men, milk-men, snuff-makers, cotton-cleaners and carriers. But the chief artisans and craftsmen which come under this heading are carpenters, masons, potters, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tailors and dyers. These artizans, the *nangars*, are a most important feature of the village polity and occupy a distinct position, but unfortunately their name literally means a village menial servant. In the rural areas quite a number of them are shirking their occupations and gradually taking to agriculture. Only the weavers are said to have been rendered unfit by their calling for the rough and hard work of the field. They say that they have become soft-handed and weak-kneed on account of their delicate and sedentary work of weaving.

But carpenters, masons, tailors and smiths are very flourishing people in towns. As I have once observed that artizans, particuliarly the blacksmiths of Kashmir, are wonderfully clever. They can manufacture surgical instruments and guns even. They can copy any model or instrument made by the expert mechanics of Europe. They can do things with the utmost skill and extraordinary fineness at a very low price.

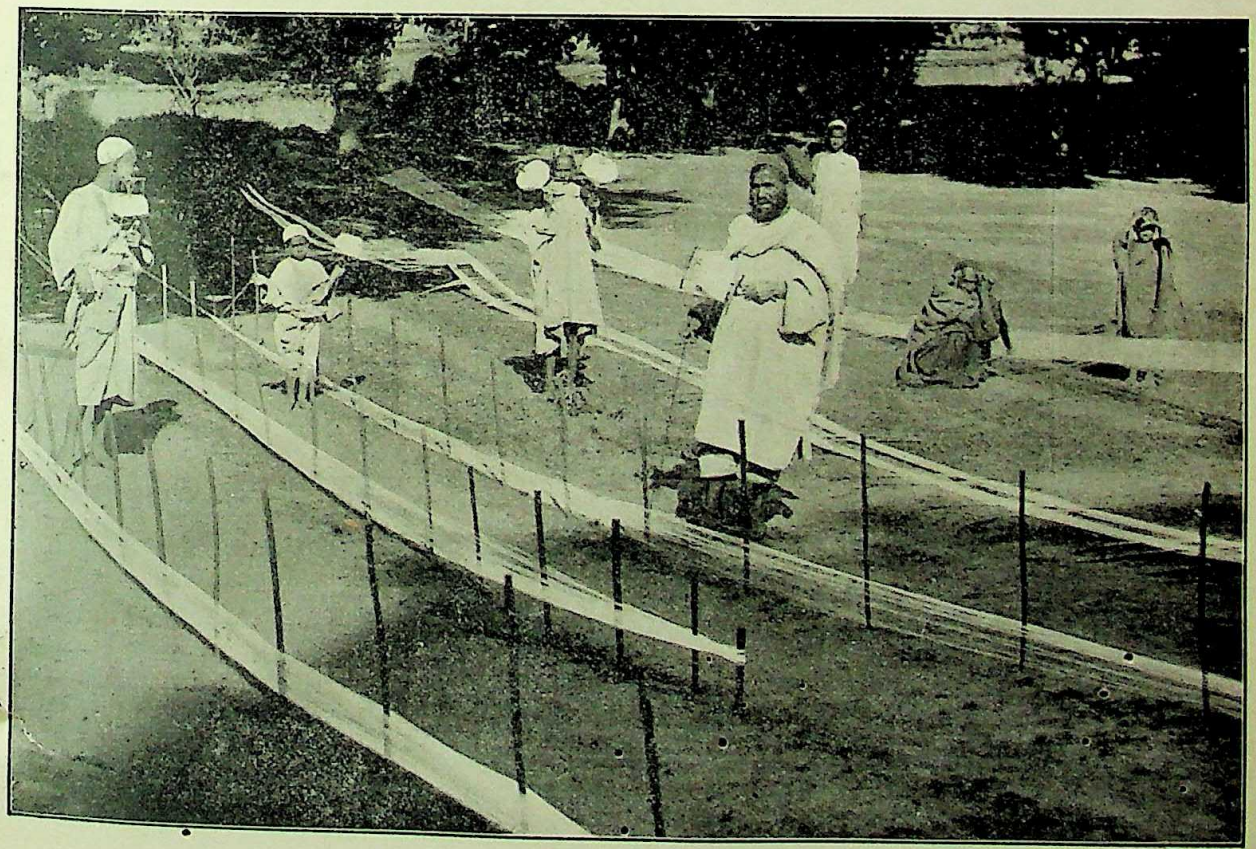
The jewllery of Kashmir and its silver and gold work are well-known. But unfortunately these things are now made to please the tourists' taste and consequently the art has deteriorated. The carpenters are engaged in wood carving and *papier mache*; the latter art combines the profession of painters and carpenters. This art also is degenerating now since they have to make cheap and vulgar work for the tourists. It is weaving which has degener-

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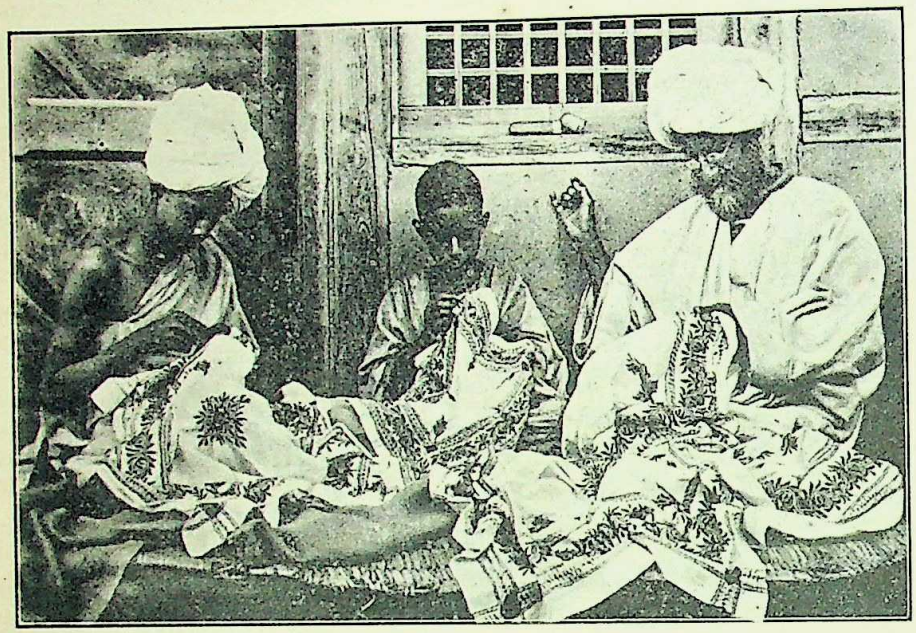


KASHMIRI METAL WORKS.



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KASHMIRI MUSALMAN WEAVERS AT WORK.

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KASHMIRI EMBROIDERY WORKERS PREPARING TABLECLOTHS.

ated most in recent times. We can no more see the people working at the world-renowned Kashmiri shawls. Instead we find them preparing table-cloths and curtains for the tourists. We find them busy in making felt blankets. We see them weaving foreign (European) yarn into Pattus for suits.

The shawl industry is not only in decline but is practically annihilated, as the figures for exports for 1904-5 show that shawls worth only Rs. 1000 were exported. One single old shawl would bring ten times the amount fetched by one whole year's shawl trade. Such shawls are only to be seen in the State Museum. One shawl, exhibited there, bears a detailed map of Kashmir with its rivers, mountains, villages, towns and the *chinar* trees as well—sacrilege of art!

Metal engraving, wood carving, papier mache and smithy has a great future and if the State is actuated by generous motives, it can foster an artistic atmosphere about



KASHMIRI PAPIER MACHE PAINTERS AT WORK.

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these crafts which would bid fare to produce real works of art even in this age of vulgarisation and vandalism. Embroidery is hoplessly decayed now. But the above-mentioned arts have yet a chance of regaining their lost glory and thus perpetuating the fame of old Kashmir.

Now a question arises, how did this secluded valley happen to have in its womb so many sorts of artizans? Why should it be the lot of Kashmir to boast of the best shawls in the world, the best metal engraving, the best wood carving and the best papier mache? Its genesis lies in the hoary past, in the 8th century of the Christian era, when a benign warrior artist ruler, Lalitaditya (Muktapira) ruled over this happy valley, the heaven on earth. He invaded central Asian Kings and King Yasovarman of Kanauj. Twelve years did he spend in the conquest or ravaging of Central Asia and Northern India. And as the spoils of his conquests he brought with him samples of art and makers of art—the artizans of Central Asia and the Indian plains. He employed carpenters and masons in the building of the magnificent new capital Paraspur or (Parihaspur) and in the making of the world-renowned temple of Martand, now in ruins. He had friendly relations with China—some say he received investiture from Chinese Emperor (733). Anyhow it is more than probable that he imported artizans from China too. Some of his successors—both worthy and unworthy—also fostered and encouraged arts in Kashmir. Then from the thirteenth century began the Musalman invasions which also brought in its wake arts of Tartary and Persia. True, most of the Musalman invaders and rulers were iconoclasts, but their vandalism demolished only temples; otherwise they were patrons of art and added to the race of Kashmiri artizans the new blood and brains of Persian and Tartar artists.

The art of Kashmir has thus come down to us enriched with the accumulated skill of diverse races, and only the patronage of the State and enlightened support of the public will enable it to regain its decaying glory. Will the successors of Lalitaditya prove worthy of a King who added to the glory of nature the glory of the art of man?

MUKANDI LAL.

THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF MORALITY

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

BEFORE we proceed to discuss the possibility of a science of morals it will be as well if we try to ascertain what the real significance and purpose of morality are.

What, then, is morality? In a word it is that whereby the well of life is deepened, the sense of life intensified. In a previous article I tried to show that development involved self-growth, the gradual extension of the dominion over which the soul exercised control. In the present article I wish to show that by means of morality, this growth of knowledge, of self-knowledge, and of the right and power of the self over environment is attended by a correspondingly deepening sense of life; by a gradual intensification and enlargement of consciousness. It is not mere growth, the simple fact of possessing a more capable mind, or of living a larger, a more complex and many-sided world, that makes life valuable and worth living, but the increasing of joy and happiness as the result of such growth; the being able to see and understand more, to enter into new relationships and new experiences. Properly understood, morals are the guides to a deeper, richer and fuller life; they point the way to the highest human well-being and are thus indispensable to true soul-growth. It is impossible that man can remain satisfied with a mechanical, externally determined existence, and it is impossible for two reasons: The first is

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that the human soul being so full of aspiration simply cannot remain passive in a world of living, significant reality, but must needs seek to know and enter into relationship with such reality, establish such relationships with the world as it is felt will be productive of well-being, of life; the second, that the heart of man ever craves for perfect satisfaction and perfect harmony, for the pure joy that comes of living in proper relationship with the world,—with Nature, with man and with God. Hence the eternal effort of man to master the facts of life; to understand and conquer the forces which sorround him; to penetrate the mystery which envelopes him; to make the entire world his own by bringing it under the control of his mind. Now the laws whereby the soul is thus developed and life is increased are all essentially moral laws. They are moral because they state the conditions of his highest development. How important, therefore, to trace the origin and growth of morality and of the moral consciousness as a preliminary to the discussion of the possibility of a science of morals.

At what stage in the developmental process morality makes its first appearance it is not easy to say, but there is every reason to believe that it existed, needless to say in a very crude form, before men formed themselves into a society. One of the most remarkable facts about morality is that it exists at so many different levels of consciousness and in such varying degrees of intensity. Morality is presupposed in custom and is on that account prior to custom. Custom and morality are often regarded as synonymous, but that is a mistake, for neither is contained in the other. Many things are moral that are not included in custom, and many customs are immoral notwithstanding that on their introduction they were thought to be the condition of well-being.

Roughly speaking there may be said to be three orders of moral conduct, three levels of moral consciousness. The first level is that where the force impelling conduct is external; the second, is where that force is internal and springs from insight; the third, is where all conduct is the conscious and natural expression of a purposive soul. Morality exists wherever there is a consciousness of, or even a vague belief in, utility, value, the power of an act to satisfy a need or in some way to increase well-being. A moral act is one that we feel we ought to do notwithstanding that at the moment we may not be desirous of doing it; but the feeling of necessity which underlies the "ought" is due to the knowledge or belief that our highest and truest well-being can only be secured by heeding it. Thus there is an element of morality in all custom, although it is often so small, of such an external and implied character, that it is scarcely noticeable. Still, it is there, and it is because it is that customs die so hard. But the fact I should like here to emphasise is that the virtue or moral efficacy of an act varies directly with the belief of its spiritual power and necessity on the part of the person who perpetrates it. A child may imitate an act of its mother, but being devoid of its mother's insight, her stronger and deeper sympathies, the child's act is bound to lack the efficacy, the spiritual power, the virtue, that would naturally and inevitably belong to that of its parent. Because one man's sympathy is greater than another's; one man's insight deeper than another's; one man's experience broader and richer than another's; one man's ideal of life nobler and loftier than another's, so the virtue, the efficacy, of one man's conduct is greater than another's. To grow in mind and spirit, to see further and clearer, to feel deeper and truer, is to sharpen and intensify the moral sense; it is also to increase the spiritual power of one's acts.

But however weak the sense of morality may be with respect to any given custom or set of customs, the very fact of certain modes of conduct having become customary and thus compulsory, is a proof that society as a whole believes them to be necessary to well-being, both individual and social. It is the sense of value, of efficacy with respect to a given act that creates the idea of rightness or wrongness and causes us to describe it as moral or immoral; and according as that sense is strong or weak,—that is, according as the spiritual purpose of such act is recognised, will the sense of morality or immorality be strong or weak. The cause and source of the moral sense is a recognition of value, of the advantageousness or disadvantageousness of any particular act. When a man feels, believes, or knows that a certain act is injurious or beneficial his future conduct with respect to such act will possess the quality of morality. To be conscious of advantage or disadvantage is to be conscious of a better and worse, of

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value, therefore, and thus of morality. To be conscious of moral values, therefore, is to be conscious of a way that leads to life and of a way that leads to death. Thus we are able to see that it is the sense of utility, of value, that creates morality and establishes custom; that sets a limit to good or right conduct, and that causes a man to be mentally punished whenever those limits are transcended. And one set of customs remains in force until a better set has been discovered, until, that is, the spiritual development of a people calls for the creation of finer social relationships.

Such being the origin of morality it is obvious what the purpose of morality must be. Morality can only have one purpose, and that is to increase and intensify life. I speak thus emphatically and didactically because it is the conclusion that every man must come to if he but look into his own soul. I affirm that there is not a man who breathes but who in his best and loftiest moments longs to taste new joys; to reach out to the great beyond of life; to comprehend more truth, more beauty, more reality; to taste, grasp, feel and experience more life; to take deeper and still deeper draughts of the wine of life. In many this feeling of aspiration for life is subconscious, but in the enlightened, in the thought-emancipated people, it is conscious, and ever manifest; but it exists in all. Then, too, there is the fact of development, and not only development with respect to the entire world of life but with respect to oneself. What thinking man is there who is not conscious of the extent to which, by following his aspirations, his deepest ongings, he has been able to develop his own soul: to cultivate his mind, increase and intensify his sympathies, refine and beautify his personality, and in a hundred ways to experience sweeter and richer joys than he ever knew before? As civilisation advances, the life of the individual becomes more significant, more spiritual, yea, more abundant. For as it is with the history of a nation during many centuries so is it and so must it be with the life of the individual during his "three score years and ten": a more significant consciousness is evolved, a profounder life made possible.

How absurd, therefore, to say, as the Naturalist does, that development is "modification of the species" brought about by contact with Nature, with external conditions, in the struggle for existence, and in order that the individual or the species may —simply "perpetuate itself." To those who take this view, morality represents the restrictions which society puts on the individual in order that the physically strong shall not exploit, or kill off all the rest; in order, that is, that a larger number of human beings may "perpetuate" themselves. But what, let us ask, does the Naturalist mean by "existence", and by the "self", that which the individual seeks to perpetuate? Surely the Naturalist would admit that selfhood is something more in the case of man than in the case, say, of a snail, or even of a child. Between these three orders of being there are great differences, organic, mental, spiritual. Think, for instance, of the difference in the power of comprehension, in the range and sweep of consciousness, and in the power to feel, to experience pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow, which these several beings possess! A beetle lives, and seeks to perpetuate its existence; and so does a poet: are we then to conclude that the beetle and the poet live equally intensely? that there is no qualitative difference between these two orders or levels of existence, no difference in the amount of life each realises? that the effort to live which each puts forth is simply unqualitative attempt to perpetuate its own existence? Whatever be the nature of the well-being or the amount of life that the beetle experiences, they cannot be the same as those experienced by the poet, so that if it were true to say that the struggles of the beetle against external conditions were the outcome of a mere desire to perpetuate its existence, such could not be said of the poet, for surely his object must be to realise not only the fuller life which he as a cultured human being has come to experience, but the still more abundant life which his own spiritual development, as well as his inborn aspirations tell him are possible. Every living being in the world possesses a certain consciousness, and thus a certain power to feel and experience life; but the consciousness of one being is not that of another. The miser who spends his life in seclusion, making and hoarding wealth, to the neglect of his mental and spiritual culture, will not be able to realise the same amount of life as the sociable broad-spirited person whose mind and heart are open to truth, beauty and goodness everywhere. Thus if such differences as I have named are real, and if

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it be true that the consciousness develops, the power to understand, appreciate and use life, grows, as it does in the case of the child, which becomes a man and then sees things with a man's power of vision, it follows that the object of an organism in continuing to live cannot be merely to exist, to realise a colourless, unqualitative existence, but to attain a particular order of well-being, to realise that more abundant life which, as a developmental being, it cannot help seeing and feeling to be possible. From this it follows that development is not mere growth in organic complexity but self-realisation, the gradual attainment of more and yet more life.

Now in this work of self-realisation morality plays an important part. It is sometimes said that morality implies a society, that morals are essentially a social necessity, having for their object the preservation of society. But to say that is to take a very narrow and one-sided view, as there is an ethic of individual, as well as of social life. There is, for instance, an ethic of health, of diet, of pleasure, etc., just as there is an ethic of business, and of social, relations. Indeed, wherever desire comes into conflict with the sense, feeling or knowledge of what one ought to do, a moral issue arises. It is this opposition between what we call conscience, and desire, which creates the moral consciousness and makes conduct a matter of serious deliberation. To be conscious of a moral issue is to feel or know that something we desire is or is not good for us. Thus it is the case that man was a moral being long before he knew it, ever since, in fact, he had sufficient intelligence to discern that a certain thing, such as a certain kind of food, was injurious to him, or that of two things one was better than the other. Still, he was not conscious of this moral element, at any rate, not at first, prior to the origin of society, in fact for the simple reason that he quite naturally and instinctively chose the right way, feeling assured that what he was doing was the condition of life, of well-being. Now although man does distinguish between good and evil, or, rather, between the advantageous and the injurious, and chooses the one in preference to the other, even prior to the formation of a society, it is not until he becomes a member of society that he begins to be conscious of morality and of moral issues. Man first consciously becomes a moral being when society insists that he shall conform to certain customs and laws, the meaning and purpose of which he does not himself see. It is therefore ignorance, ignorance in regard to the significance of the demands which society makes upon the individual, that causes the sense of morality first to come into existence. If man had seen the meaning and purpose of custom from the beginning, he would have obeyed them "naturally." Hence because insight makes morals reasonable, it makes them "natural" and thus, in a very real sense, does away with morality.

At the same time we must not conclude that because the demands of society happen to be in opposition to the desires of the individual, those demands are necessarily antagonistic to the individual's welfare, for quite the reverse is the case, as what is good for society must ultimately be good for the individual, necessarily so seeing that it is by following their deepest intuitions and aspirations that men and women band themselves together to form a society. The institution of society is good, and man feels it to be so; but for the advantages of social life the price must be paid by the sacrifice of many things that were thought to be right while the individual lived in absolute independence. Society offers many advantages: the advantage of security against enemies, by reason of mere numbers; of the possibility of amalgamation; the advantage of mutual exchange of products; the advantage of social intercourse. But in return for these advantages, society demands that each individual shall cease plundering his neighbours' goods; shall respect other people's property; shall stick to his bargains; shall not wantonly injure or kill his fellow tribesmen. Indeed, the formation of a society opens up quite new avenues of development and makes possible all those spiritual attainments which are inseparable from and peculiar to civilisation, even language and literature and all the Fine Arts. But in order to make these attainments, certain rules, shall I say, must be followed, certain "morals" accepted. Thus we see that whether they be understood or not, morals have a spiritual end, fulfil a life-producing function; for even where they involve sacrifice, it is only the sacrifice of the lower for the higher, of the physical and temporal for the spiritual and eternal. The object of social morality therefore, no less than

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individual, is spiritual, the highest devlopement of each individual.

Now it ought to be evident that if society is to exist at all it must be by reason of some common law, some mutual agreement, as it is impossible to conceive of a body of men living together and each member being a law unto himself. In order to have a society there must be a tacit acceptance by each member constituting it of certain rules or principles. Just as in games where many take part there must be rules, so in the great game of life there must be rules, otherwise there could be no progress. If the men of one city, for instance, believed that love was better than wealth, and that to tell lies was to sacrifice love, but the men in the next city believed that wealth was better than love and therefore that to tell lies was right so long as it added to one's wealth, intercourse between those cities would be utterly impossible.

Moreover, these rules of the game of life must be enforced whether the individual is not conscious of their object, their spiritual purpose. But a very interesting fact is that for many centuries after the process of civilisation has been in operation scarcely anyone is able to explain what the spiritual purpose of social customs and laws is. Not even the seers, the men of thought and wisdom, are able wholly to explain it. In due time they come to realise that the life of the truly moral man is the happiest and best life, but even then they are unable to say why it is such. They feel that morals have a spiritual significance, and their intuitions are true, but the fact nevertheless remains that they are wholly unable to explain the meaning of civilisation, of life, of custom and law, or to see that life is a spiritual movement, a process of spiritual development. Indeed it is only in these latter days that such a task has been accomplished: and it was quite impossible that it could have been accomplished before. Yet all the time, from the very beginning of civilisation, we can see the process of thought in operation, trace the efforts of thinkers, prophets and seers to try and solve the meaning of life, of custom and law, the purpose of morality, and even to discover new ways of living, better laws, profounder relationships. But even when they had made their discoveries they could not explain wherein the new way was better than the old, they could only say that it was better, that they knew it was because God had revealed the truth to them. That is why the great teachers in the early history of a nation always come as "messengers sent of God", and why they preach the glad tidings which they bring as the word of God, as a revelation which God has seen fit to vouchsafe to them. These ancient seers, therefore, being ignorant of psychology and the processes of thought, were quite unable to explain the why and wherefore of the thoughts which arose in their mind, or of the feelings which welled up in their hearts; they could not see, for instance, that such thoughts were the logical outcome of certain intuitions and convictions that had begun to take root in their minds, consequently they were unable to realise that their thoughts were really their own, the natural outcome of much thinking and meditation.

We are thus able to see how the moral consciousness evolved, and also why it was that morals were always dogmatically taught. The prophets and seers always commanded obedience, and the reason they did so successfully was that they believed, as did all those to whom they preached, that they were giving utterance to the eternal decrees of God. And, of course, in a very real sense they were. Thus we find that in regard to every nation, whether ancient or modern, Eastern or Western, until a very advanced stage of civilisation has been reached, morals have their basis in religion, are issued as Divine commands, their acceptance or non-acceptance carrying with it prosperity and happiness, temporal or eternal, or calamity, present punishment, and even eternal damnation. That being the case, so long as morals are dependent upon religion, when the religious life is at a low ebb, morals will be insecure, and there will be a tendency to fall back into licentiousness and barbarism. Not until intelligence has so far developed that it is possible to see the real meaning and purpose of morality, do morals become secure; and they become secure just so soon as they are seen to be the real conditions of spiritual advancement, of the highest well-being.

It is also instructive to notice that until a fairly high level of civilisation has been reached, morals are for the most part of a negative character. Like the Hebrew Law, the so-called Law of Moses, they mostly consist of "thou shalt not"s. This fact is

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interesting, because it goes to show that before the positive laws of social duty are or can be enunciated the individual must first be taught to restrain himself, to curb his lawless passion, check his wild desires.

During the earlier stages of a nation's moral and social development morals are, for the most part, simply external commands whose sole significance lies in the fact that they are given of God. So far as the majority of the people are concerned there is not the faintest idea as to what the meaning or purpose of such morals are, while even in the case of the thinking minority, that purpose is felt rather than seen. On the whole, it may be said that for centuries after the introduction of "morals," the Church is the people's conscience, and religion the one spiritual fact and force which keeps the people from falling into evil and unsocial or anti-social ways. Hence the necessity in the early history of every nation for keeping Alive, and intensifying, the religious sense of the people ; of making God a living and ever-present reality. But it is not satisfactory that morals should be dependent on religious feeling ; to be effective they ought to be free, rooted in intelligence, literally chosen by every member of the community by reason of their spiritual value and purpose. What religion does, therefore, is to compel adherence, yea, even blind adherence, to the morals which the seers and prophets feel, are necessary to the spiritual well-being and advancement of society, until such times as their inner meaning can be grasped. The discipline and the spiritual advancement which comes from even the formal acceptance of moral laws is such that the purpose and efficacy of such laws can be felt and, in the fulness of time, clearly recognised ; and with such recognition a new era is heralded. Henceforth the people begin to live more purposively ; to live morally, therefore, because that is the only way to live vitally and spiritually : in other words they begin to live in quite a new way inasmuch as they have attained a new level of moral consciousness. The second of the three stages of levels of moral development, which I previously indicated, has now been reached.

The altitude has now been attained where reason takes the place of faith, and where things are done not simply because one is pleasing God, or for the sake of some pecuniary reward, but because one realises the spiritual value of so doing. And because insight takes the place of faith conduct will be more vital, fuller of meaning ; it will therefore be more moral, more virtuous, more spiritually efficacious. Conduct at last begins to have a worth of its own, and because it is now seen that the best morals are a veritable means of establishing more perfect spiritual relationships both with God and our fellowmen, yea, and with Nature, too, the older forces of compulsion, viz., threats of punishment or promises of reward, are no longer necessary. Thus with the growth of intelligence and the gradual discovery of the meaning of morals, of conduct, morals are gradually taken over, as it were, from religion and custom, to reason, made a veritable part of the individual, of his life and mind ; are converted, that is, into definite instruments of self-culture. Religion helps to establish customs ; and with the continuance of customs the thinking mind first begins to feel, and later to see, the spiritual function that morality fulfils, and when it does this morals cease to be mere customs, being transformed into the intelligent acts of the purposive soul.

But even this is not the end, for no sooner has the mind discovered the purpose of morality than the idea dawns that reason, or reason along with the other powers of the soul, is capable of testing and criticising existing morals, and also, a little later, of discovering new morals. This represents the third or final stage in moral development, the stage of absolute moral self-consciousness. And, as we said in a previous article, self-knowledge implies and leads to self-control. Thus, when this high altitude has been reached, religion and custom are no longer required as means of compelling moral obedience, as the individual, in the interests of his own spiritual development, is only too anxious to put into operation all those morals which help to elevate and spiritualise his life, and thus, the entire human race.

Now it is precisely this stage of moral development that the modern world has reached, and that it is our duty to try and bring to full and perfect fruition. But our age does not yet realise the true significance of what is taking place, of the new birth into which it is just entering, consequently it needs to be shown what its new privileges, opportunities and duties are ; taught how to think, morally ; assisted to a true view of life.

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So far as England is concerned it was only during last century that the right to teach morals was taken out of the hands of the Church. Previous to that time the Church had claimed, and virtually possessed, sole right to teach morals. Not only that, but when it did teach morals it did so didactively and dogmatically. But with the advent of such devout laymen as Carlyle and Ruskin, who appealed to common-sense, and sought to make the morals of the nation more conscious, and therefore more vital and secure, a new era was foreshadowed ; and the work they so nobly began has gone on with increasing and amazing vigour. As a result of the change, of the evolution of free or absolute moral self-consciousness, many new discoveries have been made, the greatest of which is undoubtedly that of the spiritual nature of man, the spiritual value of social relationships, of love as an ultimate life-principle. Consequently, in throwing over the authority of the Church there is no fear that morals will sink into a state of desuetude, for because of the spiritual discovery of man, the discovery that in the cultivation of love-relationships between men, the highest human well-being is to be had, future morality is assured. The growth of humanitarianism is a marked feature of our time, so also is the growing revolt of Western nations against the barbarous and inhuman commercial practices which the unthinking and conventional nineteenth century allowed to become established. And yet, in having discovered the spiritual nature and value of man, our age has but brought to consciousness what was all the while implied in the morals which prophets preached and seers advocated, and what the best people all along the line of history have intuitively felt to be good and right. Nevertheless there is no mistaking the tremendous significance of the transition that the present age is making, the extent to which our life will be vitalised, intensified, literally increased as a result of such transition. Instead of living in a mechanical way, in mere obedience to an externally enforced moral law, whose real significance we do not see, and all the while working for ends which are petty, narrow and materialistic and altogether unworthy of highly civilised and spiritual beings, we shall begin to live vitally and consciously, for we shall strive to bring our whole life into harmony with truth and into the service of a great and lofty spiritual ideal.

By means of the foregoing description, therefore, we have been able to learn something of the meaning and purpose of morality. Its object we are now able to see is the spiritualisation of man, and, indeed, of life itself ; the evolution of free moral selfhood. From the first morality had a social or spiritual utility, although that fact was not seen for a very long time. The customs that are enforced by the aid of religion help to develop those very relationships which at a later period are found to be absolutely essential to spiritual life and the highest well-being.

As we have said, there are three orders or levels of moral consciousness through which man passes as he travels upwards from dogmatism to idealism, from animalism to spiritualism, from the life of mere obedience to an externally enforced law to the life of full and free choice. The first is the faith or religious stage. The transition to the second level is made when the Good, or spiritual purpose implied in "moral "conduct has begun to be felt. Later, such purpose comes to be seen as well as felt, and when it is, conduct begins to be determined from within instead of from without. This is the plural stage. The individual is conscious of the purpose and value of a great many "duties," but his life as a whole is not unified, is not a conscious attempt to attain a certain Good, or end ; is not governed, that is, by a principle. The third step is now inevitable. Knowledge having begun to take the place of faith, of feeling and intuition, the individual cannot rest, but must needs try to fathom the meaning of his entire life, and thus control it of himself, for the idea at last bursts upon him that life is a unity, points to a Good which he can discover. It is then that the mind casts about for an ethic, a conscious ideal, a theory of life, and that a determined effort is made to control one's entire life by means of a purpose and principle ; to make of life one continued effort to attain the Good, the highest human well-being. When this stage has been reached dogmatism is left forever behind, for the individual has now become the real author of his conduct, the pilot of his life.

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interesting, because it goes to show that before the positive laws of social duty are or can be enunciated the individual must first be taught to restrain himself, to curb his lawless passion, check his wild desires.

During the earlier stages of a nation's moral and social development morals are, for the most part, simply external commands whose sole significance lies in the fact that they are given of God. So far as the majority of the people are concerned there is not the faintest idea as to what the meaning or purpose of such morals are, while even in the case of the thinking minority, that purpose is felt rather than seen. On the whole, it may be said that for centuries after the introduction of "morals," the Church is the people's conscience, and religion the one spiritual fact and force which keeps the people from falling into evil and unsocial or anti-social ways. Hence the necessity in the early history of every nation for keeping Alive, and intensifying, the religious sense of the people ; of making God a living and ever-present reality. But it is not satisfactory that morals should be dependent on religious feeling ; to be effective they ought to be free, rooted in intelligence, literally chosen by every member of the community by reason of their spiritual value and purpose. What religion does, therefore, is to compel adherence, yea, even blind adherence, to the morals which the seers and prophets feel, are necessary to the spiritual well-being and advancement of society, until such times as their inner meaning can be grasped. The discipline and the spiritual advancement which comes from even the formal acceptance of moral laws is such that the purpose and efficacy of such laws can be felt and, in the fulness of time, clearly recognised ; and with such recognition a new era is heralded. Henceforth the people begin to live more purposively ; to live morally, therefore, because that is the only way to live vitally and spiritually : in other words they begin to live in quite a new way inasmuch as they have attained a new level of moral consciousness. The second of the three stages of levels of moral development, which I previously indicated, has now been reached.

The altitude has now been attained where reason takes the place of faith, and where things are done not simply because one is pleasing God, or for the sake of some pecuniary reward, but because one realises the spiritual value of so doing. And because insight takes the place of faith conduct will be more vital, fuller of meaning ; it will therefore be more moral, more virtuous, more spiritually efficacious. Conduct at last begins to have a worth of its own, and because it is now seen that the best morals are a veritable means of establishing more perfect spiritual relationships both with God and our fellowmen, yea, and with Nature, too, the older forces of compulsion, viz., threats of punishment or promises of reward, are no longer necessary. Thus with the growth of intelligence and the gradual discovery of the meaning of morals, of conduct, morals are gradually taken over, as it were, from religion and custom, to reason, made a veritable part of the individual, of his life and mind ; are converted, that is, into definite instruments of self-culture. Religion helps to establish customs ; and with the continuance of customs the thinking mind first begins to feel, and later to see, the spiritual function that morality fulfils, and when it does this morals cease to be mere customs, being transformed into the intelligent acts of the purposive soul.

But even this is not the end, for no sooner has the mind discovered the purpose of morality than the idea dawns that reason, or reason along with the other powers of the soul, is capable of testing and criticising existing morals, and also, a little later, of discovering new morals. This represents the third or final stage in moral development, the stage of absolute moral self-consciousness. And, as we said in a previous article, self-knowledge implies and leads to self-control. Thus, when this high altitude has been reached, religion and custom are no longer required as means of compelling moral obedience, as the individual, in the interests of his own spiritual development, is only too anxious to put into operation all those morals which help to elevate and spiritualise his life, and thus, the entire human race.

Now it is precisely this stage of moral development that the modern world has reached, and that it is our duty to try and bring to full and perfect fruition. But our age does not yet realise the true significance of what is taking place, of the new birth into which it is just entering, consequently it needs to be shown what its new privileges, opportunities and duties are ; taught how to think, morally ; assisted to a true view of life.

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With the attainment of free moral self-consciousness, a conscious Good as the aim and end of life is substituted for the conventional and perhaps unconscious ends of the

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but partially free man. Were one to ask the ordinary man what his life stood for, what meaning it expressed, what principle it was the embodiment of, what the Good was that it sought, he would be dumbfounded for the majority of mankind, even among those who are to-day claiming their moral freedom, have not yet realised what the deeper implications of moral freedom are. The object of moral freedom, like that of freedom everywhere, is to make life more conscious, to intensify and increase it by making it purposive. The highest and fullest life will never be realised by man, nor will spirituality ever win its final victory over materiality, until thought permeates, and a great spiritual purpose dominates and directs, one's entire life. Unless we possess a knowledge of spiritual values—which knowledge we cannot have unless we have attained moral freedom,—and understand the meaning of conduct, the spiritual purpose of all morality, we can never know what life is, never really taste the richest wine of life. So long as a man's life is under the control of conventional ideas, of moral dogmas, he cannot possibly understand the real meaning of his life, while he will be subject to all manner of temptations, be ever wondering, without ever knowing if his life is what it ought to be, is truly established, is bringing him the happiness and satisfaction that it is capable of doing. Hence the door to the fuller life of the spirit is knowledge, and the key thereof the right of absolute moral self-control. It is life we want, a fuller and more vital consciousness; and to have life we must have knowledge, insight, purpose. Without purpose life is bound to be unstable, inconsistent, uncertain, and the mind to be tormented with doubt, fear, and a multitude of vague and conflicting notions. Dogmatism may save us much struggling; it may give us a certain peace; but it can never bring us life, never surely and permanently free the soul from the power of matter, from the tyranny of the temporal.

And because the life of absolute moral self-consciousness is essentially purposive it will have an architectonic form. But by purpose I do not mean any petty or conventionally-imposed end that a man may even unthinkingly accept, but a deep spiritual purpose such as can only come as the result of much thinking, of a serious and determined effort to find out that good and perfect life which the soul of man ever craves. There is some kind of purpose in every life, but more often than not it is an unworthy one, while in many cases the individual is quite unconscious of it. Moreover, the life of the thoughtless, of the morally-enslaved is always narrow and one-sided. The man who lives for fame or wealth lives purposively, but his ideal is taken from convention, is narrow and abstract, and gives evidence of absolute blindness with respect to spiritual realities. Such a life cannot be compared, for fullness, intensity or depth, with the life of the man whose ideal is the unification of ends and realities, of spiritual activities, the meaning and possibility of which he knows at least something. For sheer beauty of form, therefore, for largeness of structure, boldness of outline, strength of feature, multiplicity and variety in detail, the life of the purposive, morally-free man beside that of the conventionally-controlled man is like an Olympian temple overlooking a hovel. With the attainment of moral freedom the individual stands outside life, so to speak, that he may criticise and estimate it. He is the philosopher who has extricated himself from the meshes which custom and convention have [illegible] about him, and who, with calm, contemplative eye takes a full survey of life that he may discover the Good he feels to be possible.

It is this transition to the life of absolute moral freedom and moral self-control that the modern civilised world is at present making. The feeling is growing that life points to a Good; that man can discover that Good, and also the means whereby to attain it. Hence the need for a deeper moral thinking, for the development of a science of morals. The object of morality is to enable man to realise the highest spiritual life; but, in order to attain that life in all its fullness man must be morally free, the cause and author of his every deed. But the attainment of moral freedom is a sign of a very advanced civilisation, being possible only after ages of moral subserviency, of absolute dependence upon religion and external authority. In a word the object of morality is to make man, to spiritualise, increase and intensify the life of man.

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THE FIRST ANDHRA CONFERENCE

By V. G. K. Iyengar, m.a., ll. b., Barrister-at-Law.

Introduction.

IT MAY be believed that, at the present moment, there will be few Indians, taking any interest at all in our country's political movements, who do not know what is the Andhra movement, its scope and its aim. Thanks to Messrs Sly and N. Subbarao, the Public Service Commission enquiry at Madras, gave it a prominence, which indeed, was beyond the expectations of its most ardent advocates. If doubts were still entertained as to the meaning and significance of the movement, if there still were some who thought that a movement such as this, would prove a disruptive and disintegrating factor in the task of building up Indian nationality, a short summary of the Andhra Conference proceedings and the resolutions passed thereat, will, it is hoped, dispel any such misapprehensions.

The promoters of the movement believe that in a country like ours, with innumerable racial, religious and linguistic differences a compact and united Indian nationality, in the same sense as French nationality or British Nationality, will be well-nigh impossible, and, that the only thing possible and feasible, is to weave out a sort of federation of the different communities living in India, each a self-sufficient unit, with a distinct development of its own, but all of them owning allegiance to one central government—that is to say—to let each community in India, residing within any particular territorial area and having a language of its own, its history, and its traditions, progress along lines best suited to it, under a separate government with separate executive, legislative and judicial machinery, so that, when the idea of provincial autonomy becomes mature, each may have a parliament for itself to look after its local affairs, *co-ordinate* with other provincial parliaments, and *subordinate* only to the Imperial Parliament of India. The ideal before them, is, so to speak, "The United States of India" under British sovereignty, and the Andhra movement is but a step towards its realisation.

The U. S. A., the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and the German Empire, they think, lend some colour to the correctness of their view. They argue that, if it is possible for the French and the British to live together in Canada and divers European peoples in America, and if, again, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England should have separate Parliaments and yet be Great Britain and Ireland, why cannot the Telugus and the Tamils, the Bengalees and the Beharees, &c., live likewise in India? Each race or community shall use its own language in its local Parliament, and English shall be the Imperial tongue, Imperial institutions like the Army and the Navy shall be under the control of the Imperial Parliament, while all else shall belong to Provincial Parliaments.

This subject is a national one and should therefore be seriously discussed by all the communities concerned. It is confidently hoped that the "Modern Review" will open its pages to the discussion of this important question.

Impressions of the Meeting.

Under the roof of the conference *pandal*, as large and capacious as any under which the Indian National Congress ever met, beautified by quaint decorations of fancy-coloured paper and cocoanut stalks, studded by innumerable over-hangings, and surrounded by gate-arches, seven and twenty in number, mostly dedicated to the memory of some departed Andhra Emperor, statesman, warrior or poet, each encircled by a halo of romance, with his name richly adorning the respective arch-top in golden characters,—assembled the vast throng of delegates and visitors to the First

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Andhra Conference. Among the names with which the gates were associated were to be seen those of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary; of Andhra Vishnu, the earliest and the first Andhra Emperor that held sway over a large territory of Southern and Central India, Krishnadevaraya, the founder of Vizianagar Dynasty, and the great Emperor-poet whose reign is as remarkable and prolific in the literary history of the Andhras as the Elizabethan period in English history, Venkatadri Naidu, the latest Andhra king, who ruled over a territoy comprising the modern districts of Krishna and Guntur and also a portion of the Nizam's Dominions with his capital at Amaravati, one of the centres of archæological excavations in Southern India; of Nannaya and Tikkana, most famous among Andhra poets and translators of the Mahabharata in Telugu verse; of Vidyaranya, the noted Vedic scholar and commentator and the earliest of our social reformers; of Apasthamba and Salivahana; of Tyagaya and Vemana and of several others who have made our history glorious and immortal. The pretty little town of Bapatla, in which the conference met, presented the spectacle of a happy and buoyant marriage festivity. There probably never was another occasion on which the town was enlivened by so much buzz and noise of exultant Andhras as on the opening day of the conference.

The conference itself was an undoubted success and quite a grand affair both in respect of its attendance and in respect of the enthusiasm that prevailed throughout its proceedings. There, indeed, was no lack of spirit at it, every resolution having been proposed, seconded and carried in well-worded and grandiloquent speeches amidst spontaneous outbursts of genuine enthusiasm. The subjects were all carefully chosen and all of them, more or less, affect the well-being and prosperity of the Telugu-speaking population. Representatives from all parts of the Telugu country and a few from far-off Nagpur and Hyderabad gathered in the hall. Even the domiciled Telugu community in the Tamil districts did not remain unrepresented.

Even as the day dawned, many delegates and visitors took their baths and proceeded through the principal thoroughfares of the town to the President's quarters; in true patriotic fervours which almost amounted to fanaticism, singing hymns and chanting "Vande-Mataram" to the accompaniment of the *Sennai*, the country flute, and made such a demonstration of welcome to him that he must surely have felt absolutely unnerved for a time. The Presidential procession started soon after, in a scene of wild enthusiasm and reached the conference hall before 8 A.M., the time fixed for the commencement of proceedings.

The pandal was literally packed by the time the procession entered, delegates and visitors pouring in through the several gates. Ladies numbering well-nigh two hundred were seated in a place set apart for the purpose. The whole assembly rose to its feet as the President took his seat on the roomy *dais* already filled by a select few of the Andhra *elite* amidst shouts of "Vande-Mataram" and "Andhra-Mata-Ki-Jai" which almost rent the skies. The President and a few others were garlanded and the proceedings commenced with clock-like punctuality, by the chanting of Upanishadic hymns by a number of students of the "Andhra Jatiya Kalasala" of Masulipatam, who did their part exceedingly well. This was followed by prayers from members of various religious denominations and then by the singing of the famous song, Bankim Chandra's "Vande-mataram' which was rightly put down in the programme as "Jatiya Gita" or "national song". When this was being sung by a Calcutta-trained young gentleman, in long-drawn, sonorous and awe-inspiring tunes, patriotism simply filled our hearts, almost to overflowing. Flowers were distributed among the audience who received them in a genuine religious spirit.

Proceedings.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee then read his short but inspiring address in which reference was made to the different items of the Andhra movement, and exhorted the assembly to work for the amelioration of the Andhras, in a spirit not in the least inconsistent with the higher and nobler ideal of Indian nationality. He said :—

"One thing we shall have to keep in mind is that we are not only Andhras but also Indians. India appears to be the chosen land of God where the different races of the world are brought together to work out the ultimate destiny of man on this Earth..... So the Andhra country shall be the school wherein we may acquire the same virtues in a larger measure in our conduct towards the different classes and communities

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that are in it, so that we may be better prepared to extend the same hand of sympathy and fellowship to the other Indian peoples that live beyond its limits."

The Hon'ble Mr.Sarma, having been duly and formally elected as President of the Conference, proceeded, amidst deafening cheers to deliver his address—a lengthy, elaborate, and masterly statement of the Andhra movement in its various aspects, remarkable for a close and systematic scrutiny into the present position of the Telugu-speaking population as compared with the other communities of Southern India. He began with a reasoned discussion of the scope and aim of the conference, which, to quote his own words, was,

"To consider the position the community occupies amongst the other communities living in this land, its strength and its weakness, its needs and its wants, its hopes and its aspirations, to devise plans and methods calculated to promote its intellectual, moral and material well-being, harmony and union among its members, adopt measures which would remove defects in its social organism, hindrances in the path of its advancement and achieve its progress in all branches of useful human activity."

He, too, like the Chairman of the Reception Committee struck the right note in asking his hearers to remember that they were first citizens of the British Empire, Indians and then Andhras. He put forward a strong plea for the need of a movement like ours, and said it was too long delayed and no reasonable man need apprehend "the slightest danger of its being pregnant with disruptive forces." He emphasised the educational aspect of the movement and called in question the short-sighted policy of the Madras University in discouraging the study of the vernaculars of the province, through which medium only, education to large masses of people would be possible. He next pleaded for a separate University for the Telugu districts, an Arts College at Bellary, a similar one at Vellore, a Medical College at Vizagapatam, an Engineering School at Dhavaleswaram and Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Schools all over the country. By an array of facts and figures, he clearly pointed out how backward the Andhras were among other communities in the presidency and said the problem could satisfactorily be solved by the spread of education among the people, through the medium of the Vernacular, with "a working knowledge of English, as a second language." The President then adverted to the question of a separate Andhra province, which, to a majority of persons present at the conference, either as delegates or visitors, seemed to be the principal plank on the conference programme, and pointed out that, on an important matter like that, Andhra public opinion should be focussed and until such opinion be expressed, it would be unwise for the conference to deal with it. He then called upon the Government to cancel the order prohibiting the enlistment of the Hindu population of the Circars in the British army. Towards the close of his address, Mr. Sarma gave a brief and withal able summary of how the activities of the Andhras should be directed—namely—

"Towards promoting (a) reverence to the throne under whose protection they have so far prospered, and under whose beneficent sway they hope to elevate themselves to a position worthy of being citizens of the British Empire, (b) harmony, union, peace and good-will among themselves so as to enable them to act as one man for the common weal, (c) to creating an espirit de corps, amongst them, a spirit of brotherhood, of nationality based on a common language, common descent, common traditions, interests and aspirations, (d) towards uplifting themselves in the scale of nations by their education, character and wealth."

Andhra Province Resolution.

Round the question of the "Andhra Province" raged a heated controversy which, indeed, threatened to sow dissension in the camp of the votaries of the Andhra movement and which conjured up apprehensions of a repetition of the disgraceful scenes that led up to the Surat fiasco. While, on the one side, there were those to whom the creation of an Andhra province was the ultimate end which every regenerate Andhra should look up to, and to whom the Andhra movement minus the province question was a mere superfluity and so much labour wasted, on the other side there were those who saw in the province idea a dangerous bugbear threatening to disturb the equilibrium of vested interests of the Telugus in districts in which they are but a minority, namely Ganjam and Vizagapatam, and to perpetually alienate from the movement the large body of their countrymen who for generations have lived and acquired interests in Tamil Districts and would as such be placed in an impossible position, if language should be made the basis of provincial re-construction. The resolution placed before the conference was a very comprehensive and important one: The first part attempted to have the conference

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commit itself to a statement of its opinion approving the principle of provincial reorganisation on linguistic bases, for the purpose of securing administrative efficiency; The second part urged the necessity of such reorganisation as a stepping stone to the ideal of colonial self-government and provincial autonomy; and the third part desired public opinion to be focussed on the advisibility of constituting a separate province of the Andhra country. On a careful analysis of the above, it will be seen that not only was the conference sought to put its stamp of approval on provincial autonomy and colonial self-government but also to urge the dissection of the whole country into language areas and give to each area a separate government with a separate administrative and legislative and judicial machinery—that is to say, divide the country into, possibly, forty or fifty areas—the Andhra country for the Andhras, Orissa for the Oriya-speaking population, Assam for the Assamese, Bengal for the Bengalees, Tamil country for the Tamilians and so on—a change attended by enormous expenditure and beset with stupendous practical difficulties almost baffling solution. Furthermore, by inviting public opinion on the necessity of creating an Andhra province, the resolution went so far as to begin that process of political dissection in the Andhra country, without first consulting the opinion of other communities as to the need for such dissection. The proposition, would thus reduce itself to a *reductio-ad-absurdum* for, while it solicited public opinion even on the principle of linguistic division, it declared itself in favour of an Andhra province! The opposition speakers, naturally enough, severely criticised it as premature, superfluous and inexpedient, and suggested that the opinion of the Tamilians, Bengalees, Mahrattas, Malayalees and other communities coming within the purview of the resolution should be ascertained before the conference could deal with it. The question might be placed before different distinct, and provincial conferences and before the Indian National Congress itself, as it certainly was a matter of national concern, not one that could be solved by any sectional body like the Andhra conference. For a time both sides seemed obdurate; both began to brandish their oratorical swords. Again there was a second class of oppositionists, servants of governmental or quasi-governmental bodies, who whispered that to associate the conference with the province question would give the former a distinct political hue and that they would therefore have to cease their connection with it. In this crisis, an amendment was proposed referring the question to the advisory committee, for the purpose of ascertaining public opinion and reporting the same to the next conference. This was fortunately accepted by the movers of the resolution and carried by a large majority. A piquant situation was thus met by a timely and in the opinion of all concerned, a fair compromise. There were, indeed, some who would rather that the conference put forward a demand for the creation of an Andhra province even this year, but fortunately, prudence and political wisdom came to their aid. An Andhra province, with government departments filled by Andhras, a legislature composed mainly of Andhras, and a High Court presided over by our leading lawyers as Judges, is, doubtless, an alluring spectacle. But, often, it is the alluring that is the most dangerous and must therefore be carefully scrutinized before gone in for. Further, if such a resolution had been passed, the matter would simply have ended there without being thoroughly discussed and threshed out. So from various points of view, the conference did well in accepting the amendment.

Conclusion.

The amended resolution having been passed by a large majority, the assembly regained its composure and a sigh of relief was felt all over. The president was next thanked heartily and he gave his concluding address which was as inspiring as his inaugural one. After the singing of "Vande-Mataram," the president declared the conference dissolved. The next session is invited to Masulipatam where, it is hoped, it will gain more strength and vigour.

Resolutions.

1. This conference expresses its condemnation of the wicked and dastardly outrage on the lives of their excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge and its heartfelt thanks to God for their Providential escape.

2. This conference requests the Government (1) to establish an Arts College at Bellary for the benefit of the people of the Ceded districts, (2) to establish another Arts College at Nellore, (3) to re-establish the Teachers Training College at Rajahmundry, (4) to establish a College of Engineering at Dhowleswaram or any other centre; to establish Technical and

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Industrial in important centres of the Telugu country (5) to establish one or more Agricultural Schools in the Northern Circars.

3. This conference is of opinion that the study of vernacular should be made compulsory in the School-final, Intermediate and B.A. Pass Courses of the University and that every possible encouragement be given to the promotion of vernacular literature and the course of studies be raised so as to suit such an arrangement.

4. Having regard to the backwardness of the Telugu districts in matters of Education, this conference requests the Government to so revise the rules of the grant-in-aid code and the regulations regarding the school-fees as to promote the growth of educational institutions and scholars by sanctioning the expenditure of a larger sum of money in the Telugu country.

5. This conference humbly represents to the Government that the rule prohibiting the enlistment of the Hindus inhabiting the Northern Circars as Sepoys in His Majesty's Indian Army and thus depriving them of an opportunity to take their legitimate share in the defence of the country is unfair to them and requests, therefore, that the prohibition may be removed.

6. This conference is of opinion that in order to promote the interests of the Andhras, it is necessary to start immediately two daily newspapers one in Telugu and the other in English on a joint-stock basis.

7. This conference is of opinion that to meet the needs of the Telugu districts, an Additional University should be established and located in a convenient centre in those districts, fully equipped with Colleges imparting education in all branches of knowledge.

8. That this conference is of opinion that every encouragement should be given to (1) the National College at Masulipatam which is conducted on purely national lines, (2) the Sarada-niketanam at Vetapalem, (3) the Andhra-bhashabhi-vreedhi-sangham (The Telugu Educational Society), (4) the Telugu Academy, (5) the national school at Rajahmundry.

9. That this conference is of opinion that a society known as the "Andhra Sevak Sangham" should be formed on the lines of the Servants of Indian Society and calls upon the conference committee to formulate a scheme to carry out its object.

10. This conference requests the Government to be pleased to take early steps for the completion of the railway connecting Raipur with Vizianagram and to undertake the construction of the proposed harbour in Vizagapatam in order to increase the development of the economic condition of the Northern Circars.

11. This conference requests the Government to establish a Commercial College in any suitable place in the Telugu country.

12. That the following gentlemen be appointed to constitute an advisory committee (with powers to fill up vacancies caused) to draft a constitution for the conference in order to carry out its objects and report the same to the next Andhra conference.

(Names are omitted.)

13. That as some leading men are of opinion that to ensure efficient administration and the promotion of the best interests of the people of India, the Government will sooner or earlier have to make language areas the territorial bases of provincial administration on such a basis is necessary in order that both the self-government on colonial lines pleaded for by the Indian National Congress and Provincial Autonomy approved by the Government of India, may develop on healthy natural lines, this conference calls upon the Advisory Committee formed here to prepare the constitution for the conference, to make the necesary investigation and public enquiry on the questions of a separate Andhra Province and submit a report to the next conference.

ENGLAND

(A Bengali song of the late Mr. D. L. Roy, Englished by the late Mr. Harinath Dey, M.A., Imperial Librarian, Calcutta).

1

England is a land of earth
Not of silver or gold: You bet
In its sky the sun rises
And rain its clouds pour yet.
Its hills are made of stone,
Its trees with flowers do bloom:
But none of you are ready
To believe this, I assume.
But this is perfectly true,
A truth none can deny.
If you saw them yourselves
You'd say the same as I.

2

Their sprats produce no parrots
And four-legged quadrupeds you find.
Their tails are not before,
Their heads are not behind.
But perhaps this makes you wonder,
You think it is a lie,
But I tell you it is a truth,
A truth none can deny,
And had you seen them yourselves
You'd say the same as I.

3

There men are males one and all,
And women are females there;
And old and young I tell you
Live not there on air.

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Their heads are all above them,
Their feet are all below.
Suspiciously you are smiling
At what I say, I know.
But this is truth I tell you,
A truth none can deny,
And had you yourselves seen them
You'd say the same as I.

4

The wife there scolds the husband
When dresses and jewels fail.
There love tastes sweet when it is new
And sour when it turns stale.
There when men feel merry
Their teeth they do display.
But you suppose there is no truth
In all that I now say.
But this is true I tell you,
A truth none can deny.
And if you had seen yourselves the thing
You'd say the same as I.

5

But then the country is England
And English is the race.
So there is Europeanism
In their manners and ways.
And with hands quite fair and bare
They rob and steal when they will;
And husbands and wives they quarrel
In faultless English still.
This is the only difference
When all is said and done
'Twixt them and us, I tell you,
Great difference there is none.

THE LIFE-WORK OF SHRI RAMADAS

BEFORE proceeding with my subject—the Life-work of Shri Ramadasa—it will, I think, be not out of place to give in short the life-story of that Maratha Saint; the more so, as many of the readers of this magazine will be Non-Marathas.

Ramadasa was a great saint and poet of Maharashtra. He was the Guru of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja. He was the chief and potent factor of the great Maharashtriya revival of the 17th century.

He came of the Brahmin family of Thosars of Jamb in Satara District. He was born in the year 1607, just 20 years before Shivaji's birth. At the age of 3 he lost his father. When he was 12 years old his mother sought to get him married. But at the eleventh hour when the boy heard the officiating priest cry out "Savadhana" (Attention—Beware) he bolted away, leaving the half-completed marriage with its attendant rites and ceremonies behind him; and running away from his home, his family, and his mother, he went on to Nasik. Then for 12 years he went through several pious and holy practices and austerities and also devoted himself to the studies of the Shastras. At the age of 24 he started on his Thirtatan, visiting every shrine and holy place. He went to the 12 Jyotirlingas, and the 4 Dhamas—(1) Dwarka in the west, (2) Puri in the east, (3) Rameshwar in the south, and (4) Badrikedar in the north. At the end of his wanderings he came to his native place, and there saw his mother and his elder brother; and again went to roam from place to place in the land of his birth.

During his wanderings he had come to see and grasp the wretched condition of the Hindus under the oppressive over-lordism of the Mahomedans. He had, as a result, made up his mind to remedy the evil if he could. He felt himself called upon to dedicate his life to that work; and so he set about it by educating the people to see their past glory, and their present misery, and by contrasting one with the other he gave them hopes of a bright future. He made a large number of disciples and scattered them all through Maharashtra proper and even beyond.

Six years after his return from Tirthayatra, he first met Shivaji and, some time

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after, became his Guru. And it was years even after that when he, at the pressing request of Shivaji, agreed to make his stay in Sajjangada near Parali. During all this time he was going from place to place doing his work of education. For over 20 years he was guiding and directing Shivaji's intellect and energy towards the foundation of Hindu Nationality. After Shivaji's death in 1680, we find that he suddenly ceased all his activities and refused even to stir out of his Mathi (room). He did not survive his favourite disciple long, In about 2 years he breathed his last. Just before his death he sent his well-known epistle to Sambhaji, the son and successor of Shivaji. That was the last of his activities in life.

Such was the life that Ramadasa lived. Many are the miracles he is said to have performed. And many more are the incidents narrated to illustrate his mental, moral, spiritual as well as political capabilities. I cannot detail them here, as it is not the life-story of the saint, but the life-work of him, that I am mainly concerned with here.

The life-work of Shri Ramadasa may be said to be the infusion of Nationality into the Maharashtriyas. He was the spirit of the national movement of the 17th century, of which Shivaji was the head and the mind, and his colleagues and followers were the hands and feet in the body of the rising Nation. To fully comprehend and understand the work done by this saint single-handed and to adequately grasp its wide scope and its deep impress, one has to take a view of the times he lived in. That the rise of the Maratha power in the 17th century was due to the national awakening, growth and evolution, has been well established by the late Mr. Justice Ranade in his book on the subject. He says—

"The rise of the Maratha Power was not a mere accident due to any chance combination but was a genuine effort of a Hindu Nationality not merely to assert its independence, but to achieve what had not been attempted before—the formation of a confederacy of States, animated by a common patriotism, and that the success it achieved was due to a general upheaval—social, religious, and political, of all classes of population." "Freebooters and adventurers never succeed in building up Empires which last for generations and which permanently alter the political map of a great continent."

If not backed by a national force behind, such attempts would come down to the ground in a crash after the death of their founder. In the case of the Maratha Confederacy "for ten generations a succession of great leaders sprang up to fill in the place of those who died in the struggle, and the confederacy not only outlived opposition but derived greater strength from the reverses it sustained from time to time, rising Phoenix-like in greater splendour from the very ashes of its apparent ruin. This tenacity showed clearly that the underlying principles had stronger vitality than can be explained by the standard theory of adventure and freebooting." "The foundation of this was laid broad and deep in the hearts of the whole people. It was not the work of one man. The rise of the Maratha Power was due to the first beginnings of what one may well call the process of nation-making. It was not the outcome of the successful enterprise of any individual adventurer. It was the upheaval of the whole population strongly bound together by the common affinities, of race, language, religion, and literature, and seeking further solidarity by a common independent political existence. It was a national movement or upheaval in which all classes co-operated. The strengh of the organization did not depend on a temporary elevation of the higher classes, but it had a deeper hold on the vast mass of the rural population." There was a feeling of patriotism prevailing throughout the length and breadth of the country and resulting in the formation of a nation with a true Indian Nationality. But it was not the mere political revolution that stirred up the Marathas. "The political revolution was preceded and in fact to some extent caused by a social and religious upheaval which moved the entire population. There was then a religious, social and llterary revival and reformation in India but notably in the Deccan. This religious revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy; it was heterodox in its protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of a pure heart and of the law of love to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people, of the masses and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers who sprang chiefly from the lower order of Society,—tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, butchers and even Mahars more often than Brahmans. The names

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of Tukaram and of Ramadasa, of Vaman Pandit and of Ekanath, were names to conjure with, and after a lapse of over 200 years they still retain their ascendancy over the minds of the people of Maharashtra. The political leaders acted in concert with these religious leaders of the people. Shivaji's chief adviser was Ramadasa, who gave the colour to the National flag and introduced a new form of salutation which displayed at once the religious character of the movement and the independence of the spirit which prompted it. The impulse was felt in art, in religion, in the further growth of the vernacular literature, the communal freedom of life, in increase of self-reliance and toleration."

By the bye it is interesting to note why the revival burst in all its glory and splendour in the Maharashtra rather than in any other part of India. Mr. Justice Ranade attributes it firstly to the peculiar geographical situation of these parts with its natural advantages of position and climate, such as hilly forts, good and bracing climate, hardy and abstemious people; secondly to the character of the people in which the Aryans and the Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion so as to retain the good points of both, without exaggerating their defects—as the North has done of the Aryan and the South has done of the Dravidian element—so that they have retained habits of mutual helpfulness and independence; thirdly the popular religion of the country which avoided extremes of sectarianism disfiguring and disuniting the Dravidian portion of the Peninsula, and the minute sub-division of caste obtaining in Northern India. He adds:

"Here the people show tolerance of a sort amounting almost to indifference which is even today a characteristic of the country. Brahmins and the non-Brahmin Sudras are brought into contact on more equal terms than elsewhere. In fact the latter have, under the influence of the Vaishnava saints, emancipated themselves, and have produced saints and poets, whose names are revered by the whole country, even Brahmins included. Even the Mahomedans join hands in celebrating festivals of either community. Mahomedan Fakirs are revered by the Hindus, and some saints of the latter are held in veneration by the Mahomedans."

The revival was due to amongst many other things, the birth of a new spirit, a common feeling of interest, a common patriotism born of a liberal religious fervor. Shivaji did not certainly create this power, it had already been created. He sought to unite it for a higher purpose by directing it against the common danger. This was his chief merit and his chief service to the country; in this consists his chief claim upon the grateful remembrance of the people. Thus the ground was prepared partly by nature, partly by the ancient history of the country, partly by the religious revival, but chiefly by the long discipline in arms which the country had undergone during the Mahomedan rule for 300 years. Men's minds were in an eager state of expectation. The predominant factor in the political situation was the advance of the Mogul arms in the south; and we find Ramadasa in his various writings referring to this in no insignificant terms.

Three preceding centuries had been of persecution, and had left indelible impressions on the minds of the people; they had also witnessed a religious revival amongst the masses. New thoughts surged up in the minds of the people, and when Ramadasa and other saints of his time began to appeal to the heart and mind of the people on the one hand, and Shivaji and his colleagues commenced to work up their political and material aspirations on the other hand, they easily grasped the ideal put before them, and eagerly set their hands to the task of actualising that ideal. Men of the type of Shivaji and Ramadasa are not born without long preparation, nor out of their time, nor in a country where the popular mind has not been educated to appreciate and support them.

"The impulse which animated men to take a more hopeful view of the situation was not the result of mere secular or calculating prudence. There was an intense religious fervour surging through the younger generation, giving them hopes of a brighter future, and a confidence in other possibilities than those realised by the older generation, given to look to the worldly advantages of every effort and taking their stand on purely prudential considerations. The young men felt a religious enthusiasm that inspired them to think little of their own interest and advancement." This is well-illustrated in the life of Shivaji, the best and the highest type of his times indeed. "This was the main spring of the teachings of the Vaishnava sect during the past 300 years. It taught that salvation was a concern for all, and that before God's

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throne there was no difference between the high-born and the low. The teaching is the most distinct work of the doctrines of Ramananda and Kabir, of Rohidas and Surdas, of Nanak and Chaitanya, and of many others who flourished in different parts of Northern and Eastern India." In Maharashtra too the influence was strongly felt and preachers both Brahmins and non-Brahmins were calling on the people to "identify Rama with Rahim and ensure their freedom from bonds of formal ritualism and caste distinctions, and unite in common love of man and faith in one God. "Along with brave sirdars braver devotees of the type of Ramadasa, Tukarama, Jayaramaswami, Moraya Deva, and a host of others were guiding the populace along the lines of Nationality." Thus "religious revival and a puritanic enthusiasm was at work in the land. It was clear to men's minds that old bigotry and submission to brute force must cease." And Shivaji who revered Ramadasa, Tukarama and other religious leaders of the day represented these new aspirations in an intensified form in his own proper person. This was one chief source of his strength and his hold on the people. It represented a strength which no prudent calculations of chances could ever confer. Another feeling working up the people was the idea that the new Mogul invasion could be met only by an united opposition. "Religious fervour almost at white heat, bordering on the verge of self-abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, the magnetism of superior genius, which binds men together and leads them to victory, a sure insight into the real needs of the times, and a steadfastness of purpose, which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and a resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian history, true patriotism which was far in advance of the times, and a sense of justice tempered with mercy,"—these were the sources of Shivaji's strength; and in moulding and shaping Shivaji's character and career, his Guru Ramadasa, amongst a host of other influences working towards that end, claimed no small a share.

First among these influences stands, undoubtedly, his mother Jijabai, whom he loved with an affection which had no bounds and who was the guiding genius and protecting deity, whose approbation rewarded all toil and filled him with a courage which nothing could daunt. The religious turn of mind, and the strong faith in his mission, so prominent in his character, Shivaji owed to his mother. Next comes his tutor Dadoji Kondadeva, who loved his ward with a fatherly love. Prudent and cautious though by nature, he was an excellent administrator and a strict disciplinarian; and from him Shivaji no doubt learned the various arts of peace and war, as also the strict sense of justice and propriety that distinguished him in his after-career. Then may be ranked his companions and colleagues—Brahmins and Prabhus, Marathas and Malwas,—even to enumerate whom would be a labourious task and would swell these pages to a big volume. But one and all, big and small, they were brave and devoted, and contributed to a large extent towards the success of a common cause. They were men of iron courage, great in the wisdom of their counsels, capable and devoted to the national interest. "Not one of them failed to do his duty in the hour of danger; not one proved to be treacherous to his master and went over to the enemy; while many died at their post in the hour of victory, consoled with the thought that they had done service assigned to them." If it had not been for the schooling and discipline which these leaders of the nation, civil and military, had obtained during those turbulent times, as well as, or perhaps more for the wave of religious revival, and the renewal of the past glories of the Mother-land which was the work of the saints and prophets of the day,—the splendid edifice of an Indian Nationality would have been lost to the world. The entire populace was inspired with a new hope and a new courage, which enabled the nation to outlive and successfully tide over the difficulties it was overwhelmed with soon after Shivaji's death. And this was the work essentially of the holy men of peace, who about this time flourished in the country and were the chief advisers of the civil and military commanders. A number of those great teachers lived during Shivaji's time as well as before and after. The most celebrated however of these spiritual teachers were Tukarama of Dehu, and Ramadasa of Chafal, the latter of whom became Shivaji's spiritual guide and his chief adviser even in secular matters. And the influence of his Guru was certainly not the least, though

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it came to be the last of the various influences that went to shape and mould Shivaji's life and character. It was in fact the influence of this Guru of his that led Shivaji's steps to the glorious success he achieved in his life. From time to time we find Shivaji running upto his Guru for advice and every time he invariably found himself lovingly encouraged and rightly directed. "In token of the work of liberation being carried on not for personal aggrandisement, but for higher purposes of service to God and man, the National Standard received at the suggestion of Ramadasa its favourite orange colour (Bhagava Zenda), which was and is the color of the clothes worn by anchorites and devotees. The old form of salutation (Johar) was dispensed with as implying submission to foreigners and a new form 'Rama Rama' was substituted, which only recited the name of Ramadasa's favourite deity. Under the same influence the names of Shivaji's principal Officers were changed from their Mahomedan designations to their Sanskrit equivalents, and the forms of correspondence also were similarly improved. Shivaji once from a sense of gratitude to his spiritual teacher made a gift of his kingdom to him and Ramadasa gave it back to him as a trust to be managed in the public interest. Once again when Shivaji pressed him to accept some Inam lands for the service of his favourite Deity, Ramadasa significantly requested him to assign Inams in territories which were still under foreign sway, thus emphatically hinting that the work of liberation was not yet completed."

For this and this alone Ramadas, even as a shaper and director of the National Revival of the 17th century, deserves to be reverentially remembered by us. But the scope of Ramadasa's work did not limit itself merely to the individual shaping of Shivaji's life and policy. No. He had a higher and a nobler aim before him; it was the uplifting of the masses not only politically, but morally and spiritually too. And had he not directed his multifarious capabilities to this end, we would not have—I feel sure—ever seen his work of directing the individual genius of Shivaji to have proved so fruitful and so well accomplished. Shivaji's work necessarily required co-operation. And if those, who eventually came to be his co-workers and successors, had not long been disciplined towards the common nationality, we may reasonably entertain grave doubts of Shivaji's success in his work in spite of his towering intellect, boundless enthusiasm, inexhaustible energy, and bold confidence in self. He was no doubt first amongst his equals; but everyone of his colleagues was in himself a leader and a hero, though on a smaller scale. These heroes were the result of the spiritual training they were imbibing every hour of their life from the various spiritual teachers that were going the length and breadth of the country in those days. It was by the influence of Ramadas and Tukaram amongst others that the "national sentiment was kept up at a higher level of spirituality and devotion to public affairs than it would have been otherwise attained." It was this background behind Shivaji's great central figure which constituted the chief source of wisdom and strength which were put forth under his leadership. His career was nothing but a full realization of the strength of the national awakening that had taken place at that time. "The vitality of a nation is best presented not merely by its capacity of self-defence but also by its power in each succeeding generation to raise up men fitted in every way to carry on the work of national construction with greater vigour and more assured success." And this we find to have been achieved by the Marathas of the 17th century. The sole credit of it may without hesitation, be given to the spiritual awakening of the people in those days; and Ramadas may without exaggeration be said to have contributed a lion's share towards this awakening.

Self-preservation is a right divine of every human being, every community, every nation on the face of the earth. This self-preservation and self-defence were the key-note of the Maratha awakening. This self-defence and nationalisation of all the various movements of the day was the sole end and aim of Ramadasa's life-work. How far this solidarity was achieved may be judged from the conduct of the affairs of the state and the behaviour of the officers and men of Shivaji's dominions during his short absence in captivity at Delhi. "The Mogul armies occupied the plains and forts. Shivaji and his son were prisoners in Delhi; and there was not a single person who proved traitor to his country, or joined the enemy. The government was carried on as though nothing had happened." Everybody remained firm

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at his post. And when the news of Shivaji's escape arrived, there was an infusion of greater ardour and vigor amongst his people. Many a time, people, dazzled by the brilliant military exploits of Shivaji and his officers, forget the underlying current of true patriotism and solid spirituality that led to their accomplishment of national independence. Not only was political freedom secured for the people but an effort was made to unite the people into one nation powerful for self-defence and self-assertion also. Again we find that land grants were made not to individuals, or families, but were always for the endowment of temples and charities; and so became public trusts. Though there were no regular schools and colleges, yet pandits were held in great honor and these taught pupils in their houses and both the teacher and pupil were ever placed above wants. Sanskrit learning was also greatly encouraged and Haridasas and Kirtankars oft regaled the populace with stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, thereby keeping them keenly alive to what was their own and infusing into them the spirit of nationality.

The sum and substance of Ramadasa's teachings which he personally worked out during his life-time may be tersely summed up in the two sentences he has addressed to Shivaji's son Sambhaji on the latter's accession to the throne after Shivaji's death. They are "Unite all who are Marathas together, and propagate the Dharma (religion) of Maharashtra." The first advice represents the leading feature of the political movement, which asserted its formal independence under Shivaji's leadership; and the second points no less clearly to the religious development, which was at the time going on all over the country, and of which the political movement was in itself only a reflection.

"The point naturally arises for consideration what Ramadas could have meant by recommending this second feature of Shivaji's policy and exhorting Sambhaji to propagate not the Vedic, Puranic, or the Hindu religion generally; but the religion of the Maharashtra. What was there so peculiar and distinct in the religious belief of his contemporary countrymen which so strikingly attracted the notice of Ramadas and was deemed by him to be a sure remedy for securing the salvation of his people? The close connection between the religious and political upheaval in Maharashtra is a fact of such importance that without the help of this clue, the purely political struggle becomes either a puzzle or dwindles down into a story of adventure without any abiding moral interest." But it was neither. It was a noble struggle for national independence; it could not be rightly understood without the study of the history of the spiritual emancipation of the national mind.

Like the political struggle, the religious upheaval was also not the work of a single man or even of a single century. It had commenced as early as the 12th century, with Mukundaraj and Jnaneshwar, and was carried on without intermission down to the 17th century. The national spirit had by then gained a healthy elasticity, and we find a galaxy of saints and prophets, whose names have been household words with the people of Maharashtra. Each one of these had left his mark indelibly upon the country and the people. A few of these saints were women; a few were Mahomedan converts to Hinduism; nearly half of them were Brahmins; while there were representatives in the other half from among all other castes;—Marathas, Kunbis, Tailors, Gardeners, Potters, Goldsmiths, Repentant Prostitutes, and Slave-girls, even the out-cast Mahars. "Much of the interest of the religious revival is centred in these facts as they indicate plainly that the influence of the higher spirituality was not confined to this or that class, but permeated deep through all strata of society, male and female, high and low, literate and illiterate, Hindu and Mahomedan alike." These asserted the dignity of the human soul as residing in the human body quite independently of the accidents of its birth and social rank. It was a rebellion long and loud against all artificial restraints. Some of these were no doubt predisposed to this view from the circumstances of their birth and education. But in truth it was a very common feeling surging in the mind of the populace. Jnanadeva on the one hand hath said :

"There was none high or low with God. All were alike to him. Never entertain the thought I am highborn and that my neighbour is low of birth. The Ganges is not polluted, nor is the wind tainted, nor

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the earth rendered untouchable, because the lowborn and the highborn alike bathe in the one, or breathe the other, or move on the back of the third."

Chokhamela, a Mahar, on the other hand remonstrates in this strain:—

"What availeth birth in high caste, what availeth rites or learning, if there is no devotion or faith. Though a man be of low caste, yet if he is faithful in heart, and loves God and regards all creatures as though they were like himself, and makes no distinction between his own and other people's children, and speaks the truth, his caste is pure and God is pleased with him. Never ask a man his caste when he has in his heart faith in God and love of man. God wants in his children love and devotion and He does not care for his caste."

The Mahomedan converts to Hinduism even to this day observe the Ramzan fast and the Ekadashi fast and make pilgrimages to Mecca as also to Pandharpur. There are many other saints of great renown, who are claimed both by Hindus and Mahomedans as belonging to their respective communities, and worshipped and revered as such by both.

These examples will show how the lives of these men have tended to elevate the National conception of man's spiritual nature and shake the hold of caste intolerance. "Men ceased to believe that the priest was a necessary medium between God and man for purpose of salvation; the domination of the Brahmin caste, as the gods of creation, whom the other castes should serve and worship,—which is so ludicrously exhibited even to this day in the southern parts of India, where they abhor even the shadow of the lower castes defiling the Brahmin streets,—lost much of its potency, and men and women, high and low, came to feel that they were free to attain salvation by faith and love in spite of their low origin." Our saints and prophets raised their voice against self-mortification and fasts, and meaningless penances and endless pilgrimages. The same spirit prompted them to condemn the austerities of Yoga and preach the spirit of Bhakti. Many of them in their own lives and doings illustrated the vanity of the vows of celebacy which by themselves cannot produce equitableness of mind and indifference to pains and pleasures. A very high conception of the sanctity of family life was realised by these saints and prophets, and they did their best to correct the national weakness which shrinks from trouble and anxiety by retiring from the world's conflict. This noble vindication of the sanctity of married life by the saints and prophets in their words and deeds was a singal of moral triumph over the past traditions of asceticism.

Another feature of this religious revival of the nation was the liberation of the national intellect from the thraldom of scholastic learning and the oppressive preponderance of the classical over the current tongue of the masses. The monopoly of learning till then enjoyed by the priests was shaken to its foundation. "These saints and prophets addressed the people both in speech and writing in their own vernacular and boldly opened the hitherto hidden treasures to all and sundry, men and women, Brahmins and Sudras alike." This was not certainly achieved without much struggle and considerable suffering. Though the Vedas and Shastras were left untouched, the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, the Bhagvat and the Gita were constantly laid under contribution, translated and made accessible to all. The pioneers in this field were Jnaneshwar and Ekanath, and Tukaram and Ramadas; even Vaman Pandit, the great Sanskrit scholar and poet of the 17th century, who would not deign to speak or write in the popular language, was, when brought in contact with Ramadas, made to see the error of his ways and converted so far as to be one of the most voluminous contributors to the Marathi literature. The struggle between the claims of the classical Sanskrit and the vernaculars,—that is of the mother-language and its numerous daughters,—of which even today we hear so much, was thus an old conflict, and the issues were decided in favor of the vernaculars or the living languages of the people long ago.

A third feature of this religious revival was the crying down of the conception of image-worship and saint-worship, then holding the popular mind in bondage. "Polytheistic worship was condemned both in theory and in practice by the saints and prophets of Maharashtra." The supremacy of one God, one without a second, was the first article of the creed with everyone of these saints, which they would not allow anybody to question or challenge. At the same time iconoclastic spirit was never the characteristic of the country, and all the various forms in which God was worshipped, were believed to merge finally into one Supreme Providence or Brahma; this was a very old tendency of the national

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mind. "This same tendency explains the comparative indifference with which saints and prophets treated the question of image-worship. It is a complete misunderstanding of their thoughts and ideas on this subject, when it is represented that these gifted people were idolators in the objectionable sense of the word. They did not worship stocks and stones. They rose high above the grovelling conceptions prevalent amongst the people; and idol-worship was denounced by them in no unmistakeable terms, when the image did not represent the Supreme God. Both Tukaram and Ramadasa spared no words in denouncing the aboriginal and the village gods and their frightful rites and sacrifices. And yet image-worship was utilised by these saints as an aid,—and not a small one too,—towards devotional evolution."

We have thus noticed all the principal features of the religious movement. It has been a steady growth of the spiritual virtue of the nation through a period of not less than 300 years. It gave us a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the Sudra classes to the position of spiritual power and social importance almost equal to that of the Brahmins. It gave sanctity to the family relations and raised the status of woman. It made the nation more humane, at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mahomedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, of pilgrimages and fasts, of penance and austerities, of learning and contemplation to the higher excellence of worship by means of faith and love. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation to a higher level of capacity, both of thought and action, and prepared it in a way, no other nation was ever prepared, to take the lead in re-establishing a united Native power in the place of foreign domination. These appear to us the principal features of the religion of Maharashtra, which saint Ramadas had in view, when he advised Shivaji's son to follow in his father's footsteps, and to propagate the Maharashtra Dharma, the faith at once tolerant and catholic, deeply spiritual and yet not iconoclastic.

And towards the propagation of this religion—this Maharashtra Dharma, this duty of the great nation,—were all the efforts and activities of Ramadas directed ever since his return from his wanderings—his Tirthaparyatana—from one end of the peninsula to the other, east and west, north and south, and extending over a period of about 12 years, from the 24th to the 36th year of his life. We find him even after that ever on the move, establishing Maths and Ashrams,—societies and clubs,—in every likely place that seemed to him to be helpful towards the general end—the awakening of a dormant, terror-striken people, people who were cowed down, nay, almost obsessed by oppression of every sort in every way. These societies and clubs were always politico-religious. They were generally housed in a temple of Hanuman which in India, at least in Maharashtra, is almost a sine qua non of every village and which is very often situated on the outskirts thereof. With these temples—and where they were not available, a small hut with the god Maruti in it served the purpose as well—for a meeting place, and the young men of the villages round about for members. These societies had for their aims and ends (1) the development of physical strength and skill in arts of war through wrestling, gymnastics, riding, fencing, shooting and other similar practices; (2) the elevation of the general morals of the members by celebrations of religious festivities, recitals of purans, performances of Harikirtans, and holding of Bhajani Melas; and (3) a general awakening of the masses all over the country. There were of course no hard and fast rules governing the admission of members or defining the scope of work, or limiting the extent of responsibilities. There was no special creed to be signed nor any preliminary declaration to be made. They were open to all, young and old, timid and bold, moderates and extremists alike. No peculiar qualification nor any warranted connection was required. They had for their basic principles Bhava and Bhakti, faith and love. Love for God and faith in his dispensation, love for the Motherland and faith in her glory, love for our brethren and faith in them, love for self and faith in self. This was all that was necessary. At the head of these societies so constituted would be one of Ramadasa's own disciples, who would stay in the place as a worshipper of the God and a keeper of the temple; and

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from there, guiding, advising, encouraging and bringing together the youths, visiting the shrine; himself being all the while under the directions of his Guru. Before the disciple was so deputed, he had to undergo a severe task and to prove his worthiness, to undertake so arduous a task to the satisfaction of his Guru.

Not before he had shaped and formulated this side of his work would Ramadas think of taking Shivaji in hand and guide the national forces through him. There is not the least doubt that he must have had his eye on that young, and ardent, active and brave, heroic and spirited son of Jahagirdar of the Court of Bijapur long before he actually met him and eventually came to be his Guru, in spiritual matters as also in secular affairs, with which Shivaji was concerned throughout his brilliant and yet laborious career. Even years after Shivaji became his disciple we find Ramadas often moving from place to place, and silently but determinedly performing the task he had set for himself. From time to time we also find him paying visits to other spiritual teachers and preachers of the day,—the leaders of thought and action—and shaping their work towards the general goal.

Amongst his contemporary saints and prophets Ramadas was designated and known as Samartha, the Able, and was always by every one of them looked upon as an elder brother. His advice was ever sought by them and thereby he was able to guide the spiritual forces of the nation, as he was able to direct the political forces through Shivaji. An instance of the respect he had among these saints we find in the admonition administered by Tukaram to Shivaji, when the latter in a fit of religious fervor desired to surrender himself to the former's guidance for spiritual consolation.

Thus we see that though Ramadas was essentially a saint and a prophet, a spiritual teacher and a holy man of speech, he is more to be revered and remembered by us for his politico-religious work. He not only along with so many others helped on the religious revival of the people, by giving them faith and love and hope and courage, but he breathed into them as stated at the outset, a spirit of nationality, a feeling of being one and an aspiration to assert that unity. His best known work Dasabodha, which may be rendered as the "Awakening of the knowing man" or the "Instructions to the devotee" is full of hints as to how and why he set himself to achieve and by what means he in the end achieved his noble mission of establishing a Maharashtra in the land of his birth. Ramadasa's teachings and activities inspired into the Maratha people of those times "daring heroism, noble endurance, administrative skill, hope which rises higher with every disappointment, a faith which was never shaken, devotion to a high ideal which is independent of time, place, or person, a sense of brotherhood in common danger, a spirit of complete self-sacrifice and mutual concession for the common good, a trust in the final success of their cause, because it was the cause of their religion." These were the virtues that then animated the patriots, the best men of the nation; virtues that enabled the Mahrattas of the 17th century to accomplish the deliverance of their country and to reformulate a Hindu nationality; virtues that were brought out by a high moral force that guide the destinies of nations.

P. K. KOTVAL.

THE RUIN OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

"The best way of worshipping God consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of Agriculture, etc." (Ain-i-Akbari, p. 12—Blochmann).

A TEAPLANTER was asked why he did not engage in jute or paddy cultivation. He gave a curt reply: "It would not pay, the cultivator worked for the mere wages of labour." Though our arts and industries have been killed by foreign competition, there is a little fear yet of any foreign competition in agriculture which is already at the lowest ebb,—no, not even in regard to jute which is so much in

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demand in the markets of Europe and America. But who knows what the morrow may bring forth! The opening of the Panama Canal, and the marvellous reduction of the cost of production in America from the introduction of scientific methods and improved machinery, may at any time lead to foreign competition even in agriculture, and as it has always happened—when the competition lies between science and improved machinery on the one hand, and empericism and hand-labour on the other,—with the same fatal results as in the case of our arts and industries. There is no time for us to be asleep. We should seriously consider and remove the causes and conditions that have led and are still leading to the ruin of Indian Agriculture. However much we may try to impress other people with the high profit to be derived from agriculture,—practical people shake their heads, and are sceptical. People with any capital to invest, much as they may talk of it,—never seriously think of engaging in agriculture. We are all busy convincing others, but are not convinced ourselves. "যাক শত্রু পরে পরে" that is our motto for agriculture. The Zemindar commanding the largest extent of culturable land, the *mahajan* capitalist rolling in gold, or the successful lawyer—with the highest education that any country can give,—in fact all who have money to invest, and brains enough to direct a farm of the most improved and scientific type,—never dream of engaging in agriculture for profit, and very seldom even for a hobby. The agricultural expert, European or Indian, with the highest agricultural training that the world can give, may be busy assuring others of a profit of Rs. 250 per month from a farm of 100 bighas (capital required unknown), while for himself he hankers after a fixed monthly salary, and a cosy berth under the Government. "He came to save others, himself he cannot save."

How the agricultural outlook has changed! European experts may not be aware of it, but how can we forget what we saw with our own eyes? Fifty years ago, there was not a gentleman owning land in the villages who had not his farm or *khamar* or *nij jot* with perhaps a small dairy which he worked by hired labour under his personal supervision. Why has he cut off his connection with practical farming, arable or dairy, and let out his land to poor ever-indebted cultivators? Why, but to gratify his love of ease, his love of a life free from risk or trouble, and the enjoyment of an "unearned increment" either as money-rent or produce-rent. Everybody knows that farming on one's own account by hired labour, is not paying under the existing conditions of our country. Any shrewd man of business, that has money to invest, would rather invest it in loans to the cultivator at a fabulous rate of interest, ranging from 50 to 70 per cent per annum. With such a sunny prospect of doubling his capital in two years, the village money-lender would be a fool to invest any money in farming on his own account, which cannot under the most favourable conditions, yield a profit of more than 10 to 15 per cent per annum. The landed-gentry, the money-lender, or the agricultural expert, one and all, in these days keep as far from practical farming as they would from the devil himself. They will sing the praises of, and go into extasies over the profits of agriculture, they will try by all means to tantalise others into it, but they will themselves be always on their guard, as though it were the very "pit that is bottomless." Why should it be so? because, speaking generally, under the existing conditions, agriculture on a large scale and with profit, is practically impossible, because Indian agriculture like the Indian arts and industries is now in the throes of death. Agriculture which was so profitable in India in olden times that in the *Ramayana* the farmers and stock-breeders of India are said to have been a wealthy class, so well protected by the king that they could sleep with doors wide open, "*Dhana-vantah surakshita serate bibritadvara krishigoraksha-jivinah*," —agriculture which found profitable occupation for the middle class gentleman even so late as half a century ago, is now in the very throes of death in this so-called agricultural country of ours! What could be the causes that have brought about so marvellous a transformation for evil in so short a time?

The reader will perhaps be surprised if he is told that India was a country of peasant-proprietors ages before Switzerland or any country in Europe, that the King in India, though he had absolute right over the lives and properties of his subjects, was not the proprietor of the land,

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—that he thought it unworthy of his kingly dignity to be ranked with his subjects as the proprietor of this or that patch of land, that agriculture in India was the joint duty and the joint interest of the king and his subjects, the king providing the pasture ground, the agricultural capital, and the facilities for irrigation, at the same time acting as the protector and guardian of the cultivator, and the cultivator providing the labour of agriculture, that it was as much the interest of the king as of the cultivator to obtain the maximum yield from the soil,—for instead of money-rent, the king obtained a fixed share of the actual produce in kind,—usually a sixth of the produce. If there was a heavy yield, the royal revenues rose, if there was a low yield, the royal revenues fell. How stand we now? The feudalism of Europe has been somewhat clumsily engrafted on the old Indian stock of peasant-proprietorship, "the Zemindar's official position as tax-collector being confused with the proprietory right of an English land-lord," (Hunter),—so that the Indian cultivator is half a serf, and less than half a peasant-proprietor,—crushed with the duties of both, but without the privileges of either. Let us not be contented with bare allegations, but let us go into evidence.

We have said that in ancient India, the proprietor of the land was not the king, but the cultivator—for the land is said to belong to the man who first clears the land for purposes of cultivation—"*Sthanu chedasya· kidaram*" (Manu IX. 44) and that "the forests, hills and holy places are without a proprietor,—and do not admit of being given—"*atavyoh parvatah punyastirthanya yatanane cha sarvanya svamikanyahur na cha teshu parigrahah*"—(Usanas Sanhita V. 16). What was the king and why was rent paid to the king? The king was the protector and guardian of the land, and the rent was paid as a contribution or fee for the help and protection given by the king. "The king deserves one-half of old buried treasure-trove, and of the minerals in the earth,—as giving protection,—for he is the guardian and protector over the land"—"*Bhumer-adhipatir hi sah*" VII, 39—Manu. The king is not called the Bhusvami or land-owner, but the adhipati or guardian and protector of the land. Says the Ramayana: "Great is the sin of the king who while accepting their tribute of the sixth (of the produce) does not protect the subjects as though they were his own sons" (VI—II—Aranya). Says Manu:—"The king who does not protect but takes the sixth share of the produce is called a carrier of all the evil of the world" (Manu VIII, 30). "The king who takes either the rent, the taxes, the presents or the fines, but does not protect, surely goes to hell" (Manu VIII-307). Manu fixes the royal share as a "sixth, an eighth, or a twelfth" VII, 130. "The share is to be fixed so that the king as well as the worker receive their due rewards—"*yatha phalena yujyeta raja karta cha karmanam*" VII, 128. On this the commentator remarks—"The mutual claims of the king and the cultivator were so adjusted that the king might get the fruits of his supervision and the cultivators or traders the fruits of their labour in cultivation or trade." "The king enjoys the sixth part (of the produce)," says the Ramayana, "how should he not protect his subjects?" "*Shar bhagasya cha bhokta san rakshate na prajah katham?*" Utt., XXXI, 87. Thus we see that the rent was not an unearned increment paid by the husbandman to the king as the proprietor of particular patches of land, but as a contribution to the sovereign or over-lord of all, which he earned by the performance of certain duties. It was a right enjoyed by king for the performance by him of certain duties. What then were the specific duties for the performance of which the rent was paid?

The duties of the king though generally expressed by one pregnant word "*Rakshana-bekshana*"—giving protection and relief, are also distinctly specified, and among other duties, the following are the principal: (I) providing pasture for the cattle. Says the Yajnavalkya Sanhita: "Grazing ground should be reserved as the villagers desire or as fixed by royal command. Between the village site and the arable fields there should to reserved a belt of 100 Dhanus (300 cubits) around each village,—two hundred dhanus in the case of woody villages and four hundred dhanus (1 dhanu=3 cubits) in the case of towns (II, 169-170). Says Manu—"There shall be reserved on all sides of each village a belt of 100 dhanus or three throws of the shepherd's stick, and thrice that quantity for towns, where the grazing of cattle shall not be punishable (VIII. 237). We shall see further on that the provision of grazing ground for cattle

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by the state was a duty recognised even by the Mohamedan Emperors, though no doubt the extent of the land actually reserved for grazing purposes varied from time to time. There are people still living who will tell you that they themselves saw the last remains of those old grazing grounds around their village, between the arable fields and the village sites.

The second duty of the king was to provide water for irrigation purposes. The Hindu king shared with his people certain ideas and beliefs regarding the works of merit for the other world which prompted the whole nation irrespective of caste or class, to render yeoman's service in the cause of the country's agriculture. For every Hindu whether king or warrior, whether priest or cultivator, the two main gateways of heaven were "Ishta" or performance of sacrifices to encourage sacred learning, and "Purta" or the excavation of tanks, wells, and canals for giving facilities for the development of agriculture :—"*Vapi-kupa-taragadi Devatayatanani cha annapradanam aramah purtamityabhidhiyate. Ishtapurtau dwijatinam samanyau dhrarmasadhanau, Adhikari bhavet Sudrah purte dharmena vaidike*" (Atri, 44). The belief being universal, the duty was also enjoined by the *Sanhitas* for all, and not for the king in particular, though we find both in the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, that the kings always looked upon a prolonged drought as a divine visitation for their own sins, and they moved heaven and earth for timely rains. "*Kalabarshi cha parjanyah*"—when the rains set in timely, it was to the credit of the king.* When king Sambarana with his wife Tapati was wandering in the forests, there was no rain in his kingdom for twelve long years, but the moment they returned, the rains set in, causing the crops to grow. We find the sage Narada in his enquiry as to whether the king Yudhisthira had been properly performing his duties to his subjects, thus enumerating the duties of the king : "Have you provided large tanks well filled with water, suitably distributed in each different part of the kingdom ?—for, agriculture will not thrive if it has to depend on the rains. Do you take care to see that the husbandman's stock of food or of seed does not run out ?" *Kachid rashtre tatakani purnani cha brihanti cha bhagaso vinivishtani na krishir devamatrika. Kacchin na bhaktam bijancha karshakasyavasidati* (V. 82 Sabhaparva). Likewise also we read of King Bharata in the Ramayan providing canals large as the sea and filled with water, and in places where there was scarcity of water, he excavated many excellent tanks for drinking purposes, well-protected by raised banks" (Ayodhya, LXXX, 11 and 12). Here at Comilla where I am writing, stand some excellent tanks—the most lasting monuments of glory of the old Maharajas of Hill Tippera, and but for these the town would now have suffered a terrible water-famine year after year. But "we call our fathers fools, so wise we grow." We and our Maharajahs of now-a-days have given up, what we call, those old and foolish superstitions of our forefathers, and however much we may spend our money profitably in pyrotechnic displays for the encouragement of the sciences and the arts, for the lasting good of the country, there is no fear whatever that either we ourselves or our Maharajahs under the able guidance of ministers like ourselves, will squander away any more money needlessly in the excavation of tanks, or wells, or other works of irrigation for the benefit of agriculture.

The third duty for whieh the king was allowed rent, was protection from thieves and robbers, free of charge. In these days the Rayat in addition to paying the rent to his land-lord, has to enter into ruinous and expensive litigation, and fight out to the bitter end, through the proverbial "law's delay" to defend his holding against trespassers, and his crops and live stock from thieves and robbers. Indeed it may be said that he alone supports like Atlas of old, the huge machinery of the law courts on his own shoulders. In those golden days, however, the Rayat not only got justice free of cost, but in case the king failed to recover any stolen property from the thief, he had to make good its value from his own treasury. Says Manu : "The property stolen by thieves, the king is to restore to all the castes."—*Datavyah sarva varnebhya rajna chorair hritam dhanam*, VIII, 40. Says the Vishnu Sanhita :—"Stolen property when recovered, the king should restore to all the castes. If it is not recovered, he should supply its value from

*Cf.—যদি বর্ষে নাযের শেষ, ধন্য রাজার পুণ্য দেশ।

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his own treasury"—"*Anavahya cha svakosadeva dadyat* (III. 45). "*Chaura-hritamupajitya yatha sthanam gamayet koshadva dadyat*" (Goutāma, Ch. X)—"Stolen property is to be recovered and restored to the owner,—or is to be paid for from the treasury." That the king really held himself bound to recover and restore all stolen property, and actually tried his best to perform that duty, will further appear from the following description in the Mahabharat of an incident in the life of Yudhisthira.—When Yudhisthira ruled, a thief stole some cows belonging to a Brahman. —The Brahman represented the matter to Arjuna, saying "The king who accepts the sixth of the produce as his share, but does not protect his subjects, is said to be responsible for all the sins of all the world." Arjuna heard it and said "If I do not give relief to this man crying at our gate, the king shall have committed the great sin of neglect of duty." So saying Arjuna at a great personal risk entered Draupadi's room, took his bow and arrows, went with the Brahman, overtook the thieves, recovered the cattle, and rostored them to the Brahman. Thus it should be quite clear that under the old Hindu law, the king who received the sixth share of the produce did not receive it as an "unearned increment" like what is enjoyed by our Zamindars, or the English land-lords, but had on his part, among other responsible duties, to recover and restore stolen property free of cost.

How did agriculture flourish in Mahomedan times, it will be asked. The history of the Indian people during the Mahomedan times has yet to be written. We are still but chewing the cud of European scholars and historians, not always free from prejudice. Basing our conclusions, on such materials as we are at present in possession of, we may say that so far as village life and the internal management of the Indian village communities were concerned, the Mahomedan rulers preferred to leave the old Hindu laws and village customs almost intact. They too realised their rent in kind, only the old Hindu rule of one-sixth was raised by Akbar to one-third of the actual produce. The Emperors sometimes made hereditary grants of land or pensions for the subsistence of saints and men of learning or of the impoverished representatives of old and respectable families. "Such lands (Sayurghal) were hereditary, and differ for this reason from Jagir or tuyal lands which were conferred for a specified time on Mansabdars (leaders of armies) in lieu of salaries."—Blochmann, page 270. But the emperors did not create any hereditary middlemen or permanent rent-farmers like our zamindars, but dealt with the husbandmen directly. In the Mahomedan times for "all land which paid rent into the Imperial Exchequer," the husbandman has his choice to pay the revenue either in ready money or by kunkoat or by Bhooli" (Gladwin's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, p. 251). Again the Amil Guzzar or Revenue Collector is directed "not to be covetous of receiving money only, but likewise take grain."* The manner of receiving grain is described, (1) Kunkut or appraisement or estimation of the grain by inspectors while the crops are standing, (2) Battai or Bhaoli or division of the grain after the crop is harvested, and the grain collected into barns, (3) Khet batai or by dividing the field as soon as it is sown, and (4) Lang Batai or division after the grain is gathered into heaps. Thus it was optional with the cultivator in Mahomedan times to pay his rent in kind, and as a fixed portion of the produce, for example, for the best quality of land or "Pooly" (i.e. what we call Dofasli) or land cultivated for every harvest, and never allowed to lie fallow."—"A third part of the medium (average) produce was the revenue settled by his Majesty (Akbar)," the second quality or "Perowaty land when cultivated paying the same revenue as pooly";—but when not cultivated or left fallow, unlike now-a-days, no rent was charged. It was thus the common interest of the emperor and of the husbandman to extend cultivation and obtain from the soil the maximum yield it was capable of producing. Accordingly we find the Emperor Akbar giving the following directions to the Amil Guzzar or Revenue Collector :—(1) Let him not be discouraged at the lands having fallen waste, but exert himself to bring them back again into cultivation." (2) "He must assist the needy husbandman with

* With regard to Akbar, Hunter says :—"The essence of his procedure was to fix the amount which the cultivators should pay to one-third of the gross produce, leaving it to their option to pay in money or in kind."

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loans of money, and receive payments at distant and convenient periods." Indeed these loans might be repaid in ten years, and yet the total amount realised was not to be more than double the amount of the loan. (3) "When any village is cultivated to the highest degree of perfection, by the skilful management of the chief thereof, there shall be bestowed upon him some reward proportionate to his merit." (4) "If an husbandman cultivates a less quantity of land than he engaged for, but produces a good excuse for so doing, let it be accepted." We find the Mahomedan Emperor like the old Hindu King holding himself responsible to the cultivator for supplying the necessary extent of grazing ground for the cultivators' cattle on reasonable terms. Accordingly it was ruled by Akbar, "If any one does not cultivate khiraja (or revenue-paying land), but keeps it for pasturage, let there be taken yearly from a buffalo 6 dams (one dam $\frac{1}{40}$ of a Rupee or about 2 pice), and from an ox 3 dams, but calves shall be permitted to graze without paying any duty. For every plough there shall be allowed four oxen, two cows and one buffalo,—from whom likewise *no duty shall be taken for pasturage.*" (Gladwin's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, p. 256). I need hardly say that the Mahomedan Emperors never had any faith in that most wholesome of the Hindu superstitions, which placed the highest value on the excavation (Purta) of "tanks and wells as passports to heaven, but the Ain-i-Akbari also speaks of irrigation at the public expense," "waste lands which a Moslem has made arable by means of water brought thither at the public expense," (Gladwin, p. 340), which shows that the Mahomedan Emperors enjoying even more than we are doing this day, the benefits of the extensive works of irrigation done in the Hindu times, and still being done under those old Hindu superstitions, though they paid less attention to it, they could not have been altogether indifferent to the question of water supply by the state for purposes of agriculture. Again even as the Hindu king was bound to see that the cultivator's stock of food or seed did not fail—"*Bhaktancha bijancha karshakasya navasidati,*"—so likewise did Akbar consider himself bound to see that the producer of food for the people was not left without food himself, and provided public granaries in different parts of the kingdom—a measure as effective as it was simple—for the prevention of famine :—"Granaries are erected in different parts of the kingdom from whence the cattle employed by the state are provided with subsistence. They are also applied to the relief of indigent husbandmen, and in time of scarcity the grain is sold at a low price, but the quantity is proportioned to the absolute necessities of the purchaser. Likewise throughout the empire a great quantity of food is dressed daily for the support of the poor and needy." For this purpose, Akbar exacted an annual tribute of ten seers of grain from every Bigha of cultivated land throughout the empire" (P. 189, Gladwin's Ain-i-Akbari). Lastly as regards justice and the redress of wrong done to the cultivator, it must be admitted that the ideal of the Mahomedan rulers was not as high as that of the old Hindu kings, and there is no reason to think that they would consider it their duty to restore from the royal treasury, like the old Hindu kings, the value of any stolen property that they failed to recover from the thief. The Mahomedan rulers, however, considered it to be the "immediate duty of a monarch to receive complaints, and administer justice." In this matter, he delegated his power to the Kazi who tried each case not "without painful search and minute enquiry"—though the complainant had nothing to pay for expenses either as court-fees, process fees or lawyers' fees etc., as in these days. Indeed so great was the interest in agriculture taken by the Emperor Akbar, that he tried to remove one of the most serious drawbacks that to-day hampers the progress of Indian agriculture.—by helping the cultivators to get all their lands in one block: "After sometime it was reported that those who held grants (Sayarghals) had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near khalisah lands (i.e. paying revenue to the Imperial Exchequer) or near the jagirs of the mansabdars or leaders of armies were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands in one spot, which they might choose. The order proved beneficial for both parties." "It was ordered that everyone who should leave his place, should lose one-fourth of his lands, and receive a new grant" (P. 268 and 269, Blockmann's translation).

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What a world of good we should be doing if we could follow this noble example of Akbar on a more extensive scale so that each husbandman of to-day might get all his arable land in one block and coveniently situated in reference to his homestead. Thus we find that the Mahomedan Emperors like the old Hindu Kings had very good reason to feel that the success of agriculture was as much their own interest as that of the Rayat, and that for the success of agriculture, even as the Rayat was responsible to give his labour, the emperor was also responsible to provide the capital, the facilities for irrigation, and the pasture for the cattle, that he was responsible to administer justice, and give the cultivator protection against thieves and trespassers free of cost. The rent was paid to the state as a sort of fee for the performance of these onerous duties by the state, and in no sense could it be looked upon as an "Unearned Increment," as enjoyed by either the feudal landlords in England, or their Indian substitutes, the Zemindars of to-day, whom Hunter speaks of as "the mushroom creations of a Mahomedan despotism"—though more correctly speaking they were created by a fiat of John Company. It was only under favourable conditions like the preceding that agriculture could flourish in India both in the Mahomedan and in the Hindu period, under the Indian Rayat, for the largest majority of whom it may be said that their only capital lay in a former times as now in the strength of their own bones and muscles and their habits of industry and temperance.

What happened during the period of transition from the Mahomedan to the British rule? Akbar died in 1605 and Aurangzeb died in 1707. The puppets who succeeded Aurangzeb, were rapacious debauchees unfit to rule, and the Mogul Empire was destroyed by Nadir Sha in 1739. The Government may be said to have passed into the hands of the British from 1767 under Warren Hastings, who became the first Governor-General of India in 1774. In that half a century what momentous though silent transformations took place in this country as affecting our agriculture; India ceased to be looked upon as the country of peasant proprietors, as it had been from the remotest antiquity. The state ceased to be the mere guardian and protector of the land "*Bhumer adhipatir hi sah.*" The rule of "*sthana ched asya kedaram*"—that the arable land is the property of the man who cleared the jungle for cultivation, ceased to have force. The forests and hills ceased to be without a proprietor "asvamikanyahuh" or rather ceased to be the sort of no man's property (compare the Roman Res Nullius) that it was from the remotest antiquity, which any intending cultivator could appropriate by reclamation, and on which neither the state nor any individual whatever had the right to levy Nazarana. The rent paid by the cultivator ceased to be regarded as the fee paid for certain valuable services rendered by the State for the benefit of agriculture. Says Manu:—

"The king is to fix and receive the rents and taxes of his kingdom so that the king receive the fruits of supervision, and the cultivator and the trader receive the fruits of their labour of cultivation and trading" (VII. 128)—"*Yatha phalena yujyeta raja karta cha karmanam.*"

The king ceased to be responsible to the cultivator as before for the restoration of his stolen property free of cost. But the worst of it all was that during that time of transition, or rather anarchy from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the destruction of the Moghal Empire by Nadir Sha in 1739, the rapacity of those puppets that disgraced the throne, introduced the system of the temporary farming of the revenues to irresponsible and sharking adventurers for lump sums of money. The only hope of the country, and the only redeeming feature of that farming system or rather system of contracts was that it was temporary, and when Warren Hastings became the Governor General in 1774, it could be expected that the system of farming of the revenues would be given up. But that was not to be. "The existing Mahomedan system was adopted in its entirety. Engagements, sometimes yearly, sometimes for a term of years, were entered into with the Zemindars, to pay a lump sum for the area over which they exercised control. If the offer of the Zemindar was not deemed satisfactory, another contractor was substituted in his place. For more than 20 years, these temporary engagements continued, and received the sanction of Warren Hastings" (Encyclo. Brit. India). This system of farming of the revenues, with its collateral system of requiring compulsory payments of rent in lump sums of money, instead of in kind as a fixed share of the produce, which is the root cause of the ruin of Indian agriculture,

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was only a temporary disease in the body politic in the last days of the Mahomedan Rule and might have ceased and the proprietorship of the husbandman restored to him and confirmed, with a change of administration for the better. But that was not to be. Lord Cornwallis in 1793 made the system of farming of the revenues permanent, and depriving the husbandmen of their ownership of the land, raised the status of those mere contractors of the revenue into that of the modern Zemindars of Bengal—addressing them, with what truth Lord Cornwallis alone could say,—as "the actual proprietors of the land." Sir John Shore was right when he said in his minute of 1788 that "the rents belong to the sovereign," but was wrong in saying that "the land (belongs) to the Zamindar." The name Zamindar does not occur in the Ain-i-Akbari. The Jagirs granted by the Emperors for military service, were for a prescribed period only. The English prejudices of Lord Cornwallis and his colleagues were responsible for his fatal blunder of divesting the husbandman of his right of property in the soil he cultivated, which he had enjoyed without interruption from time immemorial,—thus converting him into a mere serf as in feudal Europe, to invest his "mushroom creations"—the Zemindars, with it, that they might take the place of the feudal lords. He thought India was England, the zemindar corresponding to the English land-lord, and the rayat to the English serf or tenant-at-will. "By two stringent regulations of 1799 and 1812, the tenant was practically put at the mercy of a rack-renting land-lord." (Enc. Brit. India).

What has been the effect?—The rent realised ceased to bear any fixed proportion to the actual produce of the soil, and could be realised in all its fulness, even though a single ear of corn should not reward all the sweat of the brow of the toiling husbandman. The basic principle of Hindu Law that the rent is charged by the state for the performance of certain duties by the state most material to the success of agriculture, was gone. A fatal divorce between the right to enjoy the rent, and the duty to help the development of agriculture has taken place. Regulation 1 of 1793 confers on the Zamindars the previlege of enjoying the rent "for ever", but lays on him no duty whatever to help the development of agriculture. "The Governor in Council trusts that "the proprietors of land"—meaning the Zemindars, "will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands." A very pious hope no doubt, but that was all. There was no penalty imposed if they proved unworthy of the trust. The enioyment of the rent was all that the Zemindar cared for, and taking the example of the Zemindars for a model the Government too, where there were no Zamindars,—forgot that the rent was a mere fee for the performance of certain duties by the state. Whatever the so-called proprietors or rather enjoyers of rent did for agriculture, they came to look upon not as the fulfilment of a bounden duty, but as a mere work of charity or philanthropy, little better than a waste of valuable money. No one who now enjoys the rent, thinks that he is bound to give a loan on easy terms to the rayat, or to provide pasture ground for the rayats' cattle, or to remit the rent, if the rayat has to use his arable land for a pasture ground, or to provide facilities for irrigation. Indeed the enjoyer of the rent has quietly appropriated almost all the public pasture ground of the country. The very idea that the kings of old were bound to restore from his own treasury the value of his stolen property free of cost, to the rayat, seems to us Utopian. We have been accustomed to see a very different spectacle. The Rayat is now practically supporting on his Atlas-like shoulders, the law courts with all their huge paraphernalia, and the Zemindars and Mahajans with all their myrmidons of Amlas and Pyadas. Unlike the Emperor Akbar, the rent-enjoyers to-day never dream that it is their duty to give loans to the Rayat, and those loans might be repaid in ten years, and yet the total interest realised never exceed the principal. They never dream that in order to be entitled to enjoy the rent, they are bound to provide free all the necessary tanks, wells, and canals for purposes of irrigation. No one now has the option to pay rent in kind as a fixed share of the actual produce—either a sixth as in Hindu times, or a third as in Akbar's time. Rent has now to be paid in money—a lump sum irrespective of the actual produce of the land, regardless whether all the rayats' toils are rewarded with an ear of corn or not. Thus the rent-enjoyer has no interest whatever in securing an increase of produce or an extension of cultivation. Indeed

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under the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act the rent-enjoyer's interest lies in the reduction of the produce, and the decline of cultivation. The law provides that if the prices of the staple food crops rise, the rent-enjoyer is entitled to an increase of rent. The prices rise when the supply fails, i. e., when the crop fails, and cultivation declines. How absurd! The duties of the rent-enjoyer are thus clean swept away,—the privilege of rolling in unearned gold alone remaining.

The effect of this divorce of the privilege of enjoyment from the duty to be performed, could not but be disastrous. It has naturally become the sole ambition of every Indian of means to be the enjoyer of an "unearned increment." Agriculture which was the occupation of every householder so that the term Grihasta or householder became a synonym for farmer, has now become distasteful to the gentlemen or the Bhadrolok class of to-day. Even as the "hart panteth after the brooks," the heart of every Bengalee gentleman, whether barrister-at-law or pleader, whether Zemindar or Mahajan, whether Judge or Magistrate or Amla, all pant after that Lotus-Eaters' life of an enjoyer of rents without their corresponding duties, so that they and their children's children may roll in unearned gold, and sleep beside their nectar like the gods, careless of mankind. To realise his dream of a life without duties more fully, the rent-enjoyer has only to screw up the money rent by hook or by crook to the highest pitch, and then sublet his right for a lump sum to a patnidar. The patnidar again gives a few more turns to the screw, and sublets to the dar-patnidar, and so on, and on without end. Thus like parasite upon parasite, a whole chain of rent-enjoyers settle on the devoted head of the husbandman to divide the fruits of that poor man's labours. Thus has this country of peasant-proprietors been transformed into one of rent-enjoyers, and to a condition much worse than feudal England which Lord Cornwallis took for his model, for in England the statute of *Quia Emptores* of 1285 disallowed subinfeudation altogether, while in India acts were passed to legalise interminable subinfeudation, without any restriction whatever. The whole country is now become a country of the enjoyers of rent under the various denominations of Zemindar, Patnidar, Darpatnidar, Howladar, Talukdar, and what not. Thus India which was the very queen of agricultural countries, is now become a country of crafty middlemen. India which was the country of peasant-proprietors ages before Switzerland or France or any other European country, has now become a country of the so-called proprietors of land, more interested in the failure than in the success of agriculture, and "rolling in unearned luxury" consuming the fruits of the labour, of the toiling husbandman "engaged in grinding labour," "eking out a precarious existence" and having no champions or spokesmen to express his views, or protect his interests. These then are the root causes that have led to the ruin of Indian Agriculture, and made the Indian husbandman what Lord Curzon describes him to be: "The Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humbled, silent millions, the 80 per cent who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of politics but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their countrymen, too often forget."

DVIJADAS DUTTA.

M LOISY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY PROFESSOR HOMERSHAM COX, M. A.

FROM time to time, the question is discussed, whether India is likely to become Christian, and, as the Missionaries put it, to audiences in England, to be "won for Christ." It will be easier to answer the question if we first examine, how far Christianity is retaining its hold on the educated classes in Europe. The educated Indians can hardly be expected to adopt what the educated Europeans has cast off.

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From this point of view, the case of M Loisy, who a few years ago was expelled from the Roman Catholic Church, has more than personal interest, and a short account of it may be acceptable to Indian readers.

M Loisy was born at Ambrieres in Lorraine in 1857 and ordained priest in 1879. After long and profound biblical studies, he took a theological degree in 1890 and was appointed Professor at the Institut Catholique. From this post he was dismissed three years later on account of an article on "The biblical question and the inspiration of Scripture." During the following years M Loisy published many learned articles on religious history and literature and in 1900 was made lecturer at the Government Ecole des Hautes Etudes Pratiques. In the same year his paper on the "Religion of Israel" was censured by Cardinal Richard, the Archbishop of Paris.

So far M Loisy, though he had acquired a high reputation among scholars, and had incurred the hostility of the strictly orthodox clergy, was little known to the general public. It was through a small book "The Gospel and the Church" that he first became famous outside the circle of special students. This book was written in 1902 in answer to the work of a celebrated German scholar, Harnack, entitled "The Essence of Christianity." Harnack endeavours to distinguish between the "Essence of Christianity" and what he considers later accretions, to separate, as he puts it, 'the kernel from the shell.' In the words of M Loisy :

> " M Harnack does not consider Christianity as a seed which has grown, first of all potentially a plant, then a real plant, identical with itself from the commencement to the present state of its evolution, and from the root to the utmost twig; but as a rife or rather, rotten fruit which must be peeled to arrive at an incorruptible kernel."

It is in fact, the Protestant superstition of an ideal primitive Christianity which has done nothing but degenerate since it was founded, that Harnack has adopted. In various forms this superstition is very common. For most people the golden age is still in the past. Later Hinduism is often said to be a degeneration from the original perfection of the Vedic religion. But for the scientific historian it is inadmissible to start with the *a priori* assumption that everything earlier is necessarily better than everything later.

Still less, must he assume that the primitive religion coincides with what he himself judges sound and true? M Loisy's remarks on this point are of general interest apart from the special question. "If we wish to determine historically the essence of the gospel, the rules of sound criticism do not allow us to resolve in advance to consider as unessential what we now think uncertain or unacceptable. What was essential in the gospel of Jesus is what holds the first place, and the most considerable, in his authentic teaching, the ideas for which he struggled and died, not only what we think to be living at the present day." "If common features have been preserved and developped in the Church from its origin up to our own time, it is these features which constitute the essence of Christianity. At least the historian can know of no others; he is not entitled to employ a different method from that which he would apply to any religion whatsoever. To fix the essence of Islamism, we must not take in the teaching of the Prophet and in the Musulman tradition, what we may judge true and fruitful, but what for Mahomet and his followers was of most importance in belief, morals, and worship." This is however the mistake which such Mahommedans as Syad Amir Ali and such Christians as the late Matthew Arnold commit. According to Matthew Arnold, Jesus was "over the heads of all his disciples." "Over the head" is a metaphor, and in plain language, means that his ideas were more in conformity with those of Matthew Arnold. When then Arnold meets with something in the Gospels which pleases him, he concludes that it must come from Jesus, but when he meets with something of which he cannot quite approve, it must be a mistake of the disciples. Obviously such a method is arbitrary and unhistorical. As M Loisy says:

> "It is difficult to distinguish between the personal religion of Jesus and the way in which his disciples have understood it, between the thought of the Master and the interpretations of the apostolic tradition. If Christ had himself drawn up an account of his doctrine and a summary of his preaching, a methodical treatise on his work, his mission, his hopes, the historian would submit this writing to the most attentive examination, and would determine from evidence beyond discussion, the essence of the gospel. But such a writing has never excited and nothing can supply its absence. There only remains in the gospels an echo, necessarily weakened and somewhat confused, of the words of Jesus; there remains the general impression that he has left on his well disposed hearers, and the most striking of his sentences as they have been understood and inter-

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preted: there remains finally the movement of which Jesus was the initiator."

Although Harnack is an eminent scholar, while Matthew Arnold was only a dilettante, he commits the same error. His own creed has been reduced to a belief in the "fatherhood of God" and consequently he endeavours to shew that this was the essence of Jesus' teaching. The "fatherhood of God" was never properly understood by anyone before Jesus according to Harnack, although God is spoken of as a father often enough both in the Old Testament and in pagan writings. This view is based on two passages in the Gospels, which M Loisy shews are of doubtful gunuineness, and even if genuine, do not bear the interpretation placed on them. But to determine the essence of the gospel "we must start from the texts that are surest and dearest, not from those whose authenticity or meaning are perhaps doubtful." This requires a critical examination of the character and historical value of the gospels. In M Loisy's larger works on "The Fourth Gospel" and "The Synoptic Gospels" these questions are examined in detail and the first chapter of "The Gospel and the Church" is a brief summary of his conclusions. We merely note that he considers the fourth Gospel purely allegorical, without any historical value. Whatever can be known about Jesus is to be found in the synoptic gospels and especially in Mark. Now "the evangelists have summed up the teaching of Jesus in the words, 'Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;' these words may be taken as representing, in abridgement, all the teaching of the Saviour in Galilee and at Jerusalem." "The idea of the heavenly" kingdom is then nothing but a great hope, and it is in this hope that the historian must put the essence of the gospel, or he will put it nowhere since no other idea occupies so large and so important a place in the teaching of Jesus." "As a hope, it can only refer to the future; and this future is not the approaching lot of the individual in this world, but the renewment of the world, the regeneration of humanity, an eternity of justice and happiness. This future was believed by Jesus to be close at hand "or else the greater part of his teaching in the gospels is without authenticity."

M Loisy next examines the meaning of the expression "Son of God" and shows that in the oldest passages of the gospels this is simply equivalent to Messiah. It is only in later theology that the "Son of God" means a being who has existed from all time and is one with God.

The following chapters of M Loisy's little book are devoted to "The Church," "The Christian Dogma," "The Catholic Worship." Their aim is to maintain the legitimacy of Catholic development, against the Protestant view that all departure from the forms of the primitive church is erroneous. "The most enlightened protestant theologians, those who recognize a relative necessity for Catholic development, none the less reason as if it was not evident that we should condemn Christianity to death if we tried to restore it to its primitive from and organisation, and as if the natural condition of its preservation and the expression of its vitality had not been change." The doctrines have been gradually evolved. "The conceptions that the Church presents as revealed dogmas, are not truths fallen from heavens and preserved by religious tradition in the precise form, in which they have first appeared. The historian sees in them the interpretation of religious facts, acquired by a laborious effort of theological thought." But gradual evolution is the necessary condition of life. "There is no institution on earth or in the history of man whose legitimacy and value cannot be disputed, if we lay down the principle that nothing has any right to exist except in its original condition. This principle is contrary to the law of life which is a movement and a continual effort of adoptation to conditions perpetually variable and new." "To be identical with the religion of Jesus, it (the Catholic Church) has no more need to reproduce exactly the form of the Galilæan gospel, than a man in order to be same at fifty as on the day of his birth, needs to retain the proportion, the features, and disposition of a new-born child."

Such a defence of Catholicism however able and well-meaning, was not acceptable to the highest ecclesiastical authorities. For them dogma was not a growth, but a deposit confided once for all to their custody. Two months after its publication, Loisy's book was condemned by the Archbishop of Paris. In the same year 1903, he published three more books, also distasteful to strictly orthodox Catholics. Before the end of the

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year they were censured at Rome. In December, the Inquisition issued a decree, to the effect that 'the works of the abbe A. Loisy entitled : *The Religion of Israel, Gospel Studies, The Gospel and the Church, Concerning a little book, The Fourth Gospel*, shall be inserted in the *Index* of forbidden books." M Loisy's attempt to reconcile Cotholic dogmas with scientific historical criticism had ended in failure. Yet it had been made in perfect sincerity and good faith. Four years later M Loisy writes with reference to his own motives.

"I made myself a priest to the regret of my family who would have preferred me to choose another career but I desired to serve the church and to serve it in the way my aptitude permitted by science and teaching. I can say without the least vanity, I have not ceased to work at ecclesiastical studies, without letting myself be turned aside to specialities which would have taken me away from my original object, the study and the defence of Catholic Christianity. I first of all applied myself spontaneously to the study of the Bible ; owing to circumstances I have been able to devote myself freely to it, for more than twenty-five years. But as I advanced in my researches I perceived that our official instruction was a conventional formula which did not correspond to the reality of things. Then instead of giving up my design of apologetics, instead of adopting the miserable course of defending under the name of tradition, theses which I saw to be untenable (I might have had a brilliant and honoured career in the Church, if I had known how to lie) I *endeavoured*, after years of labour, after long reflexions, and why should I not say it ?—after a long period of internal anguish, during which I saw fall one by one the received ideas which I had been taught in my childhood, I *endeavoured*, I say, to shew how the essentials of Catholicism could survive the crisis of contemparary thought, how the Church could justify her past, how she could assure to herself the future.

M Loisy now recognizes that his endeavour was a failure. The Roman Inquisition will not tolerate the distinctions between the essential and the traditional.

In all countries there are many who are no longer able to retain the belief of their childhood. Often they are thrown into a state of painful perplexity. On the one side are the claims of reason and conscience, on the other the unwillingness to break with the past and to grieve friends to whom they are sincerely attached. M Loisy wished to be as conciliatory as he could consistently with honesty. He wrote : "I receive with respect the judgment of the Holy Congregations,* and I condemn myself in my writings everything reprehensible that may be formed in them. I must nevertheless add that my adhesions to the sentence of the Holy Congregations is purely for the sake of discipline. I reserve the rights of my conscience and do not intend when submitting to the judgment of the Inquisition to abandon or retract the opinions I have expressed as a historian and critic." This submission was forwarded to the Pope, who considered it insufficient. A month later (Feb. 28th 1904) M Loisy wrote directly to the Pope: "I wish to live and die in the communion of the Catholic Church. I do not wish to contribute to the ruin of faith in my country. It is not in my power to destroy in myself the result of my works. As far as in me, I submit myself to the judgment pronounced against my writing by the Inquisition. In proof of my good will, and for the pacification of minds to abandon the lectures I give at Paris, and also to suspend the scientific publications I am preparing." The Pope did not find this letter any more satisfactory than the preceding. He insisted on absolute retractation and concluded by saying : "He is not asked not to write any more, but to write to defend tradition." For the time, however, M. Loisy seems to have been no further molested.

It should be noted that M Loisy's errors did not affect any of the points in dispute between Roman Catholics and Protestants such as Transubstantiation or Papal Infallibility. They concerned the authority of the Bible, accepted by both Protestants and Catholic. It was not owing to speculations on questions of abstract theology or church discipline, but owing to his historical studies, that M Loisy had come to disagree with orthodox Christianity. His position resembled that of a scholar of the preceding generation. Renan born thirty-four years earlier had also been destined for an ecclesiastical career. He had renounced it, after a mental struggle, at the age of twenty-two, because he had become convinced that it is impossible for a serious scholar to accept the traditional views of the books of the Bible. The difference in the two cases was that Renan of his own accord separated himself from the Church, while Loisy stayed in it till he was excommunicated. A clerical paper wrote : "Renan, who in his audacious propositions stopped far short of the abbe Loisy early understood the incompatibility of his ideas with the maintenance

* The Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index.

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of a fictitious loyalty." However views are now often held by many of the clergy both of the Church of England and the Church of Rome, which would have been thought heretical a generation ago, and M Loisy may have hoped that perhaps even his would be tolerated. At least he wrote to a friend: "Until acts or declarations are required of as directly contrary to our convictions, I think we ought not to leave the Church. The exodus of the liberal believers, would not lead at the present time to any fruitful result. They would be wrong to take the initiative of their separation."

Whether this was sound advice or not, it is quite true that Loisy departed more from tradition than Renan. Biblical criticism has advanced since 1863 when Renan's "Life of Jesus" was published. Two points may be noticed. First, Renan treats the fourth gospel as an historical authority, an unpardonable mistake even at that time, and one which deprives his "Life of Jesus" of all value as a serious contribution to history. M Loisy writes:

"If Jesus has spoken and acted as we see him act and speak in the first three gospels, he cannot have spoken and acted as we see him act and speak in the fourth. And the choice is not doubtful between these two portraits of Christ. The words and acts of Jesus in the Synoptics are those of a living person who behaves in a manner suitable to the situation in which he is placed. The words and acts of Christ in the fourth gospel are those of a transcendant, metaphysical personality who rises above history and does not belong to real life.".

The next point relates to the accounts of the resurrection. Renan uncritically accepts the story of the empty tomb of Jesus. But the earliest account of the resurrection contains no mention of any empty tomb, and Saint Paul would not have omitted this fact if he had known it. M Loisy rejects the whole story of the burial of Jesus by Joseph of Arimathæa and the visit of the women to the tomb. The probability is that the body of Jesus was detached from the cross by the Roman soldiers and thrown into the common tomb where executed criminals were buried.

M Loisy's views gained adherents even among the Catholic clergy, and excited anxiety at Rome. In April 1907, in an address to the newly made cardinals the Pope said: "See, Venerable Brethren, if We, who must defend with all our strength, the deposit entrusted to us, if We have not reason to be anxious in presence of this assault which does not constitute a heresy, but the condensation and poisonous extract of all heresies, which tends to undermine the foundations of faith and annihilate Christianity. Yes, annihilate Christianity, since for these modern heretics, Holy Scripture is no longer the sure source of all truths concerning the faith, but an ordinary book. For them, inspiration reduces itself to dogmatic doctrines which they understand in their own fashion. A little more, and they would recognize no difference from the poetic inspiration of Æschylus and Homer."

Two months later, the Roman inquisition published the decree "Lamentabili sane exitu" condemning sixty-five propositions, most of which were extracted, more or less accurately, from the works of M Loisy. In the same decree were affirmed, in opposition to these errors, sixty-five true propositions which every Christian is bound to believe. We will give a few of these:

XI. Divine inspiration extends to all holy Scripture so as to preserve from all error, each and all of its parts.

XII. The expositor who wish to apply himself usefully to Biblical studies is not bound to put aside all preconcived opinion about the supernatural origin of Holy Scripture and he must not interpret it as other purely human documents.

XVI, XVII, XVIII, assert that the fourth gospel was written by an eyewitness and is historically true.

XXII. The dogmas that the Church presents as revealed are truths fallen from heavens, not a certain interpretation of religious facts that the human mind has acquired by a laborious effort.

XXX. The name of Son of God is not merely equivalent to Messiah; it means really that Jesus is the true and natural Son of God.

With reference to XI M Loisy writes:

"The idea of a book entirely divine, absolutely true in all its parts and for all kinds of knowledge on which it touches, implies a contradiction. In fact this idea, the legacy of the primitive—one may say the mythological—ages of humanity, condemns orthodox expositors to an impossible task. What has not been imagined to reconcile the story of the creation of the world in six days, with the results of geology and the conclusions of modern science, to demonstrate the historicity of the universal deluge; to explain the plagues of Egypt, to solve the contradictions which are met with in the Biblical writings? Wrong has thus been done to the Bible itself, and the objections and laughter of the incredulous have been excited.

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To defend itself against the tyranny that theologians, in the name of the Bible claimed to exercise over all human speculations, science, instead of applying itself to the Bible, has been compelled, so to say, to exercise itself against the Bible, which was opposed to it as an inviolable barrier. The case of Galileo, will continue to be invoked against the Church, until the church has understood its meaning."

These stories, which M Loisy regards as so absurd, are taught by Christian missionaries in India. The missionary believes that the human race is descended from Adam and Eve, and came into existence some six thousand years ago. It seems scarcely credible that such belief should still be held by any educated man, but here is a passage from a book used in missionary schools:

"Jab is dunya ko paida hue char hazar baras gujar chuke the, aur Adam aur Hawwa ko mare tin hazar baras se ziyada ho gae the, aur dunya admion se bhari pari the, tab Khuda ne apne piyare aur eklante Bete ko is dunya men bheja" (*Urdu ki tisri kitab,p. 64*).

In September of the same year, the Pope issued an Encylical "Pascendi Dominici Gregis" condemning the errors of the "modernists". Under the term "modernists," are included men of very different opinions, whose only point of agreement is that they wish the Roman Cathlic Church to adopt itself more nearly to the needs of modern times. Some like M Loisy are Biblical critics and to these, at one time, the name "loisyists" was applied. Others are not completely satisfied with the philosophy of S Thomas Aquinas and think that the philosophic thought of the last three centuries should not be ignored. Others again wish that the church should shew more democratic sympathies, and not always take the side of the rich and dominant class. Lastly, others, in Italy, cannot as patriots associate themselves with the wish of the Pope and his circle to recover possession of Rome. The Encyclical begins:

"The office with which we are divinely invested, of feeding the flock of the Lord, has for first duty, assigned by Christ, that of guarding with the greatest care the deposit of the faith transmitted to the saints, repudiating the profane novelties of language and the contradictions of a false science."

It then proceeds to state that the "modernist" assumes no less than seven distinct characters. He is philosopher, believer, theologian, historian, critic, apologist, reformer. All the other errors of the modernist result from his errors in philosophy. These are enumerated at length, but that he no longer follows exclusively the methods of scholastic philosophy is the fundamental error. As a believer, the modernist recognizes some good in all religions, whereas every true Christian knows that Christianity is derived fron God and all other religions from the devil. As theologians they assert that a living religion must change "Dogma, Church, worship, the books that we venerate as sacred, even faith, if they are not to perish, must obey the laws of evolution." As historians they maintain that all divine intervention in the affairs of men, is a matter of faith not of history. As critics, "they do not hesitate to affirm that the sacred books, especially the Pentateuch and the first three gospels, at first books of brief compass, have increased little by little by additions, interpolations in the forms of theological or allegorical explanations, or duties to connect the different parts." As apologists, they admit errors in the sacred books, but excuse them as inevitable at the time those books were written. Lastly as reformers, "the modernists clamour for a total reforms of ecclesiastical government, above all in matters of discipline and doctrine; it should accommodate itself in character and procedure, with what is called the modern conscience which tends towards democracy; a share should be given to the lower clergy and even to the laity; authority centralised to excess should be decentralised."

All these wicked doctrines, the Pope goes on to say, proceed from pride. "Pride is, as it were, at home in the doctrine of modernism; from all sides it receives nutriment, and takes all forms. It is from pride that they have that audacious confidence in themselves, that makes them regard and propose themselves as a universal rule. It is from pride that they have the vainglory to imagine themselves the only possessors of wisdom and that they say, swollen with arrogance, 'We are not as other men' and in order not to be compared with others, they adopt and imagine all sorts of novelties, even the most absurd. It is from pride that they repudiate all submission, and assert that authority ought to be reconciled with liberty. It is from pride that without considering themselves, they only think of reforming others and have no respect for their superiors, not even for the highest authority. There is no road to *modernism* shorter and rapider than pride. When a layman, or a priest, has forgotten the precept of Christian life, which orders us to renounce ourselves if we wish to

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follow Christ, and has not torn pride out of his heart, he is ripe for the errors of the *Modernists*." A second cause of *modernism* is mental curiosity, and a third is ignorance, not ignorance in general, but ignorance of the only true and necessary science, scholastic philosophy.

The Pope next prescribes seven measures against *modernism*.

1. The scholastic philosophy must be foundation of all clerical studies.

2. Every principal or professor imbued with *modernism* must be removed from Catholic Seminaries and Universities. This includes everyone who praises the modernists, who blames scholasticism or the Fathers; everyone who in archæology, history or criticism is inclined to novelty.

3. The Bishops must prohibit the reading of books affected by *modernism*, and as far as they can prevent their publication. "These books are not less pernicious than obscene books; they are even more so because they poison the sources of Christian life." In the same category must be included "the writings of Catholics not ill-intentioned, but ignorant of theology and imbued with modern philosophy, who try to reconcile this modern philosophy with faith, and to use it as they say, for the support of faith. These writings are so much the more dangerous, in that without distrust on account of the name and good reputation of the authors, one may glide insensibly towards modernism."

4. The Bishops must be very strict in conceding the *imprimatur* (permission to print). A certain number of official censors must be appointed in each diocese, who will examine books before publication.

5. Congresses of the clergy should be distrusted. The *Modernists* may take advantage of them.

6. To assure the execution of the preceding measures each Bishop will institute in his diocese, a Council of Vigilance which will meet under his presidency every two months. Its deliberations and decisions will be kept secret.

7. In a year, and afterwards every three years, the Bishops will give on oath an account to the Pope of the way in which the prescribed rules have been carried out, of the doctrines which are current among the clergy, in the seminaries and other Catholic institutions.

Early in 1908 M Loisy published an answer to the decree of the Inquisition and the Encyclical of the Pope. It must be admitted that the tone of this reply is not in the least conciliatory. He treats the theologians of His Holiness as men unacquainted with the most elementary principles of Biblical criticism. Probably they were, but it was hardly judicious to say so. In India, as we know, it is common enough for men occupying a high official position to express their opinion about matters of which they are utterly ignorant, but they would not like to be told they were making fools of themselves. M Loisy refers to the case of Galileo. If Galileo assumed towards his opponents the same attitude of contemptuous superiority—we rather think he did—his condemnation can be easily understood apart from the special questions at issue. The condemnation of M. Loisy was also inevitable and it was not long delayed. In February 1908, the Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Longres forbade the faithful of their dioceses to read the works of M Alfred Loisy entitled "The Synoptic Gospels," "Simple Reflexions on the decree of the Inquisition *Lamentabili sane exitu*, and of the Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*." On the 19th M Loisy was required to send in his submission within ten days. The submission was refused and on the 7th March the decree of excommunication was pronounced in the following words:

"It is now everywhere known that the priest Alfred Loisy, at present living in the diocese of Langres has orally taught and published in writing many things which subvert the very foundations of the Christian faith. Yet it was hoped that he, deceived perhaps, rather by love of novelty than by wickedness of mind would conform to the recent declarations and prescriptions of the Holy See and therefore so far recourse was not had to the graver canonical sanctions. But the contrary happened; for, in contempt of all, not only did he not abjure his errors, but has not feared obstinately to confirm them in new writings and letters to his Superiors. As therefore there is no doubt of his obstinate contumacy after formal canonical admonitions, this Supreme Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, lest it should fail in its office, on the express mandate of His Holiness Pope Pius X pronounces the sentence of major excommunication against the priest Alfred Loisy by name and in person, and solemnly declares that he has incurred all the penalties of those who are publicly excommunicated, and that he is to be shunned and ought to be shunned by all."

Three hundred years ago a decree of excommunication would have quickly been followed by the burning of the heretic. But the Pope and the Inquisition, whatever they may have wished, had not the

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power to inflict the fate of Giordano Bruno* on M Loisy. He had nothing worse to fear than abuse and calumny and of these he received a full share. The coarse and virulent clerical journals of France and Italy made him an object of their attacks. M Loisy retorted in some very effective letters, but it would perhaps have been more dignified for a scholar of his eminence to have ignored their impotent malignity altogether. We pass over this controversy but we think a few extracts from some of M Loisy's private letters may be of interest to our readers. If we are not mistaken, the conclusions he has reached, nearly coincide with those of many thoughtful Indians, both Hindu and Mahomedan.

"The constant effort of humanity towards an ever higher ideal, of knowledge, of justice and of happiness cannot be a mere illusion." "Our existence depends on postulates which we correct as we find them defective, but with which we cannot dispense. There is also a postulate of social and moral life, and this is right and duty, justice and love; it is God, the Supreme Law. You say 'What is God?' and you ask me 'Is He a personal being with whom I can enter into relations?" God is the Mystery of life, and there is no doubt that in attributing to Him personality, we commit an undisguised anthropomorphism. Nevertheless, it is not an abstract law which governs the world; it is a profound reality, a living force; and if our intelligence can form reserves on all the symbols in which God appears as a great *individual*, practically we must conduct ourselves as if the law of our life were given us by a personal will which has an absolute right over ours." "The moral world is as real as the physical world. The two are not separate, although they are distinct for our intelligence. The law of duty is not less certain than that of attraction. Their relation escapes us but both form part of a single system in which goodness and force are identical. Am I falling into *Monism*, into pantheism? I do not know. These are words and I try to speak of things. Faith desires theism, reason tends to pantheism. Doubtless they view the truth under two aspects whose agreement is hidden from us."

Other eminent men have been forced to leave the Roman Catholic Church in recent times. St. George Mivart was a distinguished biologist of whom the Roman Catholics thirty years ago were very proud, but he was excommunicated by Cardinal Vaughan in 1900 because he denied the birth of Jesus from a virgin mother. The Irish scholar Tyrrell, four years junior to Loisy, was in 1906 expelled from the order of the Jesuits on account of his "modernist" views. These conspicuous instances attract public attention, but every year hundreds of men, many of them priests, quietly leave the church. It is true converts are sometimes made, mostly from other forms of Christians, but it would be difficult to find among these even a single name distinguished for scholarship and scientific research.

* Giordano Bruno was excommunicated on the 9th of February 1600 and burned on the 17th. In 1839 the Municipality of Rome erected a statue to him, to the intense anger of the Pope, Leo XIII.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST EXPOSITION AT SAN FRANCISCO, 1915

ABOUT seven years ago, when I came to San Francisco just after the great fire and earthquake, the city was nothing but a ghastly-looking place full of ruins and remnants of great palaces. But to-day San Francisco is one of the finest and grandest cities in the United States. With their characteristic progressive spirit the people of the United States have planned to hold the world's greatest exposition, where the wonders of the world would be shown, to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal, probably the greatest event of the 20th Century, as far as commerce and engineering feats are concerned.

The World's Panama Pacific Exposition will serve as the most elaborate and up-to-date panorama of the history of the civilization of the world. Fourteen large buildings are to be erected by the exposition company. They are to be devoted to general exhibits exemplifying the advance of the world in the arts, sciences and industries. These buildings will be the loftiest and most imposing structures ever erected.

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The following are the approximate dimensions of the buildings: Machinery Hall, 367·8×967·8 and annexes; Mines and Metallurgy 574×451; Varied industries 414×346 and annexes; Manufactures 552×470; Transportation, 614·6×574·6: Liberal Arts 585×470; Agriculture—large wing, 630·6×574·6, smaller wing 423·9×579·6; Education, 394·3×526; Automobile Hall 272×752; Festival Hall, 380×200 (greatest 280); Horticulture, 630×295; Fine Arts (outside line) 1,100 feet. In addition to these buildings there will be huge series of palaces and pavillions to be erected by the different states of America and by foreign nations.

Already Japan, China, Sweden, Portugal, Canada, Holland, Haiti, Guatimala, Salvador, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Equador, Uruguay, Chili, Liberia, Nicaragua, Cuba, Brazil, France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Argentine, Sant Domingo, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Peru and other countries have secured sites on the exposition ground to erect separate buildings to represent arts and industries and to exhibit the achievements of human intellect in all fields of activity. The rest of the civilized countries will do the same in near future.

The foreign powers will display all phases of their progress at home and in their colonies. Mr. Harcourt, Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, has addressed to the governors of the self-governing dominions, crown colonies and protectorates requesting them to consider the question of participation with the remark that the British display should be worthy of the British empire. Japan will expend $1,000,000 upon its pavallion and grounds, occupying five acres, will be located upon the United States Presidio-military reservation immediately adjoining the exposition sites. Marquis de la Vega Inclan of Spain, who visited San Francisco, will arrange for a wonderful art exhibit to include the original paintings of the great Spanish masters and many historical trophies and tapestries and rare pieces of sculpture. Holland will be represented upon a scale never equalled outside the Netherlands. France cabled San Francisco requesting twelve acres as location of a superb exhibit palace to be built by France. China, the wisest of all the world republics, is planning to show both the China of the past and that of the future.

It is very desirable that India should be properly represented, among the nations, not by the officialdom of British India nor by Christian missionaries but by true India—i.e., by the Native States and the representatives of the people of India, namely Babu Abanindra Nath Tagore in the field of arts, Dr. J. C. Bose in the field of science, Hon. Lala Lajpat Rai in the field of social economics, and other Indians in their respective fields. The Native States of India under the leadership of the Nizam of Hydrabad, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharajas of Mysore, Cashmere and others ought to start a movement to represent India properly in the exposition. They have played their parts very conspicuously during the Coronation Durbars and they should not sit down inactive to represent India in the greatest international event of the twentieth century. We hope sanguinely that at least some of the native princes of India who lavishly spend the life-blood of their subjects in shows, will come out of their limited sphere of life and visit the exposition to see how the world is moving. We may safely assert that many of the splendid reforms introduced in his state by the Gaekwar of Baroda are due to his personal knowledge of the progressive movements of the world, which he has acquired by wide and extensive travel.

When the exposition opens—February 20, 1915—the nations of the world will, in actuality, officially come to San Francisco, for the battleships of the world will be assembled off Harbor View, the exposition site, at that time. That a battleship is virtually the territory of the country it represents, is a fact widely recognized in the procedure of international law, and so the nations of the world will, as it were, gather at the western gate of America. More than two hundred battleships will, it is known from un-official advices, participate in a series of spectacular manœuvers in San Francisco harbor in 1915. There will also be a great drill ground capable at one time to accommodate ten thousand troops in drill. Foreign nations will send their crack cavalry and infantry to participate in the manœuvers and trials of skill.

The naval genius and maritime activity of the people of India are now mere records in historical works; but India can very well be proud of her children who yet have the privilege of bearing arms and who zealously follow the life of military men. A Sikh cavalry, and a Gurkha infantry regiment, under the guidance of competent

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officers, can hold their own in competition with any nation in the world. Indeed it will be a great treat to the visitors of the exposition if the British Government arrange to exhibit the marvelous feats of horsemanship, marksmanship, courage, strength, sword-play and other sports of the Rajputs, Sikhs and other native Indian troops.

Perhaps the greatest feature of the 1915 Exposition will be its congresses, societies and conventions. The world gatherings will bring to San Francisco, the great thinkers of all nations along the lines of industry, art, science and education. Many fraternal organizations and scientific societies have already decided to meet in San Francisco in 1915. The Exposition authorities have been so impressed with the importance of these congresses and conventions that they have set aside one million dollars for the erection of a great auditorium in which meetings may be held. This auditorium will be built in the new civic centre, on which more than eight million dollars will be expended before the Exposition opens. Hon. Mr. James A. Barr, manager of the Bureau of Conventions and Congressess of the Exposition, informs us that already over ninety learned societies of national and international fame have decided to hold conventions during the Exposition. The important ones among them are;—(1) International Good Road Congress, (2) International Council of Nurses, (3) Panama Pacific Dental Congress, (4) International Municipal Congress, (5) International Electric Congress, (6) International Electro-technical Commission, (7) World's Insurance Congress, (8) Engineering Congress, (9) The American Society of Mechanical Engineers, (10) International Gas Congress, (11) Astronomical and Astrophysical Society of America, (12) The American Electro-chemical Society, (13) Association of American Universities, (14) American Society for Animal Nutrition, (15) American Institute of Electrical Engineers, (16) National Liberal Immigration League, (17) American Historical Association, (18) American Breeders' Association, (19) American Academy of Political and Social Science, (20) National Electrical Light Association, (21) American Home Economics Association. It is imperative that Indian scientists and scholars of national and international reputation should participate in the congress to determine the place of India among the nations in the sphere of the intellect and to demonstrate that though only 6 per cent of our people can read and write owing to the want of proper aid and encouragement by the government yet India is not altogether barren to produce genius in fields of abstract and applied sciences.

The most important thing that should interest the students of the world is the fact that an International Students' Congress will be held under the auspices of Corda Fratres Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, during the Exposition. Representative scholars (men and women) will be invited from different countries to present papers on the social, political, economic and educational conditions of different countries. May we hope that bona fide representative scholars from India will be present to perform their share?

Persons interested in the International Students' Congress should communicate with the Committee on International Students' Congress 1915, Box 455, Berkeley, Cal., U. S. A.

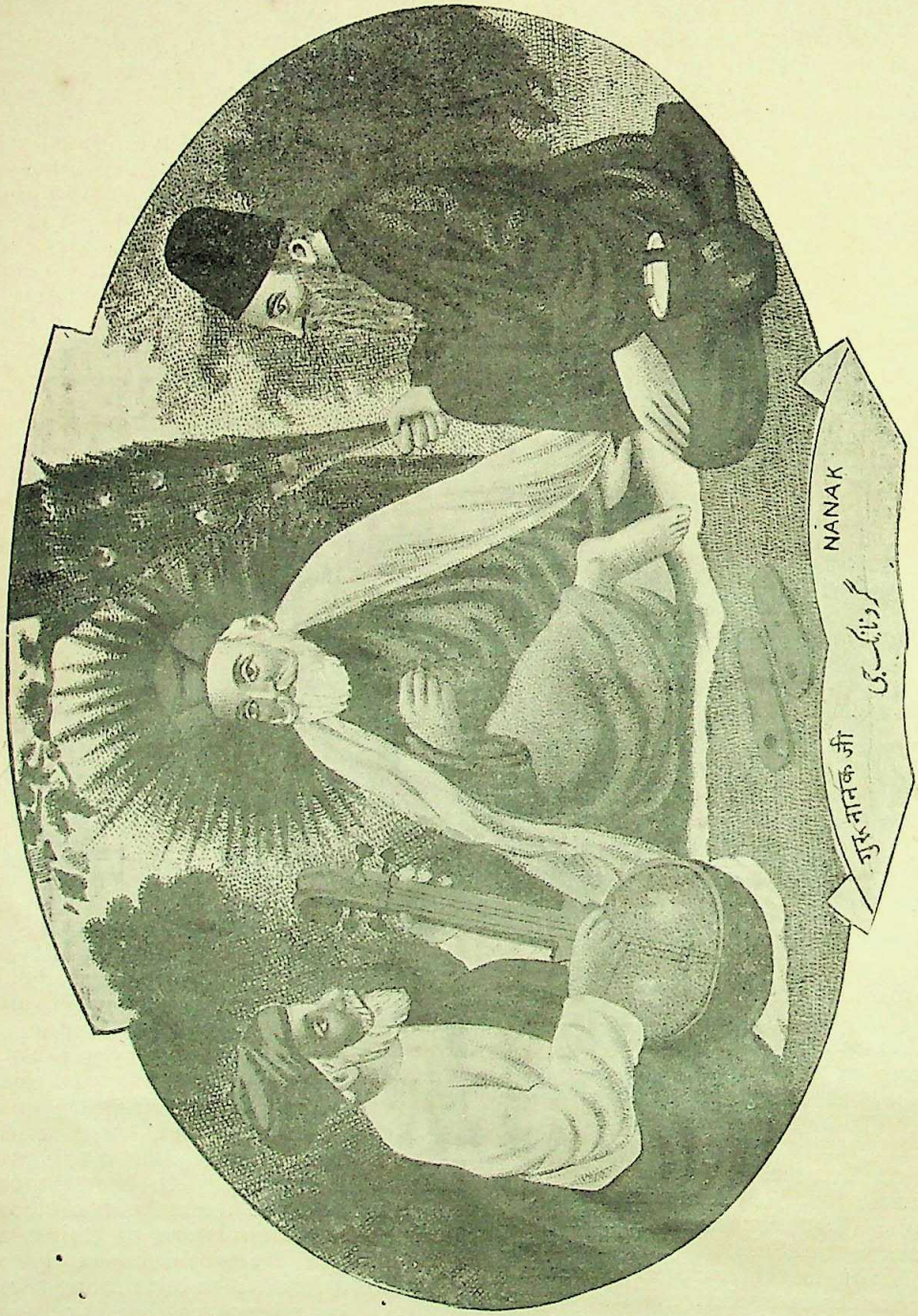
In this article, it is impossible to discuss in any details, about the architechtural features of different buildings and phases of amusements in the Exposition. More than eight hundred exhibitors of the world have applied for exhibit space, and a number of exhibits will range in value from $200,000 to $300,000; more than two thousand applications have been received. Indian exhibitors should not lag behind, they should communicate with the Department of Concessions of Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, Cal., U.S. A., to get concessions and further information.

In conclusion we wish to emphasize the fact that attending the Exposition will itself be one of the sources of the most practical and wider form of education. If the aims of Indian nationalism are based on the spirit of progress it is desirable that Indian patriots, educators, students and merchants should do their best to come to the Exposition to widen the breadth of their visions. India should send an "Intellectual Delegation" to the Exposition which will do the same kind of work as the Imperial Commission of China, which went around the world to study what China should do, to be one among the most progressive and powerful nations in the world, did for China.

University of California, Berkeley, Cal., U. S. A. } TARAKNATH DAS.

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GURU NANAK AND HIS DISCIPLES.

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GURU NANAK

Children of saintly Nanak and Govind,
A harder task is yours to learn this day
Than when your stern forefathers rose to slay
The hated foe from High Kashmir to Sind.
They swept to victory swifter than the wind,
Ardent as lovers for the battle fray,
More fierce than eagles tearing at their prey,
A name of terror known in furthest Hind.

But Guru Nanak taught another theme,
When with an accent tender, pure and sweet,
He gave to his disciples this great word,—
'Farid, All-loving is the One Supreme.
'If men assail thee, stoop and kiss their feet,
'So enterest thou the Temple of the Lord.'

SHANTINIKETAN,
BOLPUR.

C. F. ANDREWS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDU POLITY

BY KASHIPRASAD JAYASWAL, B. A. (OXON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

CHECKS UPON THE ARBITRARINESS OF HINDU MONARCHS.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS : ITS COMPOSITION.

THE number of the ministers varied from time to time. Vrihaspati in his book on politics prescribed the number of the council members to be sixteen. The Sutra work of the Manavas laid down that "the council of ministers should be composed of twelve ministers" (मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्व्वीतेति मानवाः।—Artha-Shastra, p. 29). An older authority, Ushanah enjoined twenty, while Kautilya would not have any rigid number. The author of the Manava Dharma Shastra limited the number to seven or eight. The number eight became fixed when the Shukraniti was written and on its tradition the *Ashhta Pradhana* or the Ministry of Eight High Ministers of Shivaji was founded. The ministers were called *mantrins*, *mahamatras*, or *amatyas*. There were (1) the Chancellor or the Prime Minister,* the *Pradhana*, who acted as the president of the council, (2) the Minister of War, (*Sachiva* or *Sandhi-nigrahika*), (3) the Minister of Finance or the *Sumantra* (आयव्ययपरिज्ञाता सुमन्त्रः स च कीर्त्तितः), (4) the Foreign Minister or the *Mantrin*, (5) the Minister of Justice or the *Pradvivaka*, (6) the Minister of Law called the *Panditamatya* (and later on probably, the *Dharmadhikarin*) (वर्त्तमानाश्च प्राचीना धर्म्मा के लोक-

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संश्रिता:। शास्त्रेषु के समुद्दिष्टा विरुध्यन्ते च केऽधुना॥ लोकशास्त्रविरुद्धा के पण्डितस्तान् विचिन्त्य च।—Shukraniti II, 99-100). The duty of this "Pandita minister" was to consider what ancient laws had become obsolete and what laws were followed at a given time, what laws should be enforced and what are not to be enforced, and to "advise" the king accordingly. Then there was (7) the *Amatya* (and *Rajamatya*) or the Home Minister. [अमात्ये दण्ड आयत्त: (Man. Dh. 7, 65); "the jurisdiction of executive is vested in the Amatya.' देशकाल प्रविज्ञाता ह्यमात्य इति कथ्यते।—Sh. Niti. II. 86. 'The minister called Amatya has to know the country and circumstances.] Then there is a minister called (8) the *Pratinidhi* or the Representative of the sovereign who I think acted as regent. These are the eight ministers whose details I find mainly only in the Shukraniti. 'Manu' describes only five of them. Sometimes, as the former authority tells us, two more ministers were counted as members of the Council: (1) the Royal *Purohita* or the ecclesiastical head, (2) who is according to the Artha Shastra a state officer concerned with the religious well-being of the state, but who according to Shukra Niti II. 16, had to combine in him a knowledge of politics and military science along with religious lore. The other officer who was sometimes included amongst the ministry was (3) the ambassador. It is very interesting to note that these two officers had only occasionally seats in the council.

Each minister affixed his seal on the resolutions of the council and put down in his signature the fixed formula, e. g., "should be passed "etc. They were then presented to the king, who wrote "without delay," (द्राक्) *Seen.* (Shukra-Niti, II. 362—369). *

The essense of this constitution is that the king had actually no power in his own and sole hand. *All* administrative functions were vested in the Council. Such was the constitution as late as the 8th century A.C. (the age of the Shukra Niti). That such was also substantially the constitution as early as the 4th century B. C., we gather from the notices of Megasthenes:

"The Seventh class consists of the Councillors and Assessors—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members."—M'Crindle's Megasthenes, p. 63.

"The seventh class consists of the *Councillors* and *Assessors* of the king. To them belong the highest posts of the Government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs." —Ibid, p. 85.

"In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice; and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture." —Idid, p. 212.

Each minister had two junior ministers under him.

The position of the ministers was considered substantially uniform, for generally the offices carried equal remunerations. (एताभृतिसमास्त्वष्टौ राज्ञ: प्रकृतय: सदा। Sh.-Ni. II. 73).

Their port-folios were transferred from time to time (परिवर्त्त्य नृपो ह्येतान् युञ्जादन्योऽन्य कर्म्मसु।—Sh. Ni. II. 107).

They had also their collective duties: e. g., the statement of yearly expenditure of the departments under each minister had to be collectively heard and discussed. (प्रचारसमं महामात्रा समवा श्रावयेयु:।—Artha Shastra, II. 7). They had collectively to discuss affairs of foreign policy (ते ह्यस्य स्वपक्षं परपक्षं च चिन्तयेयु:। A. S. I.15). Important business had to be initiated and hypothecated by the ministry, and if any members of the ministry were away, their opinion had to be taken through letters (A. Sh. I. 15). All resolutions of state were signed and sealed by all the members of the council. All acts of an urgent nature must be submitted to the council of ministers. (अत्ययिके कार्य्ये मन्त्रिण: मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाह्वय ब्रूयात्।—Artha Shastra, I. 15). In some important meetings of the council the king was present.

As to the caste of the ministers, I find

* Cf. Laws of Brihaspati, VIII. 16. (Thus the king should declare in the grant), the Secretaries for peace and war signing the grant with the remark 'I know this.' (Jolly). In actual inscriptions of the 5th century found in India the minister writes on grants "Approved."

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a proportional selection from each caste, including the Shudras :

4 Brahmins; 8 Kshatriyas ; 21 Vaishyas; 3 Shudras ; and, 1 Suta, (of the mixed caste) who should know ancient history (Purana).

Out of these the council is to be formed of eight only. Here is the text from the Maha-Bharata :

चतुरो ब्राह्मणान् वेदान् प्रगल्भान् स्नातकान् शुचीन् ।
क्षत्रियांश्च तथाचाष्टौ बलिनः शस्त्रपाणिनः ॥
वैश्यान् वित्तेनसम्पन्नानेकविंशति संख्यया ।
त्रींश्च शूद्रान् विनीतांश्च शुचीन् कर्म्मणिपूर्व्वके ॥
अष्टाभिश्च गुणैर्युक्तं सूतं पौराणिकं तथा ।
पञ्चाशद्वर्षवयसं प्रगल्भं अनसूयकं ॥
श्रुतिस्मृति-समायुक्तं विनीतं समदर्शिनं ।
कार्य्येषु विवदमानानां शक्तमर्थेष्वलोलुपं ॥
वर्ज्जितं चैव व्यसनैः सुघोरैः सप्तभिर्भृशं ।
अष्टानां मन्त्रिणां मध्ये मन्त्रं राजोपधारयेत् ॥

Mahabharata, Shanti Parva, LXXXV. 7-11

The duty of the ministry is summed up in these terms : "If the State, the People the Strength, the Exchequer and lastly Proper Monarchism (सुनृपत्वं) do not grow, or the Enemy is not broken, through the resolutions of the ministry, the ministers do not justify their existence (lit. of what use are they ?)." (Sh. N. II. 83.)

In connection with "Proper Monarchism" I would quote principles from the same authority where occur two slokas previous to the one just quoted. "*The Monarch is not controlled, therefore ministers have to be*" (II. 81). "For," says the Niti in the next verse, "if the king could not be kept in check by ministers, is national prosperity possible by such ministers ?" In the latter case they would cease to be real ministers and would be no better than being ornamental.

वीक्षणं न भवेत् तस्मात् राज्ञस्ते स्युः सुमन्त्रिणः ।
न विभेति नृपो येभ्य स्तै स्यात् किम् राजप्रवर्त्तनम् ॥
यथालङ्कारवस्त्राद्यैः स्त्रियो भूष्यास्तथा हि ते ॥ II. 83.

The *Su-nripatva* or proper kingship, therefore, is their limited monarchy.

The minister is the *Raja-rashhtra-bhrit* or "the bearer of the responsibility of the king and the state." The king was consequently bound, as has been observed already, to follow the dictates of the council. *

I hope the above description of the ministry is sufficient to establish my proposition that the ministry was a great constitutional check on the Hindu Sovereign.

Public Opinion and the Opinion of Thinkers.

Before dealing with the constitutional safeguards in the matter of taxation I would notice two social agencies which went to limit the arbitrariness of the Hindu monarch. I need only remind you of the numerous instances, with which you as Hindus are well familiar through your literature, of the royal solicitude to find out the public opinion on the royal conduct and administration. The ideal is forcefully, though crudely, set forth in the national epic, the Ramayana, in the alleged reason why Rama gave up his queen. Though personally convinced of her innocence, he separated himself from her in response to public will. Dasharatha, according to the constitutional view prevalent in 1st Century B.C., consulted the people of the metropolis† with regard to his proposal to appoint Rama as his Yuvaraja or Prince Assistant. In books of politics it is required to institute spies to find out the real public opinion both in the capital and the provinces. In the opinion of the writers of the 5th and the 6th centuries, (e. g., Kalidasa) the king would not justify his title if he could not please his people (प्रजारञ्जनात् राजा). The king, says even the Artha-Shastra, the great advocate of a strong executive, can have no personal likes or dislikes, his likes or dislikes are those of his people. (नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्, I. 19). He had to

* He is told that Indra, though actually two-eyed was called "one of thousand eyes" because his Council of State consisted of a thousand seers. (इन्द्रस्य हि मन्त्रिपरिषद् ऋषीणां सहस्रम् तच्चक्षुः तस्मादिमम् द्वाक्षं सहस्राक्षमाहुः ।—Artha Shastra I. 15. Even the Hindu Hobbes said this to his prince.

† The townsmen of the capital had a special privilege of making their opinion heard and heeded. At times they went in a body or sent a deputation to the king, or their town corporation नगरसभा sent in a representation.

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follow the desire of the people, for he was, to quote the Shukraniti, *their servant* :*

स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत: प्रजानाञ्च नृप: कृत: (I. 188). †

The hermits and recluse thinkers living outside society, in the forest, were also a political factor in Hindu life. Our literature since the time of the Upanishads is full of such references. Foreign writers have also noticed the fact. Alexander found the 'gymnosophists' formidable politicians and with his usual ferocity to free ideas had several of them executed. When asked why he urged the leader of a particular community to oppose Alexander one of them replied that because he "wished him to live with honour or die with honour." (Plutarch, LXIV). Another Sannyasin is related by Greek writers to have given Alexander a lesson in politics by comparing Alexander's Empire to a piece of dried hide without a centre of gravity, one edge rising up rebelliously, while Alexander stood at the other. The old Dandin (Dandamis) of Taxila, when called upon by Onesikrates to present himself before Alexander, son of Zeus, master of the world, on the pain 'but if you refuse (he) will cut off your head,' 'complacently smiled' and replied that he was as much son of Zeus as Alexander, that he was quite content with India which supported him like a mother; and sarcastically indicated that the people on the Ganges (the army of the Nanda) would convince him that he was not the master of the world.

The Buddha was approached by Ajatashatru for advice before marching against the Lichchhavis. In the Artha-Shastra the king is told that bad Government offends ascetics and recluses.

The Sannyasins always thought on politics and advised the king without any reserve or fear. It was their privilege to communicate their opinion even unasked for. They were looked upon as the moral leaders of the community and their influence against an undesirable tendency in rulers, especially in the beginning of the classical period was very considerable.*

Constitutional aspect of the theory of Taxation.

The Hindu theory of taxation is of immense importance from the constitutional point of view. Taxes are fixed by law and the scales have been embodied in the sacred Common Law, the consequence of which is that whatever the form of the government, the matter of taxation was not an object of royal caprice. No struggle therefore could arise between the crown and the people on the question of taxation. The main source of friction and of possible oppression was thus stopped almost in the very inception of Hindu monarchy. That the constitutional law of taxation was a living law regulating life is borne out by pieces of historical evidence. For instance, in the inscription of Queen Balashri of the Satavahana family, it is alleged with pride that *her son levied taxes in accordance with the sacred law.*† Chandragupta the Great had to raise money presumably for his great war with Seleukus. He and his great chancellor Kautilya were at their wit's end to collect a sufficient amount of money; the legal taxes were not productive enough for the purpose. They had to, as it is evident from the Artha-Shastra, take recourse to curious methods, which prove the inviolability of the law on the one hand and the inconvenience of a rigid legal revenue on the other! Chandrgupta asked his people to give him money as a token of affection (Pranaya)! He raised money from temples. Patanjali writing under the reign of Pushhyamitra while commenting on Panini V.3. 99. humorously remarked that the Mauryas who wanted gold raised it by instituting images of gods for worship. In the Jain tradition Chanakya is alleged to have issued eight hundred million debased

* "For the behoof of all his subjects the King should seek to learn the acts and thoughts of all and for that he should employ spies and secret agents."
Mahabharata, Shanti P, LXXXIX. 11.

† The theory that the king is the servant of the people getting his wages in the form of taxes is traced back to the 2nd Century A.C. See, Haraprasad Shastri, Journal and Proceeding of the Asiatic Society, VII, 435. "It gives expression to the extreme democratic idea that the King is only a servant of the mass, who pay the sixth part of their income as his wages."

* Cf. Maha-Bharata, Shanti, LXXXVI. 25, where the king is required to inform the recluse of his measures and of the affairs of the state; Ibid 27, 28, 29, when he is asked to take counsel from the recluse thinker.

† Archœological Survey of Western India, Vol IV. p. 108.

Cf. "That avaricious king, who foolishly oppresses his subjects by levying taxes not sanctioned by the Shastras, is said to wrong his own self."—Maha-Bharata, Shanti., LXXI. 15.

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silver coins called *karshhapanas* to fill the treasury. All these indicate a very great urgeney and at the same time a scrupulous respect for the letter of the law.

The law of taxation was a great constitutional safeguard though as we have seen a very great administrative draw-back in cases of crisis. The law was so jealously guarded that even in the Manava-Dharma-Shastra, which was written after the experience of the Mauryan Imperialism, no provision was made for urgency. This however was sought to be remedied a few centuries later when the Shanti Parva of the Maha-Bharata was written, where it is laid down that the whole country is the king's exchequer when the country is oppressed by an invasion, for the wealth of the entire country is then at stake.*

The revenue raised by taxes was under the control of the council of ministers who also were vested with the power of collecting the revenue. As early as the fourth century B.C., as we find from Megasthenes, the department of the Exchequer was under the Minister of Finance, whose history does not begin there but goes back to the Vedic Ratnin, the Treasurer.

Apart from the question of amount and collection of the taxes, the taxes themselves were regarded in Hindu politics as wages of the king for the service of administration:

वलिष्ठेन शुक्लेन दण्डेनाथापराधिनां ।

शास्त्रानीतेन लिप्सेथा वेतनेन धनागमम् ॥

"A pure (=nett?) sixth part of the produce of the soil (Bali) "fines and forfeitures collected from offenders—taxes demanded in accordance with the Shastras (law), *as your wages* (vetanena) shall constitute your revenue."—Maha Bh., Shanti P., LXXI, 10.

On the basis of this theory, the divine theory of kingship which was for the first time preached by the author of the Manava-Dharma Shastra who was writing in defence of Pushhyamitra,* morally somewhat of a usurper, was changed into another divine theory, viz., *that the king is the servant of the people and he is made so by the Creator*, स्वभागभृत्वादास्यते प्रजानाम् च नृपः कृतः । ब्रह्मणः स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्व्वदा । Shukra Niti, I. 188. "God has created the king, though master in form, the servant of the people getting his wages in taxes, and this for protection and growth (of the people) in all cases."

The economic aspect and canons of Hindu taxation are of no less importance. I shall discuss them while dealing with the character of the Hindu State.

One more point and I shall close the discussion on the constitutional limitations of Hindu monarchy.

Theory as to Property in Land.

Some English writers have confidently asserted that property in the soil always vested in the Hindu sovereign. This is as great

* "He should tell them—'Here, a great danger threatens us. Our enemies have engendered a great calamity for us! I have every reason, however, to hope that the danger will pass away;...many enemies of mine, having risen and combined with a large body of foreign barbarians, wish to put our kingdom in difficulties.....To meet this calamity and dreadful danger, I seek your protection for concerting measures for your protection.....In season of danger, you should like strong bulls bear such burdens. In season of distress, you should not value wealth too highly."

Maha. Bh. LXXXVII, 27-33; cf. also CXXX, 47.

* See my paper on the Manava-Dharma-Shastra, Calcutta Weekly Notes, 1911, and *Archin fur Rescht und wirtschafts philosophic*, Berlin, where Prof. Kohler, the foremost comparative jurist, accepts my above view on the Manava-Dharma-Shastra. Our great, savant MM. Haraprasad Shastri has also come to the same conclusion on the date of the work in a paper which he has read this year to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

† Cf. The case of the Anatha Pindika in the Chullavagga, Vinaya Pitaka, who brought a suit against Prince Jeta of Shravasti to have a declaration that the prince did sell the Jetavana to him. The Jetavana, after the decree, he gave away to the Buddha. The Buddha has laid down rules for the management of such property of the Sangha. Out of numerous inscriptions I give here only one example from the Archeological Survey of Western India, IV., p. 89. "This fragment (Mahad. No. 2) records the dedication of a cave and of a Chetiyakodhi, together with an *endowment of land* for the worship of Buddha. The donor's name may be Vadasiri (l. 2), but seems to belong to a female. In the first line are the names of the Grihapati and Seth Samgharakshita and the first syllable of his son's name, Vi—Vadasiri was probably his wife." (Burgess).

See the Artha Shastra, III., 9. Ch. "Sale of Land," and III., 15, "Sale by those who are not owners." Cf. Yajnavalkya, II. 155.

"क्षेत्रस्य हरणे" etc., परभूमिं हरन् (II. 156), स्वामिनेऽविनिवेद्यैव क्षेत्रे सेतुं प्रवर्त्तयेत् (157).

"Immovable property may be acquired in seven different ways, viz., by learning, by purchase, by mortgaging," etc.—Jolly, Laws of Brihaspati, IX., 2,, on prescriptive title, ibid, 5-15.

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an error as to describe the Baltic as a desert in Mongolia. The writers unconsciously have read their own feudal law in Hindu jurisprudence. Nothing is so distant from Hindu Law as this theory. Any one who is conversant with the general tendency of the principles of Hindu Law in constitutional matters would not believe his eyes even if he is griven a Shloka in support of the theory. Numerous instances of gifts and sales of land by private individuals can be given from the earliest literature. Law-books give provisions for sale of land and for acquirement of proprietory right (स्वाम्य) by prescription. Inscriptions proving to the hilt private property in the soil are extant. Above all it is expressly and emphatically declared that the king has no property in the soil and this is declared in no less a place than in the very logic of Hindu law, the Mimamsa, the authority of which in legal matters is supreme. I give below the discussion from Colebrookes' essay on the Mimamsa :

"A question of considerable interest, as involving the important one concerning property in the soil in India, is discussed in the sixth lecture. At certain sacrifices such as that which is called Viswajit, the votary, for whose benefit the ceremony is performed is enjoined to bestow all his property on the officiating priests. It is asked whether a paramount sovereign shall give all the land, including pasture ground, highways and the site of lakes and ponds ? an universal monarch, the whole earth ? and a subordiate prince the entire province over which he ru es ? To that question the answer is : The monarch has not property in the earth, nor the subordinate prince in the land. By conquest kingly power is obtained, and property in house and field which belonged to the enemy. The maxim of the law, that "the king is the lord of all excepting sacerdotal wealth," concerns his authority for correction of the wicked and protection of the good. His kingly power is for government of the realm and extirpation of wrong ; and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen, and levies fines from offenders. But right of property is not thereby vested in him ; else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subjects abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour. It belongs, says Jaimini, to all alike ; therefore, although a gift of a piece of ground to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince, but house and field, acquired by purchase and similar means, are liable to gift."*

The very discussion of the Mimamsa proves, for it presupposes, the existence of private property in land. Such private property was deemed inviolable. All possible pretension by the crown to such right was denied in the clearest possible terms. And this was quite in consonance with the spirit of the principles of Hindu Law which held even the gods subject to law and prescribed punishment for the sovereigns, if they were arbitrary.

(*To be continued*)

* Mis. Essays, i, p.p. 320-21.

I give here the text of Jaimini (6.7.3,) with Savara's commentary :

सू न भूमिः स्यात् सर्व्वान् प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात्। 6. 7. 3.

भा अत्रैव सर्व्वदाने संशयः,—किं भूमिर्दया, न ? इति। का पुनर्भूमिः अत्राभिप्रेता ?। यदेतन्मृदारब्धं द्रव्यान्तरं पृथिवीगोलकं, न चेत्रमात्रं मृत्तिका वा।

तत्र किं प्राप्तम् ?—अविशेषाद्दे या, प्रभुत्वसम्बन्धेन हि तत्र स्वशब्दो वर्त्तते, शक्यते च मानसेन व्यापारेण स्वता निवर्त्तयितुम्—इति। एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—'न भूमिर्दया' इति। कुतः ?। चेत्राणाम् ईशितारो मनुष्या दृश्यन्ते, न कृत्स्नस्य पृथिवी गोलकस्य—इति।

'आह, य इदानीं सार्व्वभौमः, स तर्हि दास्यति'। सोऽपि न—इति ब्रूमः। कुतः ?। यावता भोगेन सार्व्वभौमो भुनेरीष्टे, तावता अन्योऽपि, न तत्र कश्चिद्विशेषः, सार्व्वभौमस्तेऽस्य तेतदधिकं, यत् असौ पृथिव्यां सम्भूतानां व्रीह्यादीनां रत्नेन निर्विष्टस्य कस्यचित् भागस्य ईष्टे, न भूमेः तन्निर्विष्टाश्च ये मनुष्याः, तैरन्यत् सर्व्वप्राणिनाम् धारणविक्रमणादि यत् भुक्तं" तच्चेशितं प्रति न कश्चिद्विशेषः।

तस्मात् न भूमिर्दया।

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NOTES

Turkey recovers Adrianople.

Taking advantage of the war raging between Bulgaria on the one hand and Greece, Servia, Montenegro and Roumania on the other, Turkey has recovered possession of Adrianople and many other places which had been wrested from her by the quondam allies. This is said to have produced consternation among the Powers. They are indignant at the audacity of Turkey in violating the terms of the Treaty of London. The consternation and indignation of the Powers, if real, may be the outcome of their 'religious' and racial bias and their hypocrisy. If the Balkan 'allies' can be allowed to fight among themselves with impunity in defiance of the London Treaty, why cannot Turkey fight Bulgaria and recapture her lost possessions? Or, are we to understand that there is one international 'law' for European races professing Christianity and another for a people of Asiatic origin professing Islam? Verily, the European international 'conscience' is a puzzle to us barbarous Asiatics. When the Balkan "allies" were robbing Turkey of district after district, province after province, the Powers declared that the victors must be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their victory. But now that the tables have been turned and the Musalmans are the victors, it may be temporarily, is the international 'law' going to be reversed? Are the Powers going to say: "the victors must *not* be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their victory?"

It will not do to say that the Turks were the original aggressors; they came to Europe as conquerors and must be ejected. For, then there would be utter confusion all over the world. The attempt to restore every country to its original inhabitants, confining ourselves only to historical times, would result in such a series of complicated revolutions as would appal humanity and set back the hands of progress for centuries to come.

We are glad to find that in England Sir Roper Lethbridge has voiced the feeling of a party by writing to the "Times" upholding Turkey's claim to Adrianople. He says that over sixty millions of his Mahomedan fellow-subjects are eagerly hoping for a sign that England at least is not altogether unmindful of her ancient ally.

CORRIGENDA

In the last instalment of Mr. Jayaswal's paper please read:

us	after	*amongst*	p. 78	col. 1,	line 3.	*had*	before	*bound* p. 81, col. 2, l. 20
pre-*Puranic*	instead of	*pre-Pauranic*	p. 78	col. 2,	line 9.			
Brahmana	instead of	*Brahman,*	ibid		line 42.			
he	instead of	*I*	ibid,	*n*,	line 9.			
Mitra	after	*Dr. Rajendra Lala*	p. 79			*and*	before	*the king of kings* p. 81 col. 2.
The data immediately before the reign of Nanda and Chandragupta	instead of	The data..... .... Chandragupta	p. 79	*n.*,		*the king*	instead of	*he* ib. l. 31
						the	before	*Repeater* p. 82, 1, l. 11
an altogether new thing	instead of	*an already was thing*	p. 79	*n.*		*dharma*	instead of	*heard,* ib. 39
it	instead of	they	p. 81	col. 1,	line 12.	कार्यं	instead of	कर्मं p. 82
vrata—(vow) taking	instead of	*vrata* (vow)	p. 81	col. 1,	line 14.	*throughout*	instead of	*through* ib. 1, 28

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University Lectureships and Politics.

One could heartily support the dictum of the Government if it were merely laid down that educational institutions must not be turned into political institutions, though even then one would wonder at the inconsistency of the powers that be in allowing Aligarh College to be a hot-bed of anti-Congress politics while tabooing the views promulgated by the Congress party.

In modern times people very reasonably pay as much attention to politics as in the middle ages their ancestors did to religion. And all forms of political activity are no more harmful than are all sorts of religious beliefs and doings beneficial. One main object of education is to turn out good citizens, not cloistered monks. Therefore to produce "an atmosphere of pure study", supposing it could be done, would not be a laudable object. Not that we want a professor of mathematics or of English literature to lecture to his class on communal representation, or the evidence of Covenanted Civilians before the Public Service Commission, or the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Contempt Case. What we want is that a sound mathematician or a ripe English scholar should not be disqualified for a professorship because of his political views or activity, so long as they are within the bounds of the law. We also think it indispensably necessary that politics should be a subject of serious University study for advanced students and lectures thereon should include within the range of their discussion important contemporaneous political questions.

The Calcutta University Senate's reply to the letter communicating to the University the orders of the Government of India in the matter of the appointment or re-appointment of certain gentlemen nominated as University Lecturers by the Senate, follows the lines of the resolutions passed at the Senate meeting held to consider the subject. The letter is a long one. It proves that there has not been any irregularity on the part of the University for the Government to "condone," shows that the Government itself has been guilty of unconscionable delay in its correspondence, points out that the new procedure suggested in the Government letter for the appointment of lecturers is impracticable, and says that a further communication will be addressed to the Government regarding the question raised in Mr. Rasul's and Dr. Suhrawardy's letters as to the legality of the order of the Government of India.

On the question of the desirability or otherwise of politicians becoming University Lecturers, the Senate, through its Registrar, delivers itself as follows :—

"The second matter, with which I am directed by the Senate to deal, relates to the principle upon which University Lecturers should be appointed in future. In the third paragraph of your letter it is stated that His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council does not consider it desirable to appoint as University Lecturers men who have recently taken a prominent part in political movements and it is added that it is in strict accordance with the higher views of University teaching and the development of Universities which are now generally accepted, that an atmosphere of pure study should be fostered by all means. The Senate desire me to point out that the principle, in the way it has been formulated, indicates the adoption of a new policy by the Government of India, and that before this new policy was promulgated, the Senate might well have been afforded an opportunity to express their opinion upon a question so vitally affecting the University, its Lecturers and its Students". "Apart from these circumstances, the Senate desire me to urge that the principle itself has been formulated with needless generality. The Senate respectfully submit that, although taking a prominent part in a political movement would be a disqualification in a Lecturer, if either the part taken is an improper part or the movement itself is an objectionable movement, yet the mere fact of taking a prominent part (though perfectly honourable), in a political movement (though wholly unobjectionable), ought not to be a ground of disqualification. The Senate entertain grave apprehension that the unqualified adoption of the principle that it is not "desirable to appoint as University Lecturers men who have recently taken a prominent part in political movements" will seriously hamper the action of the University in the appointment of Lecturers, and will prejudicially affect in many instances the interests of education by depriving the University of the services of

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exceptionally competent men. The Senate consequently deem it their duty to approach His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council with a request to reconsider the matter and to alter or qualify the decision mentioned in your letter. It ought not to be overlooked in this connection that the University Lecturers undertake the instruction of Post-Graduate students, and that the students themselves are young men at least 21 years old, who are fairly well-educated and may be deemed to possess some judgment and discretion. Whatever restrictions may be considered desirable in the case of teachers in charge of boys in Schools or youths just admitted to Colleges, similar limitations obviously cannot be reasonably applied to the case of University Lecturers appointed to deliver courses of lectures to grown-up graduates. The Senate are not able to discover that any such restriction is applied in British or German Universities, or that Professors or Lecturers in those Universities are excluded on the ground that they have recently taken a prominent part in political movements. Indeed, the literal application of the far too comprehensive principle formulated in your letter would lead to the position that a University Lecturer cannot be permitted, even in times of exceptional ferment and excitement, to make strenuous efforts, by speeches or by his writings, to keep the rising generation of young men on the side of established authority, order and discipline. The Senate feel confident that this could never have been intended by the Government of India."

Taxing the French Bachelor.

Europe is an armed camp. For this reason, if for no other, every European nation must have a large number of able-bodied adult men to supply recruits to the army. Hence in every country the birth-rate is watched very carefully. In France the falling birth-rate has long been taxing the brains of its statesmen. A recent proposal of the French Budget committee is to tax bachelors over the age of thirty. The unwillingness of the modern French youth to marry is not the only cause of the declining birth-rate, though no doubt it bears upon the question. The tax, however, is not likely to be so heavy as to drive the gay bachelors into matrimony. The birth-rate can not increase unless people come to prefer the joys, trials and discipline of domestic life to the selfish indulgence of a life of celibacy. It was high time that the views of the good Vicar of Wakefield prevailed,—the Vicar who said: "I was ever of opinion, that the honest man who married and brought up a large family, did more service than he who continued single and only talked of population."

There is most probably some truth in what Dr. A. D. Hubard, M. D., says in "The Fate of Empires: being an Enquiry into the Stability of Civilization," *viz.*, that among the higher stocks the reproductive instinct is arrested.

Sanitation in Bengal.

We learn from the Government Resolution on the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner and the Sanitary Board, Bengal, 1912, that "with a birth-rate of 35·30 per mille and a death rate of 29·77 the Presidency of Bengal as now constituted does not compare unfavorably with other provinces of the Empire. The birth-rate is somewhat lower than that of most other provinces, but its death-rate is also lower, and the excess of births over deaths is considerable." How high our death-rate is will appear from the fact that in 1909 the death-rate per mille in England was a little more than 14; and as the birth-rate there in that year was a little more than 25 per mille, the rate of increase that year was 11 per mille. Our rate of increase in 1912 was only 5·53 per mille. That our birth-rate is not high will appear from a comparison with Russia, where in 1904 the number of births per 1,000 inhabitants was 48·4.

"A disquieting feature ie the high rate of infantile mortality in certain districts. Calcutta has hitherto returned the highest death-rate among infants, but this has been surpassed by the Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur districts, where the rate has risen as high as 28·69 and 26·26 respectively."

The Resolution does not mention any steps taken or proposed to be taken to reduce this high rate of infant mortality.

"His Excellency in Council regrets to find that, despite the measures taken to prevent the spread of malaria there was a rise in the mortality from this disease during the year.....The Governor in Council is also disappointed to find that despite the employment of Sub-Assistant Surgeons in the distribution of quinine in the districts of Nadia and Murshidabad there has been

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no diminution in fever mortality, but the reverse. The various anti-malarial measures that have been undertaken throughout the province have so far been unproductive of any real permanent advantage, and in many places they have been discontinued. The clearance of jungle and tanks and the destruction of mosquitos have not proved successful measures, and a more extended use of quinine seems, on present knowledge, the only method by which it is possible to reduce the rate of mortality and the risk of infection. An experiment on a fairly large scale to determine the effect of the wholesale clearance of jungle on general health in the villages is about to be under taken."

It will be seen that in the above paragraph Government admits that the distribution of quinine has not reduced fever mortality, "but the reverse," and that "the clearance of jungle and tanks and the destruction of mosquitos have not proved successful measures;" yet it pins its faith on the extended employment of the very same measures! Evidently the sanitary advisers of the Government are groping in the dark. We are not experts and do not wish to make ourselves ridiculous by being dogmatic. But we believe, unless a substantial improvement in the material condition of the people enables them to become stronger by taking a sufficient amount of nutritious food, no preventive measures will enable them to resist the inroads of malarial fever or other diseases. "Chills are recognized as predisposing both to primary infection and to relapse, and malnutrition is also believed to increase susceptibility; both should therefore be avoided." (Dr. Arthur Shadwell, M.A., M.D., LL.D., Member of Council of Epidemiological Society, in the Encyclopædia Britannica.)

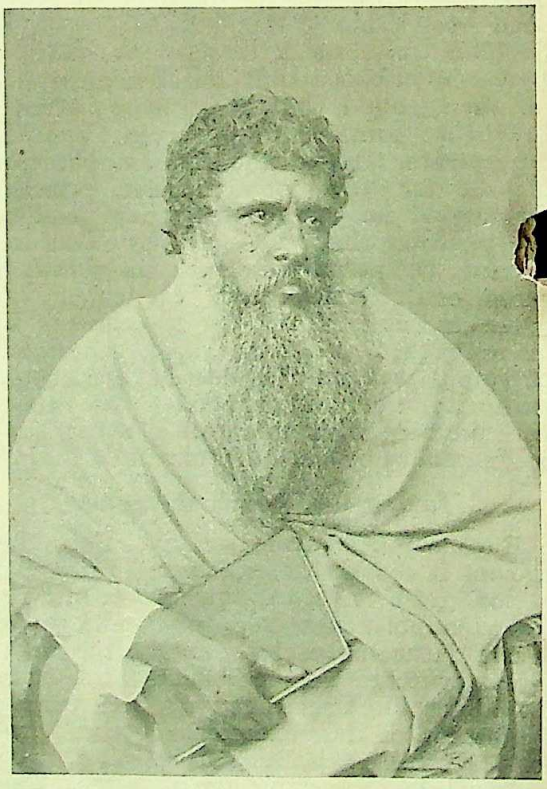
Literature in Bengal in 1911-1912.

The Bengal Administration Report for 1911-1912 says:—

"*The Hero and the Nymph*, an English translation by Mr. Arabinda Ghose of Kalidas's *Vikramorvasie*, dealing with the love between a king of Hindu mythology and a nymph of Indra's Court, is said to possess great literary merit...Books of travel are becoming increasingly popular. The best was the late Sister Nivedita's (Miss Noble's) *The Northern Tirtha* : a pilgrim's diary, which records her experiences of a journey from Hardwar to Badri Narayan, a Hindu shrine in the Himalayas".

The Late Babu Nagendranath Chatterjee.

In Babu Nagendranath Chatterjee the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj has lost a great theologian, preacher and writer. But it is not that religious body alone which has been a loser. Bengali literature, too, has lost one of its best writers. His life of Raja Rammohun Roy is the best biography of



the Raja and is unsurpassed in the whole range of Bengali biographical literature. Its style is chaste, clear and vigorous. Babu Nagendranath's speeches were characterised by great eloquence, clear and vigorous thinking, incontrovertible logic,

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and, often by considerable humour. Had he written his theological essays in English, they would have taken rank with the best productions of Dr. Martineau and others. He was indefatigable in the pursuit of knowledge. Even during his years of physical decline, he was keen in acquiring fresh knowledge. He was absolutely fearless in his advocacy of truth.

The Late Mr. D. L. Roy.

The Town Hall meeting to express sorrow at the untimely death of the late Mr. D. L. Roy was a large and represented gathering. Its proceedings were conducted throughout in Bengali. The president Dr. Rash Behari Ghose made his maiden Bengali speech at this meeting. This is no mean tribute to Mr. D. L. Roy's influence. Dr. Ghose observed that it was true that Mr. Roy was in the Government service, "but he was always independent in action and thought, in writing and in his dealings with others. He died shortly before completing his fiftieth year. His gift to the Bengali nation ...s unequalled. His soul-inspiring songs ...mar Desh" and "Janani Amar" would ...ast for ever and posterity would be benefited by them so long as the Bengalee language would last and would drink deep in those perennial fountains of inspiration. His writings had created a revolution in the country—moral, social and political. Considering the gift Mr. Roy had bequeathed to the nation, the Bengalees, as a mark of gratitude, should perpetuate his memory."

Dr. Ghose on our Lack of Opportunities.

Whenever Dr. Rash Behari Ghose opens his mouth at a public meeting, he is sure to say something new or to restate an old thing in a strikingly new manner. We all know, that Indians are not lacking in talent but opportunities are denied them to show what worth they possess. At the Kristodas Pal anniversary meeting Dr. Ghose thus described our disabilities :—

"Great talents, high accomplishments are unavailing. Dexterity, patience, penetration, sobriety, sagacity are alike useless. Genius or daring is a calamity. All noble doing is of course impossible. Earnest patriotism may any moment prove a positive danger to the patriot. Kristo Das Pal, who could have formed a Cabinet if his Sovereign had commanded him, could not be Magistrate of Dacca lest a railway navvy might be brougt up before him. He could not, of course, shoulder a gun in defence of his Queen and his country—not even as an amateur. The Empire, in the opinion of the wise men of the East that rule it, would be imperilled by the enlistment of him and his like as volunteers. Enlightened Indians have no career. The doors of legitimate aspiration are all closed against them. They must not aspire to be a nation. The happiness of a nobler manhood they must eschew. For those loyal subjects who cannot but cherish the ideal this is a land of despair. Kristo Das, a very prince of Babus, lived and died in the cold shade of an unsympathising multitudinous oligarchy of foreigners, hovering about the precincts but not allowed to enter. He who might have taken his place beside the greatest in the land scarcely ever ceased to be an outcaste."

Prof. J. C. Bose's Discovery.

By publishing a complete acconnt of Professor Bose's discovery of nervous impulse in Mimosa in its Philosophical Transactions, the Royal Society has done him signal honour.

The leading plant physiologists, Pfeffer and Harberlandt, had authoritatively declared that in plants like Mimosa there was no transmission of excitation comparable to the nervous transmission in the animal. On account of the eminent position of the German physiologists this view accentuating the physiological difference between the animal and plant has received universal acceptance. Prof. Bose's investigation has, however, upset the hitherto accepted theory, and demonstrated the identical nature of the nervous impulse in the plant and animal. The success of the investigation is due to the invention of a new apparatus of extreme sensibility, by means of which the plant records automatically its perception of stimulus and the speed of its nervous impulse. This new apparatus, the Resonant Recorder, based

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on a novel principle, records time intervals as short as a thousandth part of a second, and is far more accurate than the chronographic recorders which have hitherto been employed. The time required for the plant to perceive a blow has thus been found to be 6 hundredth part of a second, a period which is not of a different order to the latent period of the muscle of a frog. The perception period of Mimosa is appropriately modified as in the animal under varying external conditions. Under fatigue the perception period is very much prolonged; after a severe shock the plant remains dazed for a considerable length of time. The speed of nervous impulse in Mimosa in summer has been found to be about 30 millimetres per second. This speed is enhanced under warmth and depressed under cold. The nervous impulse in the plant can be arrested as in the animal by various physiological blocks. Thus local cooling induces a paralysis of the plant-nerve. An electrical current can be made to arrest the nervous impulse in the plant. Various anaesthetics and poisons also inhibit its excitatory impulse. This investigation on the simplest type of plant-nerve is expected to cast a flood of light on the very obscure phenomenon of nervous impulse in general and the causes operative in bringing about the degeneration of the normal function of the nerve.

The Building of New Delhi.

Mr. Oertel, Superintending Engineer of Allahabad, lecturing before the East India Association, London, said that it was a mistake to regard the Public Works Department as a great opponent of indigenous art and architecture. It was his own conviction that Indian architecture was most suited to the needs of India and was bound finally to prevail over all imported styles whether they helped on the process or not. It was not necessarily more costly than the imported styles, and it was adaptable to all modern needs. He earnestly hoped that this unrivalled opportunity of encouraging Indian art at Delhi would be taken advantage of to the fullest extent. He trusted that Messrs. Lutyens and Baker would spend their time, studying Indian architecture on the spot, at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, and recognise that however suitable was the Palladian style for Calcutta and the Gothic style for Bombay, neither style was suitable for Delhi in the heart of India and full of its most sacred traditions.

Mr. Lanchester said that the position of the English architect in India ought to be to a large extent the position of his own English client at Home, stating his requirements and leaving Indian workers to carry it out in the main in his own style and way.

Sir Louis Dane said he knew personally that Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker were carefully studying Indian decorative work with a view to its incorporation in Delhi. They would certainly avail themselves of the services of Indian master-builders and eminent members of the Public Works Department like Mr. Oertel.

The Term "Swadeshi."

The Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, has issued the following circular to his subordinates :—

"The Inspector-General of Police desires to warn Superintendents of Police and other officers against the habit, which has arisen especially among subordinate officers, of loosely using what may be called the cant term "Swadeshi" when seditio is meant, as was pointed out on a previo occasion. The desire to stimulate Indian Swadeshi industries is in itself laudable and has the sympathy of the Government and it is undesirable that this term should be applied when it is intended to convey an entirely different meaning. Thus in the reports received in the Sub-Divisional and other offices such phrases as "he is a Staunch Swadeshiwallah" or "he has Swadeshi tendencies" not unfrequently occur, the meaning to be conveyed being either that the man is an agitator or a revolutionary. If it is desired to intimate that a person is a strong believer in the policy of using nothing but indigenous goods, the meaning of the officer should be made apparent in clear language. Where a person is involved in agitation, he is as a rule an agitator of moderate or extremist views, or he is engaged in the habit of propagating sedition or he is a revolutionary or an anarchist. The above terms will, it is thought, cover practically all cases. At any rate it is hoped that Superintendents will take pains to find sufficiently appropriate language to meet what they desire to express. The Inspector-General will, therefore, be obliged if Superintendents will

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carefully instruct all their subordinate officers that the use of the term "Swadeshi" should be made only in the restricted sense referred to above. The Superintendents should also edit all reports that are sent to them and be careful to see that the language used expresses what is intended by the writer."

There is no reason to think that the Inspector-General is not serious or sincere in what he says. In fact, we are glad that he has issued the circular; but it would have been quite timely if it had been circulated only seven years ago. From the year 1906 or thereabouts, the Police have been so unremitting in their kind attentions to "Swadeshiwallahs" of all descriptions, forcing the Sarkar's hospitality in the under-trial and other wards of Jails on many an innocent soul, that at present Swadeshi activity is well-nigh extinct. In fact most Swadeshi "agitators" are living on their past reputations, and figure in the books of the Police on the strength of their past *karma*. Still, though the circular cannot give any retrospective consolation to the crowds of innocent sufferers for "Swadeshi," we are not unwilling to give credit to the Inspector-General for his good intentions.

A Lady Shastry.

Kumari Pandita Satyavati, a student of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya at Jallandhar, has passed the Shastri Examination of the Punjab University. There were 110 candidates, out of whom only 18 have come out successful, showing the difficult character of the test. Kumari Satyavati is working as an honorary teacher at the Mahavidyalaya, which does as much credit to her heart as her academic distinction does to her head.

Civil War in China.

The civil war in China can not but cause the keenest anxiety to all lovers of freedom and of Asiatic progress. When will people be convinced that in union there is strength and division means weakness ?

The Civil Service and Indian Education.

In his article on the Hindu University published in our last number Professor Homersham Cox has described the attitude of the Indian Civil Service towards education. What Professor A. W. Ward of Canning College said in his evidence before the Royal Public Services Commission confirms the opinion expressed by Mr. Cox. Mr. Ward said :—

"We are all accustomed to hear Civilians say that education has ruined the country. This is not true, for India has never been so prosperous, but education has now made the Civil Service an anachronism. The attitude of civilians towards proposals for increasing the facilities for primary education, is well exemplified by recent events in the Allahabad Division. The proposals of the Director of Public Instruction for a campaign against illiteracy were strongly opposed by the district officials, and in a divisional conference with the Commissioner in the chair, it was resolved to advise Government not to proceed with the campaign. After this decision had been made, certain leading non-official gentlemen were asked to the conference, and endeavours were made to persuade them to support the resolutions. As a result the *Leader* made a strong protest against the attitude of the Civil Service towards education."

A London Society for the Education of Indian Women.

An English correspondent writes that on the 18th July last there was a meeting in London at the house of Mrs. P. K. Ray in connection with the Society which has for its object the education of Indian women. "A very large number of people assembled, including a goodly number of Indian women, and some of the most noted advocates of the cause of India (I refer to Indians), that are at present in this country.

"The speakers at this meeting were the following: Lady Muir Mackenzie, Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mrs. Naidu, and Mrs. Cobb.

"Lady Muir Mackenzie's appeal was chiefly to the young Indians who were present, to ask them to try and make possible for their sisters the enlightenment, the fuller and broader life which they themselves enjoyed. They each knew what a difference knowledge and enlightenment had made to their own lives. Would it not do just as much for the women? She asked them to think what an increased power, as a woman and as a mother, a woman

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like Mrs. Naidu must be, as the result of her culture.

"Mr. Tagore's utterance was a fervent appeal for a truer and completer patriotism. The education question was one for Indians to fight for themselves; it was essentially their battle, and he for one could not use the friendship of another people to ask for things to be done which it was their business and duty to do for themselves. He called for more self-reliance and more courage on the part of Indians. Although so quietly uttered everyone felt the fine spirit and the deep-seated patriotism that underlay this speech.

"Mrs. Naidu spoke with a burning passion born of a deep love for a cause she had evidently much at heart, and demanded of the young men present the spirit of martyrdom. All the young men present, she said, would refuse for a wife a woman who was merely a housekeeper, or a woman who was just a doll, and would ask for a woman who could be a co-worker with them, a comrade, and help-mate. Then let them face the question boldly and go in for the education of all Indian women. In a few moving sentences, full of a divine passion, she declared that the time of martyrdom for a great cause had come, and that India was calling upon her educated young men to be martyrs in the cause of her truest and highest advancement, which could not be secured until women were educated. "If you would serve India today you must be martyrs," she passionately declared, "and your children shall benefit by your martyrdom." "Devote your lives to the making of noble and capable wives and mothers of India!" was another of her striking appeals. Economic advancement and every other would ultimately depend upon the moral and mental condition of women.

"Mrs. Cobb added a few personal experiences, and appealed to the Englishmen who had got money from India, either from business or posts, to make some return to that country in the interests of its highest advancement.

"Several musical items were contributed by Indian women, and others."

"The Good, the Beautiful and the True" a monopoly of the white skin.

Readers of the Modern Review will be amused by the following pronouncement of a well-known German sociologist, Karl Jeutsch (in Grenzboten, 1913, pp.292ff.):

"The root of our (European) high national culture is ideal Nature; it is one of the three impulses of the European soul, which Plato first recognized ('the Good, the Beautiful, the True')—the love of truth and research. Another, love of the beautiful and beauty itself, marks the clear division between white and coloured races. If the idea of beauty reached them, then the consciousness of their ugliness would sadden and depress and paralyse them. With beauty are intimately connected purity and cleanliness, and their development is bound up with the white skin. Chinese dirt alone forbids us to value their culture ae highly as our own. May the third star of the Platonic triple constellation—Goodness and Rectitude—illumine them, for the two others (Beauty and Truth) are excluded from their hearts. Thus it is that full and supreme manhood is the sole privilege of the white race, and that the Mongols will never be able to play a part in world-history; their culture cannot enter into the general movement of the growth of culture, but like the Negro and the Indian culture represents a lower form of human life." (Translated by Ananda Coomaraswamy).

Our Vernaculars and the Universities.

Sir Theodore Morison, a member of the Council of India and of the Public Services Commission, recently delivered an address at India House in support of the proposition that the vernaculars should be the medium of instruction in the Indian universities. A large audience of Indian students assembled, many of whom controverted his views.

Sir Theodore declared that we must work towards the creation of universities in India imparting their knowledge in the vernacular. English education had been an enormous boon to India, and Western ideas had produced a beneficent direction of Indian thought. But this revolution might have been more general and useful if ideas had been spread in the vernaculars. The main disadvantage of the system of instruction in English was that it kept the Indian vernaculars poorer and unenriched by the thought and learning of Indians who are making large contributions to the thought of the world. The value of their work did not pass to the [illegible] speaking peoples.

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Then the student was hampered by the task of reproducing his ideas afresh after learning them in English, and words have a genius of their own which frequently cannot be recovered in another tongue. The continuance of the present bilingual system in India was undesirable, and we must seek in the universities to enrich, enlarge, and expand the vernaculars so that they may become an adequate medium for the expression of Indian thought and emotion.

The question is a large one and cannot be discussed in a note.

Indians in South Africa.

It is now abundantly clear that the new immigration law of the South African Union has placed our sisters and brethren in South Africa in a worse position than before. The Bombay Presidency Association and the Congress party in the U. P. have publicly recorded their indignation and protest, and called for retaliatory action on the part of Government. But the country as a whole remains unmoved. Bengal has not done her duty. This apathy ought not to last. Could we but understand the matter in all its bearings, we should see that Indians in South Africa, Canada and the other British Colonies were fighting India's battle for civic rights.

The solution of the problem depends ultimately on our acquiring full civic rights in India. Those who are not citizens at home cannot easily win citizenship abroad.

The Maritime Trade of Bengal.

The Report on the Maritime Trade of Bengal for the Official Year 1912-13 is, from the Indian point of view, gloomy reading. It tells us that "the prosperous conditions of the two preceding years continued in 1912-13, and the value of the total sea-borne trade of the Province of Bengal, which rose by 14 per cent. to Rs. 202·38 crores, is the highest recorded." It should be borne in mind that this enormous volume of trade is almost entirely in the hands of foreigners.

"The demands for *cotton goods* was unprecedented, and imports of *metals, hardware and cutlery, motor-cars and motor-cycles, liquors, provisions, glass and glass-ware, paper and paste-board, building materials, and matches* and some other items also surpassed previous records." (The italics are *not* ours.)

Bengal imported cotton goods worth Rs. 29,22,90,703, sugar worth 5,73,14,934, salt worth 62,09,300, papers and pasteboard 42,70,355, soap 14,88,777, toys 12,62,436, leather and manufactures thereof 10,60,329, &c. If all these had been manufactured or produced in the country,—not an impossible achievement, India could have been richer by an amount measured by the net profits accruing from commercial transactions worth thirty-six crores of rupees in round numbers. And there are many other imported goods of the same description.

Baroda.

The Baroda Administration Report for 1911-12 is a very interesting volume, neatly printed on good paper and handsomely bound in cloth. "The year, unfortunately, was a year of famine and widespread distress in many parts of the State.....Prompt and extensive relief operations were undertaken and large remissions and suspensions in the revenue collections and liberal *tagavies* were granted;" as detailed in the excellent report of famine operations written by Mr. Manubhai N. Mehta, Naeb Dewan and Famine Commissioner.

The Children's Courts, the Infant Marriage Prevention Act, the Conciliators' Courts, Village Panchayats, the Sarvajanic Sanstha Nibandh (which has been enacted with the object of seeing to the proper administration of charities in respect of the wishes of the benevolent donors), the decreasing number of liquor shops, Honorary Agricultural Correspondents in all the Districts, the Quarterly Agricultural Journal called "The Vadodara Khetiwadi Traimasik" circulated free of cost, agricultural leaflets in the vernacular distributed free of cost, agricultural associations, demonstrations regarding the use of chain pumps, Model Farms, Seed Depots, entomological research, study of insects, veterinary dispensaries, sericulture, industries like the Baroda Glass Factory, the Stearine and Glycerine Factory at Billimora, the Sayaji Metal Works Company, the Dyeing Factories at Petlad, the Brush Factory, the State Furniture Factory, the Tanning Factory and the three hand-loom factories, &c., the Baroda Bank, Investigations of special subjects like China clay, cement. agates, &c., the five Agricultural Banks,

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Compulsory Education for boys and girls, the arrangements for technical education, the sending of students to foreign countries for education, the Zenana Classes, the Male and Female Training Colleges, the special arrangements for the education of the Antyaja or depressed classes and of forest tribes, the deaf and dumb school, the Central Library Department for the purpose of developing and guiding the library activities in the state, including free libraries, travelling libraries, children's libraries &c., the Baroda Museum, the many railway lines,—these are some of the things described in the Report which arrest attention. As one goes through it, the conviction is produced in the mind that the Ruler of this small state is a wideawake enlightened person who is determined to leave nothing undone which can make his people efficient, enlightened, progressive and prosperous.

The name "state" applied to Baroda is apt to produce a wrong idea regarding its extent and population. Its population, however, is only 2,032,064. This is exceeded by the Bengal districts of Midnapore, 24 Parganas, Rangpur, Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backerganj, and Tippera. None of these British districts, or any others in India that we know of, can boast of half the progressive administrative activity of Baroda.

The Census of Bengal.

The Government Resolution on the Census of Bengal, 1911, is full of interesting information.

At the previous Census of 1901 the population of the Province was 78,493,410.

"The Presidency of Bengal, as now constituted, embraces an area of 84,092 square miles and contains a population of 46,305,642. Somewhat smaller than the British Isles, it has almost a million more inhabitants. The density of the population ranges between 1,850 to the square mile in the district of Howrah and 30 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts; the average is 551. The only other district with a population of over 1,000 to the square mile is Dacca. In the 24-Parganas, inspite of its huge mill population, the average is only 502, for the district contains large tracts of the Sundarbans, a very sparsely populated area.

"The actual increase in the population since 1901 has been nearly 3½ millions, or 8 per cent. There has been a gradual but steady rise in the percentage of increase at each successive census since 1872. Different localities show widely different rates of increase, but during the last 20 years it is in the most populous areas that the pace has been quickest on the whole."

The Census Population of England and Wales in 1901 was 558 per square mile, or 7 per square mile more than that of Bengal in 1911. But the decennial increase of population recorded in 1901 was for England 12·1 and for Wales 13·3; so that a decennial increase of 8 per cent (that of Bengal) is not quite satisfactory.

"The influence of efficient drainage works upon the growth of the population is well illustrated by the area round Magra Hat, a tract of nearly 300 square miles in the district of the 24-Parganas. Thirty years ago this tract was described as one where fever was constantly present in every village, its inhabitants "inured to a semi-amphibious life by a long course of preparation resulting in the survival of the fittest." Now all this has changed, and the population, which is entirely agricultural, already shows an increase of 29 per cent. since 1901, although the drainage scheme has not even yet been fully worked out."

We think extended agriculture has something to do with this growth of population.

"*Cities, Towns and Villages.*—Since the last census the urban population has increased by 13 per cent., a rate considerably in excess of the average for the whole population. It cannot, however, be said that the depopulation of the rural tracts is yet a serious problem, for 936 persons out of every 1,000 still live in the country. Two-fifths of the urban population centre in Calcutta and Howrah, and there has been a striking growth of the riparian population along the Hooghly, in the districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah. These centres of the manufacturing industry show some remarkable figures. Bhatpara, for example, has increased by 500 per cent. since 1881, and now contains a population of over 50,000. Titagarh has trebled its population since 1901, and Bhadreswar, on the other side of the river, has increased by 61 per cent. Since 1901, the number of factories in the 24-Parganas district alone has risen from 74 to 124, and the number of operatives from a little over

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94,000, to nearly 170,000, The jute mills in Bengal now employ over 200,000 hands, about double the number recorded at the previous census."

We learn from the Bengal Administration Report for 1911-1912 that "Hindus rather than Musalmans appear to be attracted by town life, nearly one-tenth of the Hindu and less than 4 per cent. of the Musalman population being inhabitants of towns. Though more than half of the people of Bengal are Musalmans, they contribute less than one-third of the urban population."

It is to be noted that the factory and mill hands are for the most part non-Bengalis. This shows that the improvement of the physique and working capacity of the labouring classes of Bengal is a serious problem which ought to be resolutely faced by the thinking classes of Bengal.

"The total population of Calcutta and its suburbs has reached the huge figure of 1,043,307, which places it second only to London in the British Empire, and gives it rank among the 12 largest cities of the world. This population is made up of an agglomeration of races and castes from all parts of India and from many foreign lands. Three hundred and ninety-seven separate races, castes and nationalities were returned at the census, and more than half the residents were born outside Calcutta. Over a quarter of a million of Calcutta's inhabitants derive their living from industrial occupations and close on 200,000 from trade.

"*Migration.*—The balance of migration is strongly in favour of Bengal, for it receives nearly 2 millions of immigrants, but sends out only half a million. Bihar and Orissa contribute the greatest number of immigrants, 1¼ million, and the United Provinces come next with over 400,000."

"*Religion.*—In Bengal as now constituted 97·6 per cent. of the population consists of Musalmans and Hindus, the former outnumbering the latter by 3¼ millions and forming over 52 per cent. of the whole. The figures of relative growth show that during the last decade the increase among Muhammadans has been nearly thrice as great as among Hindus.

"Of other religions, Animists number nearly three-fourths of a million, Buddhists a quarter of a million, and Christians 130,000. Jains, Sikhs, Jews, Parsis and others are very few in number.

From the Bengal Administration Report (1911-1912) we gather (pp. 109-110) that "Musalmans are in a majority, except in the south-west, the extreme north and the extreme south-east of the Presidency. East Bengal contains more than half the aggregate number, North Bengal a little over a quarter and Central Bengal slightly less than a sixth. In West Bengal they constitute only 13 per cent. of the total population, but in Central Bengal the proportion is 48 per cent. Both in Calcutta and in the metropolitan districts of the 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly the Hindu community is largely recruited by immigration, there being over one million Hindu immigrants. The preponderance of Musalmans is more pronounced in North Bengal, where their proportion to the total population is 59 per cent. In this division they are in a minority in Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and the State of Cooch Behar; in the remaining districts they account for 50 per cent. (Malda) to 82 per cent. (Bogra) of the inhabitants. They are more than twice as numerous as the Hindus in East Bengal, where they are in a minority only in Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

"West Bengal contributes one-third of the total Hindu population of the province, and East Bengal a little over a quarter, while both Central and North Bengal account for under a fifth. The most distinctively Hindu districts are found in West Bengal, where Hindus represent 82 per cent. of the total population. In Central Bengal the proportion falls to 51 per cent. while in North Bengal it is only 37 per cent., the minimum of 31 per cent. being reached in East Bengal. Altogether, there are only ten districts in which Hindus outnumber Musalmans, viz., the six districts of West Bengal, the 24-Parganas in Central Bengal, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in North Bengal, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts: in the district last named, however, the Hindus are largely outnumbered by both Animists and Buddhists. They are in a strong majority in the two States of Cooch Behar and Hill Tippera, and also in Calcutta, where they constitute over two-thirds of the population.

"The Musalmans are increasing far more rapidly than the Hindus, the percentage of increase among them during the last decennium being nearly thrice as great as among their Hindu neighbours. This is no new

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feature, but has been in operation for the last 30 years. During that period the Hindus of Bengal have added only 16 per cent. to their numbers, while the followers of the Prophet have an addition of 29 per cent. Nowhere have the latter made such progress as in East Bengal, where they are more numerous by 505 per cent. than they were in 1881, the corresponding ratio for Hindus being barely, the same Administration Report tells us (p. 110) that, 26 per cent."

"The chief causes of the greater rapidity of growth among the Musalmans appear to be their greater fecundity and the larger number of married females among them at the child-bearing age. At this age there are four married Musalman women to every three Hindu married women, and altogether 87 per cent. of the Musalman women of the child-bearing age are married, whereas the proportion for Hindu women is 76 per cent.: the difference between the latter figures is due to the practice of widow marriage, 22 per cent. of the Hindu women of child-bearing age being widows, while only 11 per cent. of the Musalman women have lost their husbands and remained unmarried. Another contributory factor is the prevalence of early marriage among Hindus, the evil effects of which are too well known to require explanation. Out of every 100 Musalman females 10 to 15 years of age, 56 per cent. are married, whereas the proportion among Hindu females is as high as 67 per cent."

Musalmans outside India, too, would seem to possess greater fecundity than the followers of other faiths. For instance we find that in Russia "the increase of the population [for the four years 1901 to 1904] is as follows for the different confessions: Orthodox, 15·9 per 1,000; Jews, 14·5; Roman Catholics, 12·0; Protestants, 10·0; Mahomedans, 19·8." As Bengali Musalmans do not belong to the same race as their coreligionists in Russia, the greater fecundity of the Musalmans cannot be explained by racial reasons. This should prove an interesting and important subject of study to sociologists.

The prevalence of widow-marriage and the comparative absence of early-marriage among the Musalmans cannot entirely explain their rapid growth. For though the Indian Christian community is similar to the Moslems in these respects, its natural growth is not so rapid as that of the latter.

Besides the reasons given in the Bengal Administration Report for the slower growth of the Hindu population, there is another which should engage the attention of Hindus. Many classes of Brahmans and of other castes have to pay a high price for brides, running in most cases to several hundred rupees. This prevents the poorer members of these classes either from marrying at all or from marrying until they have reached or passed middle age. And when they are able to marry after amassing some 5, 6 or 8 hundred rupees, they have to marry girls who have not reached their teens. Such marriages cannot be very fruitful. And in many cases the husbands die leaving their wives widowed in the prime of womanhood.

The civilized nations of the earth are keenly alive to the question of the rapid growth of population. For, in the long run, the race is to the prolific. Superior training, leading to efficiency, can be acquired comparatively easily, but the vitality which is proved by fecundity is not so easily conserved or increased; as the hitherto futile efforts of France to increase her birth-rate show. Orthodox Hindus do not like to face the fact of the slow growth of the Hindu population. But it is their clear duty to face the facts. If the causes and remedies assigned and suggested by the Government and the social reformers do not seem correct to the orthodox, they should come forward with their own diagnosis and method of cure.

"*Age, Sex and Civil Condition.*—The rate of infant mortality is appalling. One child out of every five dies within a year of birth. Calcutta, in spite of its good sanitation and good water-supply, heads the list with a death-rate among infants of 31 per cent. Early-marriage, utter ignorance of the simplest rules of hygiene, insanitary surroundings, and among the parents of the labouring classes, poverty, which compels the mother to work almost up to the day of her confinement, are among the causes which reduce the chances of a child surviving the early stages of its life.

"On the other hand, the longevity of Hindu widows is remarkable: all lead simple lives, and many, bereaved at an early age, escape the dangers of childbirth.

"The universality of marriage in Bengal continues, despite the rise in the market-value of both brides and bridegrooms

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owing to the increased cost of living and the widening of the field of selection by improvement in communications. But it is a significant fact that the average age of marriage is steadily rising. The spread of enlightened views is to some extent responsible for this, but grim necessity often compels a father unwillingly to defer the marriage of his daughters till after they have attained a marriageable age.

"*Education.*—Bengal stands first among all the Provinces in India, not only for the actual number of persons able to read and write, but also for the proportion (7·7 per cent.) which they bear to the total population. Madras comes next with 7·5 per cent. and Bombay follows with 6·9. The total number of literate persons in the Presidency is 3½ millions, of whom slightly more than a quarter of a million are females.

"Of individual areas, Calcutta heads the list with one out of every three of its inhabitants able to satisfy the test of literacy. This is a remarkably high proportion considering the large number of low class immigrants engaged in menial duties. At the other end of the scale come the districts of Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Rangpur and Malda with less than 5 per cent. of literates.

"The actual addition to the number of literate persons in the Presidency since 1901 is 632,222, of whom 90,342 are females. The percentage of increase among the whole population is 21½ and that among females as high as 56. The increase would have been greater still but for the fact that the standard for literacy prescribed at this census was higher than that previously adopted. In 1901 the only criterion laid down was ability to read and write, but in 1911 no person was recorded as literate unless he could write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. One result of this raising of the standard is that the proportion of literates among children of ten years and under has in most places either remained stationary or actually fallen.

"The backwardness of Muhammadans in education is clearly shown by the fact that whereas the Muhammadans outnumber the Hindus by more than three millions, yet there are only two of the former to every five of the latter who can read and write.....

"Peculiar interest attaches to the figures which show the relative advance in literacy among these two communities. At the census of 1901 the percentage of literates was 10·3 among Hindus and 3·5 among Muhammadans. Now it is 11·8 and 4·1, respectively. The increase has been in the proportion of 7 to 8 among the former and 6 to 7 among the latter: in other words, Muhammadans have made rather more rapid progress in education than Hindus. An examination of the figures for the two sexes, however, discloses the fact that while among Muhammadans the increase has been almost uniform in both sexes (males 29 per cent. and females 31 per cent.), in the Hindu community the increase has been four times as rapid among females as among males, the percentages being 64 and 16, respectively.

"The endeavours of certain of the lower Hindu castes to raise their social status is reflected in their standard of literacy. Thus the Kaibarttas, Pods, Namasudras and Rajbansis all show signs of improvement, and the Pods especially have made great strides.

"The increase during the last decade in the number of educational institutions in Bengal has been remarkable, there having been an addition of nearly 4,000 schools and more than 400,000 pupils. Most striking of all is the fact that the number of girls' schools and of their pupils has increased threefold."

Government writes almost exultingly that Bengal stands first among the Provinces of India in literacy (7·7 per cent.) and that 33 per cent. of the inhabitants of Calcutta are literate. But we think the figures are not at all striking, except as showing the educational backwardness, after a century and a half of British rule, of even the city which until lately was the capital of India. 90 per cent. of the inhabitants of Japan are literate; whereas 7·7 per cent. of Bengal and 33 per cent. of its capital are so. Educationally two of the most backward countries in Europe are Russia and Spain. Yet, taking the whole Russian Empire (including such Asiatic regions as Caucasus, Siberia and Steppes), the percentage of literates is 28, *i.e.*, four times that of Bengal. 17, 16, and 7 per cent. are literate in the Caucasus, Siberia and Steppes region respectively. The last is a semi-desert region. In Ethonia 80 per cent. are literate; Livonia, 78; Cur-

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land 71; St. Petersburg, 55. In Spain in 1900, 37·9 per cent. were literate.

"From a linguistic point of view Bengal appears more homogeneous now than ever before. Bengali is the language of 92 per cent. of the population, and Hindi and Urdu account for another 4 per cent., while nearly 45 out of the 46 millions speak languages belonging to the Indo-European family.

"The Hindi and Urdu speakers centre mostly round the mills of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, which draw their labour from Bihar and the United Provinces."

As in 1901, four infirmities are recorded, viz., insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness and leprosy. The last decade has witnessed an increase in all the infirmities except leprosy. In Bengal there are 43 insane persons to every 100,000 of the population, insanity being most prevalent to the east of the Bhagirathi. No district except Darjeeling and Nadia has less than 25 insane persons per 100,000, and the proportion rises as high as 157 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Chapter dealing with Insanity contains a highly interesting account of the beliefs among both educated and uneducated classes about the causes and cures of insanity.

"Deaf-mutism, with its associates, cretinism and goitre, is most prevalent in North Bengal, and especially in Sikkim. The proportion of sufferers to general population has remained stationary since the last census.

"Blindness is less prevalent than it was, except in the Presidency Division, where the proportion remains stationary.

"The number of lepers has also decreased."

"Mr. O'Malley's observations bear witness to the extraordinary social unrest that prevails to-day among the lower castes. No part of the census aroused so much excitement as this. A belief got abroad that the object of the census was to fix the relative status of each caste and to settle claims to social superiority; and this belief was largely fostered by the fact that at the last census castes were classed in order of social precedence. Petition after petition poured in from members of different castes praying to be designated by new names, or to be placed higher on the list. Somewhat different methods were adopted in the two Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam for dealing with these delicate problems. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, for example, the numerous groups of Muhammadans who desired to be called Sheikhs were all entered as such, irrespective of what the enumerators considered or knew them really to be. The result has been an extraordinary (and misleading) increase in the numbers of Sheikhs in North and East Bengal; in fact, 95 per cent. of the whole Muhammadan population of the province have now been recorded as Sheikhs. In Bengal, on the other hand, such latitude was not allowed, and members of a group were entered only under those names by which the group was generally known. It was wisely decided that at this census there should be no classification by status, and thus the difficulty of deciding to which of the four main divisions of Hindus each individual belonged was overcome. But the case of those castes who wished to arrogate to themselves an entirely new name was different, and the new name was entered by the census authorities if it was recognised by the Hindu community at large and was not used by any other caste. Thus the Chandals have been entered as Namasudras and the Chasi Kaibarttas as Mahishyas. The case of the Namasudras is curious and instructive. A generation ago they were content to call themselves Chandals. Advancing in wealth, they adopted the title of Namasudra, and at the census of 1891 they were entered as "Namasudra or Chandal." In 1901 they were entered as "Namasudra (Chandal)." In 1911 Chandal was dropped, but their further prayer to be called Namasudra Brahmans was disallowed.

"Similarly, the Rajbansis claim to be entered as Kshattriyas and the Shahas as Vaisyas.

"A comparatively modern symptom of this anxiety for the improvement of social status is the growth of the caste Samiti or Sabha. Most of these bodies have come into existence since the last census and especially since the Partition of Bengal in 1905. Their main object is to improve the social position of the caste, and their organization varies from combinations of the loosest kind to limited liability companies.

"In this connection it is interesting to note that the statistics show that the "Bhadralok" castes are progressive. The Brahmans have increased by 7½ per cent.,

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the Baidyas by 9 per cent. and the Kayasthas by 13 per cent."

This Chapter on Caste is remarkable for its careful review of many matters of great ethnological interest, such as "initiation into caste" and "caste government." Some of these have a very important bearing on the administration of the country at the present day. Mr. O' Malley remarks that on the whole the accessibility of the law courts is tending to weaken the system of caste self-government. There is also a tendency for the panchayat system to be supplanted by the practice of referring disputes to the local zamindar.

"At the same time, Co-operative Societies, a comparatively new growth, are providing a new village organization which discharges many of the functions of the caste panchayats. Being formed on a basis of unlimited liability, these Societies find it necessary to inquire closely into the position of new members, and as a result the tendency has been for these societies to exercise a very salutary influence towards curtailing marriage expenses and reducing litigation, two of the largest items of expenditure in village life. Numerous examples are reported of the way in which Co-operative Societies intervene with good effect in the village social life.

"Though there is, properly speaking, no caste system among Musalmans, yet in the organization of panchayats they have assimilated Hindu ideas. A remarkable example of this is the general panchayat of Dacca, an organization which is recognised by all Muhammadans except the Ashraf class, and exists for the settlement of disputes between members of the community. Disputes are decided in the first place by a panchayat ; from them there is an appeal to an appellate "bench," and from that again to a "full bench" consisting of the highest office bearers of the Association."

"Nearly three-fourths of the people are supported by agriculture. The head "Industries" embraces nearly 3½ millions, of whom about one fourth depend on textile industries. The figures connected with the manufacture of jute show the astonishing increase of 140 per cent. since 1901. This industry provides for 328,000 persons. Transport supports nearly a million persons and public administration nearly half a million. Professions and the liberal arts account for nearly a million. The legal profession has increased by 30 per cent. since 1901, there being now nearly 10,000 lawyers in Bengal.

"Extremely interesting results were obtained from an industrial census held concurrently with the general census. For mills, mines, etc., employing over 20 persons, a special schedule was prescribed and this was filled in by the owners or managers themselves. The total number of such concerns was found to be 1,466, employing over 600,000 persons, one-third of whom find employment in jute mills, and nearly another third on tea plantations. The great industrial centres are the districts of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, and the 24-Parganas, where two-thirds of the industrial undertakings of the province are concentrated. Of the various industries, Indians own practically all the brass foundries, oil mills, rice mills, timber yards, brick works, etc., while Europeans enjoy an absolute monopoly of the jute mills and predominate in the tea gardens and machinery and engineering works. A noticeable feature in this connection is the large and steadily growing predominance of extra-provincial labour in these industrial centres. The Bengali is in a minority in nearly all, and most markedly in the jute mills.

"The distribution of occupations between Hindus and Muhammadans forms an interesting commentary on the intellectual position of the followers of the two religions. The percentage of Musalmans in the total population is 52 and that of Hindus 45. But 37 per cent. of the latter and only 15 cent. of the former follow non-agricultural pursuits. The landlords, again, consist mainly of Hindus, the proportion being 7 Hindus to 3 Musalmans. These figures show that the great majority of the Musalmans have not yet risen beyond the stage of the cultivator who tills his own holding."

We think those classes of the people who cling to the soil have a surer guarantee of lasting prosperity than other classes.

Bengal Public Opinion on the New Educational Policy.

Inspite of the almost cyclonic weather, the Calcutta Town Hall meeting held on the 28th July to consider the new educational policy of the Government of India

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was a great success. The gathering was very large and thoroughly representative of all sects and communities of the people of Bengal. All parts of Bengal were represented by delegates coming from almost all the important towns of the Presidency. This great meeting had been preceded by mass meetings held in the public squares of Calcutta and its suburb and meetings in the mofussil. Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjea occupied the chair. As Dr. Rash Behari Ghose said in proposing him to the chair, the Raja "was the acknowledged leader of the landed aristrocracy of the province. The educated classes were also proud of the Raja, who was the oldest living graduate of the Calcutta University. As a member of the Senate for years he had taken a most active part in all questions relating to education. Raja Peary Mohan was, therefore, preeminently qualified to preside over the meeting."

The gravity of the situation created and the intensity of the public feeling roused by the new educational policy of the Government are indicated by the President's confession that "Failing health, decaying capacity to do any serious work and inability to bear the strain of a crowded public meeting had well nigh deterred me from taking a part in the deliberations of this momentous meeting, but there are questions that regard not age nor spare infirmity,—and to the palsied indecision of the evening of life exclaim: "Avaunt, Perplexity,"—questions in respect of which a man's obligations last, to use the words of Longfellow, "till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate." Despite my wearied limbs and faltering steps, I take my stand before you as a representative of the past, eager to clasp the hands of the representatives of the present, in the interests of the representatives of the future, and invoke Divine blessings on our filial endeavour to rescue from peril our "bounteous Mother," and the cause of education generally."

He went on to say :—

"Great is the occasion that has brought us together from all the four quarters of United Bengal. It affects the education of the youth of Bengal now and hereafter. The contemplated changes in the policy of Government have exercised the minds of the whole nation, Hindus aud Mahomedans, and created a general feeling of the gravest alarm. For the first time in the history of education in Bengal the University Act of 1904 set up the Executive Government above the body corporate of the Universities and officialised them in internal constitution and in their external relations; but even the bare semblance of control and authority which was left to the University under Lord Curzon's Act is now sought to be done away with. The proposed University of Dacca, which, like the lean kine in Pharoah's dream, threatens to eat up the fat ones, is to be a department of the State and the withdrawal from the University of its power of recognition of secondary schools and the substitution of the School Final for the Matriculation examination will complete the process. It is hard to make out what the University has done to deserve this treatment. One should have thought that it has deserved richly both of the Government and of the country, that it has achieved singular success in fostering the growth of an efficient and beneficent system of education, that it has enforced in secondary schools discipline, method, organisation—all that go to secure a high standard of efficiency, that on the selection of text-books they have brought to bear the varied knowledge, erudition and experience of a body of learned men and educationists, that in arriving at conclusions on debatable questions they have invariably safeguarded their action by full discussion by opposing reason to reason and argument to argument, and that the very nature of its corporate existence enables it to maintain a continuity of policy and a standard of perfection quite impossible and hardly ever attainable under the administration of an everchanging body of officers temporarily placed in power. The wrong and injustice which the contemplated changes in the educational policy of Government will inflict on the community is no less conspicuous. Who among us do not know that it was a number of Hindu gentlemen and not the Government of the country who as the real pioneers of English education in Bengal took up the "task eternal and the burden and the lesson" and that the old Hindu school and a number of smaller educational institutions owed their existence solely to private munificence? It was Lord Hardinge's famous Minute of 1844 that gave the greatest impetus to private enterprise in the matter of the spread of educa-

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tion. Under the aided system inaugurated by him even the remotest corners of the country were studded with schools. In the fifties of the last century my late father took up the cue and established 31 schools in his estates in one day, and he was not alone in the field and the schools those pioneers sowed broadcast produced their crop of men thirsting for knowledge and craving for culture. It was, therefore, no misreading of the history of the development of education in Bengal which led the Education Commission of 1883 to recommend the encouragement of private effort and the withdrawl of the State from the direct provision and management of education—especially of higher education in India. We have every reasonable ground, therefore, for taking it upon ourselves to enter our unqualified protest against the unwisdom and injustice of the contemplated changes in the educational policy of Government. We cannot too confidently pray Government to vindicate the watchward of hope and the message of a new life and high and still higher ideals which only two years ago we had the honour of receiving from His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor's own lips."

The first resolution ran as follows and was moved by Babu Bhupendranath Basu, seconded by Maulavi Wahed Hossain and supported among others by Mr. Sharif.

"That this meeting records its respectful but firm protest against the policy of the Government of India to exclude persons who have prominently participated in recent political movements, without reference to the character of such movements, from being engaged as University lecturers; the meeting is of opinion that such a policy involves an undesirable restriction on the exercise of the valued right of citizenship and, if enforced, will in practice be found detrimental to the interests of education by keeping out some of the best men from the field of educational work in this country."

In the course of his able speech Babu Bhupendranath said:—"I shall not speak of men living: but this much I can say that if some of the men who instruct our youths to-day were withdrawn from the field of their labours, the student community will be all the poorer for the loss of association with men who represent great ideals of purity of life and character, of voluntary poverty cheerfully borne for the cause of education, of truth unbending and inexorable, of religious and social reform. And what is more, are we quite so certain that we can keep from the post-graduate students of our University the knowledge of the world, which would necessarily include some knowledge of politics? Is an unbroken atmosphere of pure study capable of realisation in these modern times and if capable of realisation, would it be so absolutely desirable for young men who will soon enter, if they have not already entered, upon the battle of life? Has it ever been possible to surround people with artificial barriers to keep out knowledge of things which they must soon know? The experiment failed with our first parents, even under divine control, it failed once again in Kapilavastu to keep from the Buddha who was to be knowledge of sin and sorrow. We can no more create an Utopia or an Arcadia, than we can create a new world. May I say that it is not fences nor barricades, that are wanted for the protection of our youth from contamination with unwholesome political ideas? What is wanted is trust, what is wanted is good will and good feeling, a just and generous appreciation of the position that India should occupy in the comity of the Empire, and all misgivings will disappear."

The second resolution, moved by Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, was to the effeet

"That this meeting, while thanking the Government of India for its desire to extend the application of the principle of free Elementary Education records its deliberate conviction that some of the principles advocated in the Resolution of the 21st February, 1913 in regard to Primary Education will, in their practical working, materially add to the cost of Primary Education and thus tend to restrict its progress; and this meeting urges the Government to give greater prominence to the necessity of extending Primary Education with a view to its being uade ultimately free and compulsory than to the question of raising its standard and quality in the present stage of its progress. This meeting is of opinion that there is no ground for the suggestion that the multiplication of schools is not an urgent problem in this Presidency and prays that the Government will be pleased to formulate in consultation with non-official leading men and representative associations in the Presidency a

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definite scheme of Primary Education. This meeting is further of opinion that, having regard to the special circumstances of this Presidency a beginning should be immediately made in the introduction of free and compulsory education in selected areas in Bengal."

Mr. Maitra said that primary education would not make any progress by the establishment of board schools, for they were more expensive than private schools—too expensive for Bengal villages. They did not want costly houses for their boys. It was better that boys assembled under banian trees than that they should go without education. It was impossible to have teachers belonging to the class of people taught. It was most undesirable, for they wanted the distinction of classes to disappear sooner. In conclusion he asked the Government to cooperate with the non-officials in formulating a scheme for the introduction of free and compulsary primary education.

This resolution was seconded by Maulvi Mahomed Akram Khan and supported among others by Maulvi Khursed Hosain.

Mr. B. Chakrabarti moved the third resolution, which was as follows :—

" That this meeting deplores the refusal of the Government of India to accept the recommendations of the Calcutta University for the affiliation of colleges up to certain standards as in the case of the Ananda Mohan College (Mymensingh) and protests against the policy of unnecessary interference with the administration of the University as tending to bring the Universities and the system of higher education in the coutry more completely under official control to the serious detriment of the best interests of education. "

This resolution was supported, among others, by Maulvi Mujibar Rahman, Editor of *The Musalman*.

The fourth resolution, moved by Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, seconded by Dr. Nilratan Sircar, and supported among others by Maulvis Fazl-uddin and Azizur Rahman, ran as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting there is no necesity for the introduction of the School Final Examination and depriving the University of its control over Secondary Education either as an alternative to or as a substitute for the Matriculation Examination."

As the School Final is said to have been a success in Madras, Dr. Sircar examined in detail all that has been urged in its favour and against the Matriculation in the Madras Educational Report and showed conclusively that all the advantages claimed for it can be secured for the Matriculation and the alleged defects of the Matriculation removed by the University. He went on to observe :—

"But the main point is that the scheme involves a sudden raising of the standard of the secondary schools which, I am afraid, even the liberality of the Government of India will fail to carry out. And the question is not one of money alone, but of other resources too—particularly in men. In any case a Harrow or an Eton cannot be built in a day; but situated as Bengal is, institutions on those models are much more likely to develop under the guidance of our University than under the fostering care of an over-cautious department. The proposed system, if adopted here, will lead to the improvement of the few, as also to the extinction of not only the unfit but of many schools that are quite fit. A greater disaster could not befall Bengal. Of course, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp would say that the "unnecessary multiplication of high schools is an evil the magnitude of which can hardly be measured." I confess, we are not educationists enough as yet to admit this. From the point of view of the University, if the School Final be accepted as a substitute for the Matriculation, it would be a great disadvantage to fill in our classes from amongst a large body of students—good, bad, and indifferent, all nominally entitled to admission into them. Further the pecuniary loss, enormous as it is certain to be, would be as nothing compared to the loss of prestige—a thing so dear to our rulers—of the University in the eyes of the public. It would at best be a jump into the unknown from a well-organised system which has taken deep root in Bengal."

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea moved the following resolution in an eloquent speech :—

That this meeting views which alarm and anxiety the proposal of the Government of India to transfer the power of recognition of Secondary Schools for the purposes of the Matriculation Examination from the University to the Local Government and urges the abandonment of the proposal on the following among other grounds:—

(a) That there is no justification for

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the proposed change, in as much as the University has never asked to be relieved of this work and has performed it with a measure of discrimination and efficiency which has won for it the respect and the confidence of the public and the approbation of the Government.

(b) That the schools being the feeders of the Colleges it is necessary and desirable that the authority that controls the Colleges should supervise the instruction given in the schools, thus interlinking the Secondary and the University education together.

(c) That while in Bengal the majority of the schools have been founded and are being maintained by private effort, the proposal of the Government of India will place these schools entirely under Government control and their recognition will vest in a department of the Government which will deliberate in secret like other departments of the Government without the aid of popular representatives who now, as members of the Senate, take part in such deliberations.

(d) That under the existing system the Department of Education has the fullest opportunity of stating its views upon any question of recognition and it is essential that the final decision should be with a body like the Senate which, even as at present constituted, is not likely to be guided by any views other than educational and which deliberates in public with the aid of popular representatives.

It was seconded in a humourous speech by Babu Motilal Ghose and supported by Maulvis Najumuddin Ahmed and Kazim Ali.

We are sorry that there was no resolution on the policy foreshadowed in the Government Resolution as regards the education of girls. The Government has laid down that "the services of women should be more freely enlisted for instruction and inspection," but has said nothing regarding the higher education and training of *pure-blooded* Indian women for the profession of teaching. Government indeed says that "The difficulty of obtaining competent school-mistresses is felt acutely in many parts of the country;" but the only suggestion made to meet that difficulty is contained in the following sentence: "In this connection it has been suggested that there is a large opening for women of the domiciled community who have a knowledge of the vernacular and who might be specially trained for the purpose."

God save us from the knowledge of the vernaculars possessed by Eurasian Women! While they may prove useful adjuncts to the C. I. D., it is not clear how their personalities, social status and social ideals will help in moulding the characters of Hindu and Musalman girls and hold before them inspiring ideals of womanhood. Like every other class of human beings, Eurasians may have a bright future if rightly guided; but at present they are a distinctly inferior class, unfit to supply teachers to the Hindu and Musalman community. We regret, therefore, that our leaders have been blind to the dangers lurking in the suggestion contained in the Government Resolution.

GLEANINGS

The New Death.

In his communication of the other day to the French Academy of Medicine, Doctor Alexis Carrel, holder of Nobel Prize, according to the scientific press of Paris, has placed the whole subject of death in a light unsuspected, apparently, by Metchnikoff himself. Of course all have heard of Carrel's experiments on animals, and even upon human beings. Their tissues have been "preserved" in flasks in the living state for a period that ran into weeks. These tissues were grafted with happy effect upon animate organisms. The sensation caused by all this has not been equalled by anything since the famous experiments of the young French physician Bichat on tissues a century ago, more or less. It was realized through Carrel's experiments, therefore, that tissues of a body presumably "dead," to follow the Academy Bulletin brought out in Paris, might actually remain "alive" for a considerable period.

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DR. ALEXIS CARREL.

This flat defiance of human experience hitherto was explained by a hypothesis of "intra-cellular" life. This, we were told, was all that Carrel's post-mortem life amounted to. The newly reported experiments of Carrel make this hypothesis untenable apparently. Organs detached from a body, to follow the summary of an expert in the London Truth, may under certain conditions, continue not only to lead a vegetating, intra-cellular life, but to perform the active functions for which they were intended—the heart to beat and send on blood or serum, the lungs to breathe and throw out carbonic acid, the digestive tube to assimilate food and turn it into blood globules, and so forth.

These researches bear out the view of modern physicians, as set forth not only in the French medical press, but in that of Great Britain, that death is by no means the sudden change which our minds, laden with metaphysical tradition, imagine. We talk of something—the soul—flying away from the body. It is seemingly all over. But it may not be, concedes the official bulletin of the French Academy of Medicine. Doctor Carrel has shown that every function of life save consciousness may be kept up. This authority sees nothing extravagant in the idea that medical science may some day go a step farther. It may restore consciousness even after it has been pronounced to be extinct—provided fundamental chemical transformations have not supervened. For a period as long as a decade French physicians have said it is possible to restore the action of the heart after "death" by means of hypodermic injections. This method has been resorted to, it even seems, by Roman Catholic families to enable a "corpse" to receive the last sacrament. Even in so-called sudden death there is a period which in French medical literature is called "psychic twilight."

The case most in point, bearing upon the whole subject, is that of a late noted French Duke. He was a conspicuous figure in the old legitimist club life of the French capital. He died recently at ten o'clock in the evening. His younger son would be of age by midnight. For the sake of the two hours—the younger son being still an infant in the eyes of the law—it seemed as if the whole of the Duke's estate must be tied up in endless litigation. But the family lawyers—they were at the bedside—pinned their faith to the new discoveries regarding death. They made manifest to the physicians the tremendous legal consequences of the Duke's death before midnight.

"Hypodermic injections were resorted to. The heart began to beat again, the temperature of the body went up, breathing was restored. In fact, the body came back to 'life,' and in this state it was kept until a quarter of an hour after midnight. A magistrate had been called to the house to see to the interests of the 'infant ward.' He witnessed the revival from seeming death to life."

Animal Intelligence.

Much has been talked of in Germany, of a talking dog named "Don." He is said to have a vocabulary of eight words spoken as answers to the questions, in German: "What is your name?" "What is the matter with you?" "What do you want?" "What is that?" "What do you wish now?" To these here plies in order, "Don"; "Hunger"; "Haben" (to have something); "Kuchen" (cake; "Ruhe" (rest). Moreover, he is said to answer categorical questions by "Ja" and "Nein"; and, in reply to another question, to pronounce the name "Haberland."

Mr. Oskar Pfungst, of the Psychological Institute of the University of Berlin, investigated the behavior of the dog in collaboration with Professor Vosseler and Dr. Erich Fischer, keeping detailed memoranda on the tests, and making a number of phonographic records.

Having proposed three definitions of speech: first, properly, as the use of vocal sounds to convey to the listener an idea experienced by the speaker; secondly more loosely, as the production of vocal sounds learned by imitation, but used without knowledge of their meaning to the hearer; and thirdly, as the production of vocal sounds not imitative of human speech, having no meaning to the speaker, but producing in the hearer illusions of definitely articulated, spoken words, uttered to convey meaning—Mr. Pfungst then asks to which class the speech of Don properly may be referred.

First, it is plain enough that the dog does not use words with any consciousness of their meaning to the hearer. His vocabulary is always given in order, beginning with '*Don*' and ending with '*Ruhe*.' If the order of questioning is varied he is called '*Kuchen*' and he desires '*Hunger*,' etc.

Secondly, it is evident, says Mr. Pfungst, that he is not using words learned by imitation. The author assumes that any imitator of another speaker would vary the pitch, intensity, or accent of his words as the imitatee's were varied. Don's voice—a high tenor—is not varied when the pitch of the questioner's voice is altered. Furthermore, he does not imitate changes in accent or intensity. . . . Mr. Pfungst offers other disproof of the imitation hypothesis. . . . This is found in the method of learning. The first word which the dog is reported to have uttered is '*Haben*.' We are assured that being asked, 'Willst du etwas haben?' (Will you have something?) he thereupon pronounced distinctly the words, '*Haben haben haben*,' and was rewarded with food for his pains. When he afterward attempted to pronounce the words he would give many inarticu-

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late gurgles, but the food was given only when the correct number of syllables were uttered at once. The owner's family state that ten repetitions, some a week apart, sufficed for this learning. The word 'Ruhe' was first uttered after a command, 'Ruhe,' by the owner's daughter."

"Mr. Pfungst concludes that the speech of Don is therefore to be regarded properly as the production of vocal sounds which produce illusions in the hearer.

"On psychological grounds, Mr. Pfungst concludes, the explanation is comparatively simple; the uncritical do not make the effort to discriminate between what is actually given in perception and what is merely associated imagery, which otherwise gives to the perception a meaning wholly unwarranted; and they habitually ignore the important part which suggestion always plays in ordinary situations.

The limits of mental operations in animals has been discussed in a book by Karl Krall entitled "Thinking Animals." Krall is a jeweller of Elberfeld who has occupied himself for many years with psychological studies. He has endeavored to train two horses according to a theory of his own. Astonishing results, said to have been obtained, are set forth in his book. These have induced various psychologists and zoologists to go to Elberfeld to investigate, and their report is said to confirm some of the wonders related in the book. An account of the phenomena observed is given by one of them, Dr. Ziegler, of Stuttgart, in the *Deutsche Revue* (Berlin, December). Krall's system of training differs from previous methods—the animals are treated like reasonable beings. What is desired from them is carefully explained, and the teaching closely resembles that in a kindergarten. It is stated that progress is rapid, and that the four fundamental operations of arithmetic can be learned in the first year, even employing moderately large numbers. Krall has improved on the methods of Herr von Osten the trainer of the well-known "educated horse" "Clever Hans," in many ways. We are told:

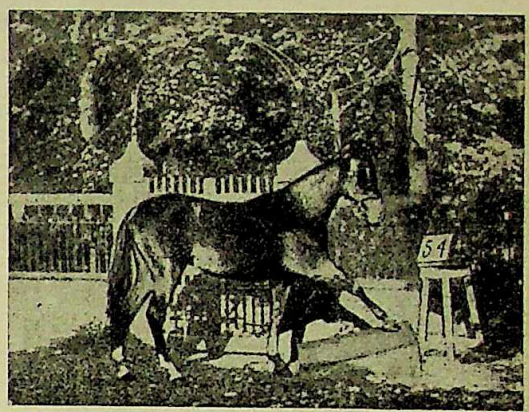
"He accustoms the animals to strike the units with the right foot, the tens with the left foot, and the hundreds with the right foot again. Thus a number of three places can be indicated by a moderate number of hoof-strokes, while a lengthy repetition of the strokes with a single foot wearies the animal and gives rise to mistakes from error or carelessness.

"The little pony Hanschen, which has been instructed by this method for several months, performs addition and subtraction of numbers of two places without trouble, or multiplies a two-place number by a one-place number. I set up the blackboard and stamping-board and wrote on the former an example in addition. To my astonishment the little animal at once gave the right number, striking the units with the right foot and the tens with the left foot. He solved many such exercises in succession, all correctly. This surprized me because the animal was in an unfamiliar place."

The animals are said to go so far as to extract roots, but only of perfect powers up to the fifth degree, which cannot be an affair of memory only.

"Sometimes the animals wavered between two possible end figures; for instance, the square root of 779,689 was given first as 887, then correctly as 883. This very thing proves that individual thinking and not a mere feat of memory is involved."

Dr. Ziegler thinks these surprizing results demand further study, and warns the reader against accepting any facile explanation, such as that the horses got the right figures from either voluntary or involuntary signs on the part of the spectators. This was tested by sending every one out of the stall and permitting them only to look in through small apertures. It has been suggested by some, however, that the sense of smell may aid the animals to guess correctly. The writer goes on:



THE HORSE'S ANSWER—STAMPING ON A BLOCK OF WOOD.

"The problems were often written down on the blackboard, in words (not figures) and sometimes even in French. The horses gave the result as correctly as when figures were used. This is a very weighty point—that the horses should recognize script and even make use of it. They can be made to spell names and other words at will. Since, however, the hoof of the horse is built for running or striking, the letters must likewise be indicated by hoof-strokes. This is achieved by means of a hanging tablet bearing a sort of rectangular system of coordinates, . . . so that every letter can be indicated by a number of two places."

The horses spell phonetically, and this is encouraged by Krall. Says Dr. Ziegler:

"They write the words according to the sound. Moreover, they frequently omit those vowels which are already indicated in the names of the consonants; for example, *hfr gbn* for *hafer geben* (Give oats)."

Dr. Ziegler concludes by declaring that Krall's experiments have opened new paths in animal psychology. He particularly suggests that other animals be studied and that comparisons be made among various groups of mammals. He says:

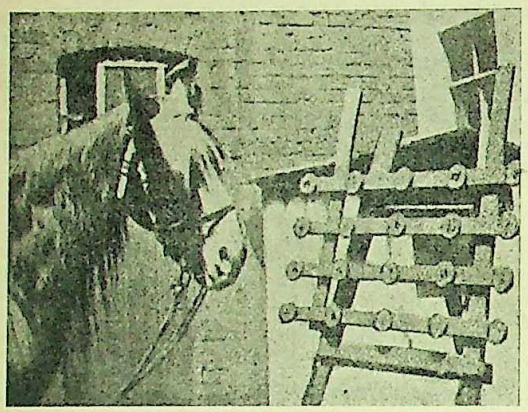
"Since the whole group of hoofed animals is distinct in species from man, the intellect of the horse or elephant does not represent earlier stages of the human, but is the outcome of a parallel system of development.

"It would, therefore, be highly interesting to study the anthropoid apes, the surface of whose brains likewise shows a beautiful system of furrows. ... But there will always be a significant gap between the highest of apes and the lowest of human races. For the human brain has a much greater weight and a far higher number of cells. The mental difference between man and animal will therefore not disappear, even if we come to form a higher opinion of the animal's mind."

The learned horses of Germany, if they have done naught else, seem to have stimulated the human mind.

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AN EQUINE WRITING MACHINE.

The horses, it will be remembered, give the anewers to certain arithmetical problems with unusual rapidity, so that those who explain their performances by supposing signals from their master are confronted with the fact that the animals calculate faster than any men could do, except mathematical prodigies. In a recent discussion among a body of scientific men at a meeting of the French Philosphical Society, in the Sorbonne at Paris, it was shown that in the case of some of the problems solved by the horses, short cuts and arithmetical tricks might shorten the process greatly. Apparently it was the opinion that some one in communication with the animals used such methods.

"The discussion was an animated one, some affirming the existence of a secret trick, while others were prudently doubtful. Among the former was Mr. Quinton, who found in the experiments of Krall divers 'impossibilities' which he severely criticized. He had been struck with the fact that the horses made as many mistakes (about 40 per cent.) when they performed a very simple addition as when they extracted a cubic, fourth, or fifth root ; he asked why the horses added, multiplied, and extracted roots, while they neither subtracted nor divided. Finally, he found no trace, in their education, of lessons going farther than 144. Wishing to explain possible trickery in the extraction of roots, he succeeded in discovering a very simple and rapid process of finding the cubic or fifth roots of perfect powers, and he astonished the Philosophical Soeiety by announcing that he would undertake to give in a few seconds the results of all such problems that might be presented to him. This was done, and it was shown that Quintion was able to calculate at least as quickly as a learned horse. The latter answered in several seconds such questions as, 'Find the square root of 15,376, the third root of 5,882, and the fourth root of 456,976 ;' and Quinton did just about as well !

"Quinton refused at first to reveal the secret of his method, declaring that a little reflection would enable any mathematician to discover it. Next day *Le Matin* announced it, as communicated by the author. The method is not at all general, but is applicable only to the roots of perfect powers ; it does not enable one to know whether a given number is or is not a perfect power, and it is necessary to be certain that we have a perfect power before applying Mr. Quinton's simplified method. . . . . .

"For fifth roots, Quinton notes that the unit figure of the root is the same as that of the power. Fifth root of 32 is 2 ; of 213 is 3 ; of 59,049 is 9. The fifth powers of the nine digits thus may be extracted rapidly and easily. Beyond this a little more memory is necessary, for the fifth powers of the digits must be kept in the mind. . . . Thus Quinton solved instantly the problem of extracting the fifth root of 229,345,007, proposed to him by the president of the Philosophical Rociety ; 2,293 lies between 1,024, which is the fifth power of four, and 3,125, which is the fifth power of five. The figure in the tens place is thus 4 and that in the units place is 7 ; so 47 is the root.

"For cube-roots the process is somewhat different. Mr. Quinton has noted that the cubes of 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, all end in the same figures, and that those of 2, 3, 7 and 8 end in 8, 7, 3, and 2, the figures obtained by subtracting from 10. The cube-roots of cubes smaller than 1,000 are thus obtained at once. . . . For larger cubes, running up to a million, we must, as before, know by heart the cubes of the nine digits. . . .

"This is the wole mystery. Mr. Quinton is able to extract by the same process many other roots, 7th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 14th, etc. Is this the secret of the Elberfeld horses ? Quinton does not assert this, and notes only that these rapid processes are able to abridge calculation greatly, so that if some one were in communication with horses, the spectators would be astonished at their apparent knowledge. The process is hardly utilizable ordinarily, and we describe it here only as a curiosity. It will enable those familiar with it to astonish their friends. The only thing they must look out for is that they shall be given only perfect powers !"

Mr. Abanindranath Tagore And His Art.

We suppose time has come when we shall know something about the art-movement in Bengal. The modern art-movement in Bengal had been ostracised by the people at the initiation but we believe it has passed over its evil days, and a bright and glorious future is already in view. We do not know of any new movement, or any revival of old movements, that had found favour with all the people of the country. We find a strong body of highly cultured men—men of strong intellect and powerful imagination who set themselves firmly against the Renaissance movement of Europe. Luther—with all his universal ideas of religion horrified the greater half of Christendom by marrying a nun.

We can go through all the world-movements—movements that required the learning of an extraordinary genius and we come to this inevitable conclusion that serious opposition is a sure test of a great movement—it is altogether a blessing in disguise.

It is certain that the pictorial art-movement in Bengal has achieved a strong and endearing place in the heart of the people of the country. It has been recognised by the people as a movement of truth, beauty, and nationality. During these days when the moral and intellectual dependence of a people is much stronger but less felt, it is certainly a sign of distinct triumph when we find intelligent appreciation of the new art-movement by the people.

When it falls to the luck of any person to be associated with a particular movement at its initiation

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we cannot envy his position. The rage of the people who think that the soundness of their historic judgment has been assailed is bent on him. They held him up as the iconoclast and unless such a person is gifted with an extraordinarily strong character—and unless he has got an inherent capacity to hold his own against odds, he is wafted off with a single puff of public reprobation. It is extremely fortunate for the country that we find such a man in Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.

First of all we declare with pride and honour that Mr. Abanindranath Tagore is recognised as the leader of the modern art-movement in India and is hailed by the people as their deliverer from artistic degeneration. We may assure him that he was admired and respected by every one, both Indian and foreign, who took any interest in art long before the high honour of his distinguished services was conferred on him by the Government.

With Mr. Abanindranath Tagore a new chapter to the long forgotten episode of Indian art has begun. It lends a particular charm to his position for that reason. In history we find that the life of David Garrick is synchronised with the development of histrionic art,—the life of Frederick the Great is embodied in the history of Germany. We say it is an undeniable sign of genius when the history of the world is identified with the life of a person. Such is the case with Mr. Abanindranath Tagore.

His Personality.

In Mr. Tagore we find a peculiar feeling of sympathy with the artists of the Proto-Renaissance period. He represents in his works illustrating the classical verses of the Meghaduta and Ritusamhara, the results of a renewed study of antique models. Some specimens of these are kept in the Art Gallery in Calcutta. They are characterised by good taste, by largeness of purpose, and suavity of treatment. The execution of these may seem somewhat laboured, but it is very clear that they successfully represent the beauty of form and colour in perfect harmony with the classical feeling. One prominent feature which we cannot miss in these pictures is the artistic personality of the artist. He gives to his work the impress of great personal excellence and vigour. It is this element of individuality of genius that has made this revived classicism,—rather than a fresh and independent study of nature,—a real and living art of the modern school. In these pictures the artist has avoided—on the one hand, the inertness of the old Egyptian painting and on the other hand the over-emphasis of action and expression of the Renaissance. Especially the Ritusamhara pictures in the Art Gallery of Calcutta are remarkable for the grace and self-restraint, which are the most precious of artistic qualities in them. That his personality is dominant in his school of painting is clear from the works of his successful pupils—Nanda Lal and others.

His Asceticism.

Asceticism in the life and works of Mr. Tagore is prominent in an extraordinary degree. It is a very common idea in the East that one cannot do anything really great unless he rises above the material attractions of this world. Mr. Tagore, though born of a wealthy father, was never allowed during his young days to indulge in the luxuries that wealth could buy. He along with two brothers was brought up in a very strict way. His frugal habits of youth developed into the asceticism of his later years. His simple and unostentatious ways of life have given him a place of great honour among his own people. It is a wonderful thing to see how satisfied he is with the bare necessities of simple life. His unique simplicity of mind goes much farther than his simple habits of life. This childlike simplicity has deprived him from entertaining any ambition in life, any longing for honours, or any enthusiasm to push on in a worldly sense. Nothing is more embarassing to him than the honour done to him by the highest officials or any hearty appreciation for his work by a humble admirer. But those who have come in close touch with him would know the audacity of character with which he criticised certain measures of the Government. It is only the absolute disregard for worldly joys and sorrows that has enabled him to paint with that real and highly ascetic expression the Fresco Buono 'Kach and Debajani' that is kept in the Art Gallery in Calcutta. This charming story of Indian mythology has also been commemorated in an exquisite poem by Rabindra Nath Tagore. It depicts a momentous incident in the life of 'Kach', who, regardless of the charm, youth, and beauty of Debajani, attended the solemn purpose of his life. Kach renounced the world with its manifold pleasures, joys of youth, and solemn assurances of a great love. These subjects the famous painter painted with his whole heart giving them expression in their very limbs.

—*The Indian Daily News.*

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Bengali

I. Banan-Samasya : (Problem of spelling) by Professor Lalitkumar Banerji, M. A. 25|1 Scot Lane, Bangabashi Book-stall. Price 0-3-0.

The author follows up his disquisitions into the field of Bengali grammar with this brochure on spelling and phonetics and he has succeeded in a remarkable degree in revealing the unsettled state of the Bengali language in this matter. The laborious collection of apt words to illustrate his points, and the pleasant manner in which he leads us through the intricate mazes of a controversy which by its nature cannot be very interesting, are to be admired. It is to be noted that the learned professor gives his verdict both against the radical change of system advocated by Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray, & the peculiar method of spelling certain words which has come into fashion in some of the Bengali monthlies. Altogether the book will amply repay perusal, and hasten the standardisation of Bengali orthography. It will also materially assist University students in correctly writing their mother-tongue.

Bangalir Katha : (The story of the Bengalee) : A drama in one Act. Published by Manomohan Chatterjea. Printed at the Kuntaline Press, 1320.

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The conception of this little book is happy, and the ideas are noble and excellent; and in some passages, both prose and verse, the expression reaches the high level of the ideas. But the author does not appear to have outgrown his novitiate in the art of writing, and his style is often crude and lacking in poise. The attempt at introducing humourous scenes has proved a decided failure and has in one place overstepped the bounds of decency. The author's patriotism and soundness of outlook are praiseworthy. P.

Music

Thirty Indian Songs: Recorded by Ratan Devi, with Introduction and Translations by Ananda Coomaraswamy and a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore.

As a collection of songs, this is a valuable book, full of delightful comments and interesting reading matter. The introduction is particularly well written, and Rabindranath's charming picture of the authoress adds materially to the attractions of the book. We do not think the notations are intended to be taken seriously as specimens of classical Indian music. So it would hardly be fair to criticise them as such. But we feel constrained to say that they do not do justice to such an accomplished musician as the authoress evidently is. U. R.

English

I. Indian Nationalism: by B. Pattabhisitaramayya, B. A., M. B. & C. M. Printed and published at the Kistna Swadeshi Press, Masulipatam, 1913.

Rarely, though sometimes, it falls to the lot of the reviewer, in turning over the pages of a modest-looking volume to come across something which arrests his attention, and shows him at a glance that the book which he had carelessly taken up only to lay by after a passing notice, was full of solid worth, the value of which none is more ready to recognise than the reviewer himself. 'Indian Nationalism' is such a book. There is nothing of gushing patriotism in it, but it is a solid piece of work in which the author, who, by the way, commands a fluent and impressive style, discusses the bases of a common nationalism, its ethics, the underlying unity of Indian life, its common background of civilisation, the awakening of national self-conciousness, and the goal of federalism. The author draws his illustrations from far and near, refutes some of the gloomy but shallow theories of our candid friends, and shews a thorough grasp of his subject acquired by extensive reading and deep thinking We do not know why this small volume should not form a text-book for the matriculation examination in our Indian universities, unless the name 'Nationalism' be considered as too unorthodox. In our opinion this is a book which should be placed in the hands of every Indian Student at the threshold of the University so that his mind may be trained to entertain sober and legitimate aspirations regarding his country's future and he may not fall a victim to dreamy visions.

II. *Indian Ballads: by William Waterfield. Printed and published by the Panini office, Allahabad 1913. Price Re. 1-8-0.*

This is a companion volume to Griffith's 'Idyls from the Sanskrit' and 'Scenes from the Ramayana' which we reviewed in this magazine in February last. Waterfield's is not so wellknown a name as Griffith's, but from the ballads it would appear that he too was a poet of no mean order. He was a member of the Civil Service, and the Accountant-General of the N. W. P., in the sixties and seventies of the last century. He was master of fourteen languages. His love of India and its people breathes through every page of this volume. Civilians of his type are rare in these days. The volume under review will give the foreigner a very good idea of ancient Indian culture and civilisation, and once more we congratulate the Panini office of Allahabad for publishing these poetical pieces. The get-up is beautiful, and the paper and printing excellent.

III. *Studies in Local Self-Government, Education and Sanitation: by A. P. Patro, Vakil, Berhampore, Ganjam. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price annas twelve only.*

In this book some subjects which are always to the fore in the daily Press, but which have seldom been adequately handled, are discussed with some approach to comprehensiveness. A thorough acquaintance with the statistics, a tedious wading through blue-books, coupled with an insight into knowledge of the practical working of the system, are necessary for a proper treatment of the subjects. The author seems to possess these qualifications and his views and comments are sound and reasonable. A perusal of the book will give the lay reader a clear view of certain important aspects of the problem of Indian administration.

IV. *Social Programmes in the West (The Barrows Lectures, 1912-13): by C. R. Henderson, Ph. D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. Macmillan & Co., Limited, Bombay & Calcutta. 1913. Price annas nine.*

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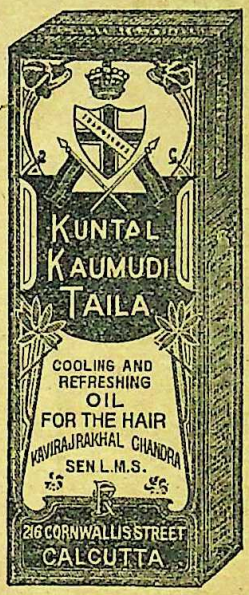
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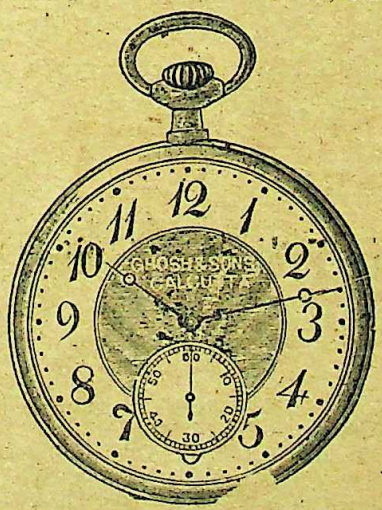
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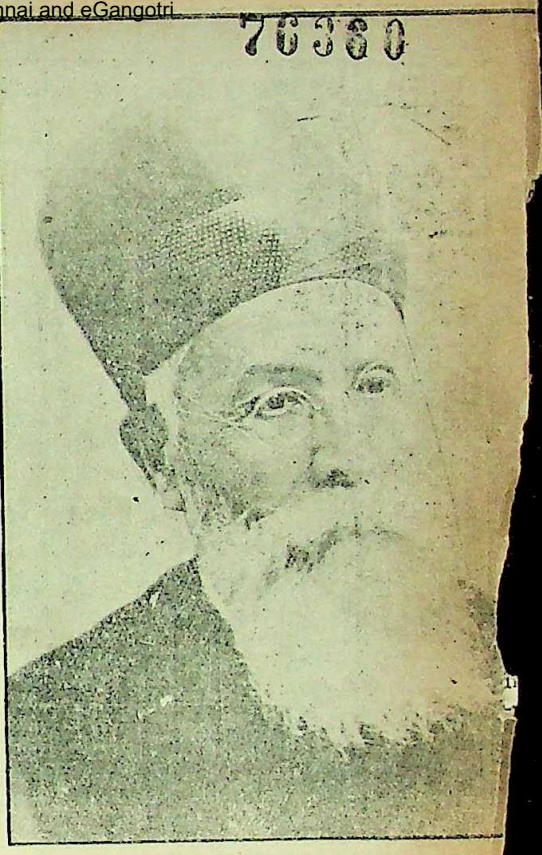
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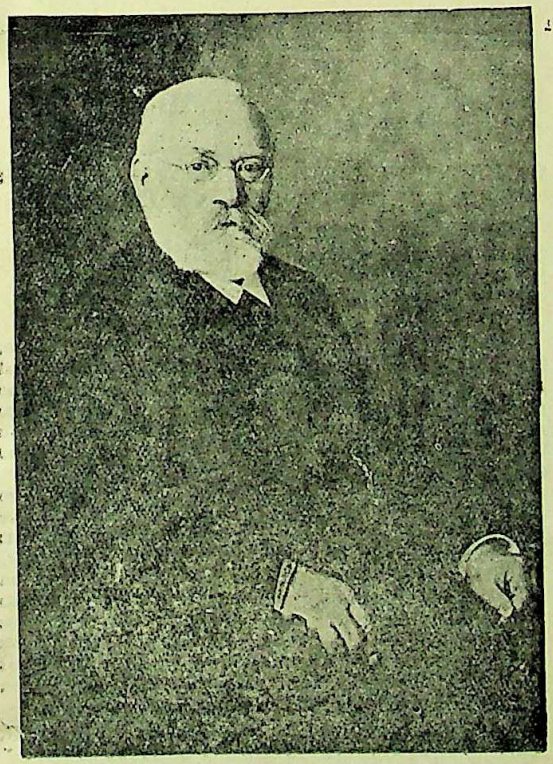
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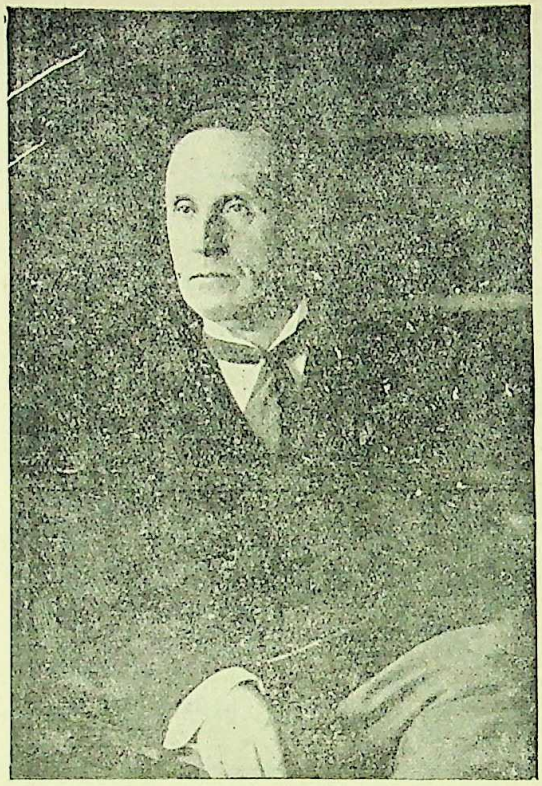
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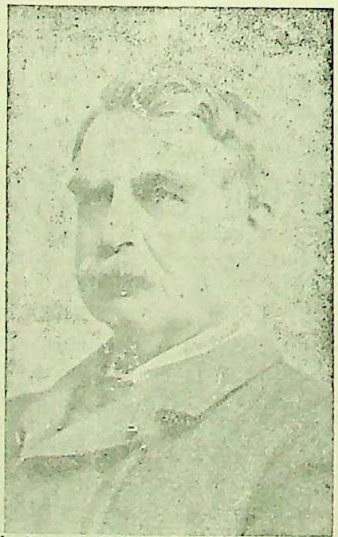
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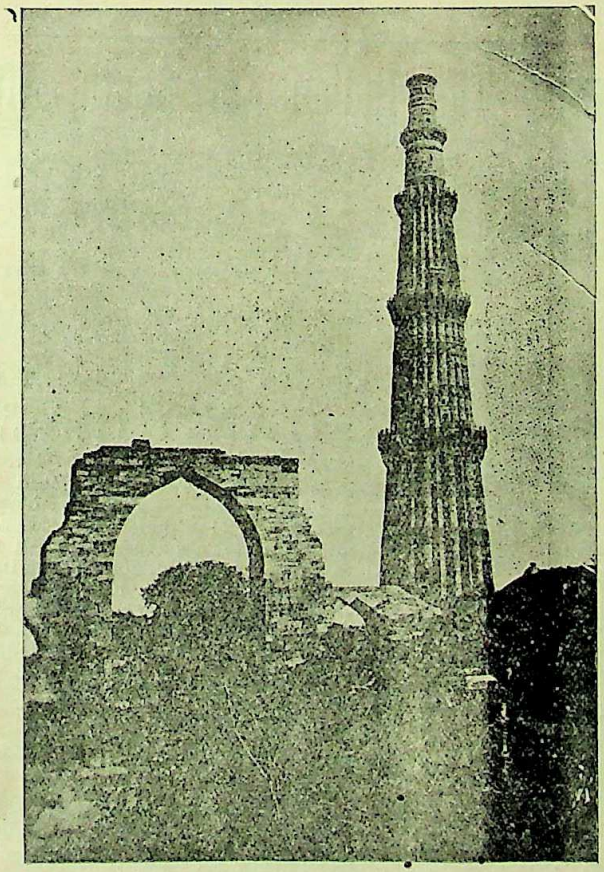
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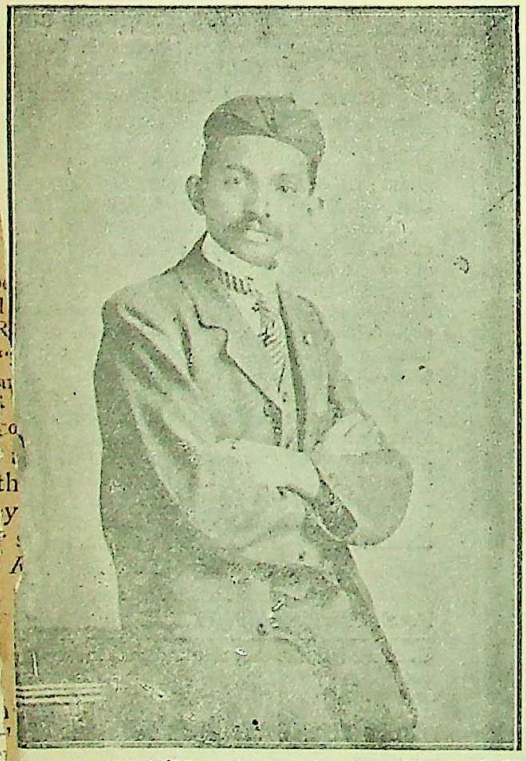
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1. The Birth of the sacred plant Tulasi (in colors) by Abanindronath Tagore, C. I. E. ... 113
2. Yasoda and Krishna by Asitkumar Haldar ... 119
3. Vishnu 124
4. Saraswati by Surendranath Kar 124
5. Mr. Narain Singh, Mr. Nand Singh Sihra, Mr. Bulwant Singh ... 141
6. Hakim Singh's family ... 142
7. Jiwan Singh and Hakim Singh 143
8. Mr. Bhag Singh and his family 144
9. The Kadam Sharif ... 151
10. The Minstrels of Kashmir ... 154
11. Kashmiri Pots ... 155
12. Kashmiri Gyipsies ... 156
13. Wood Carving of Kashmir ... 157
14. Kashmiri Musalman S lver smiths 158
15. Kashmiri Metal Works ... 159
16. Kashmiri Musalman Weavers 159
17. Kashmiri Embroridery Workers 160
18. Kashmiri Papier Mache painters 160
19. Guru Nanak and his disciples 200
20. Babu Nagendranath Chatterji 210
21. Dr. Alexis Carrel ... 226
22. The Horse's answer—stamping on a block of wood ... 227
23. An Equine writing Machine ... 221

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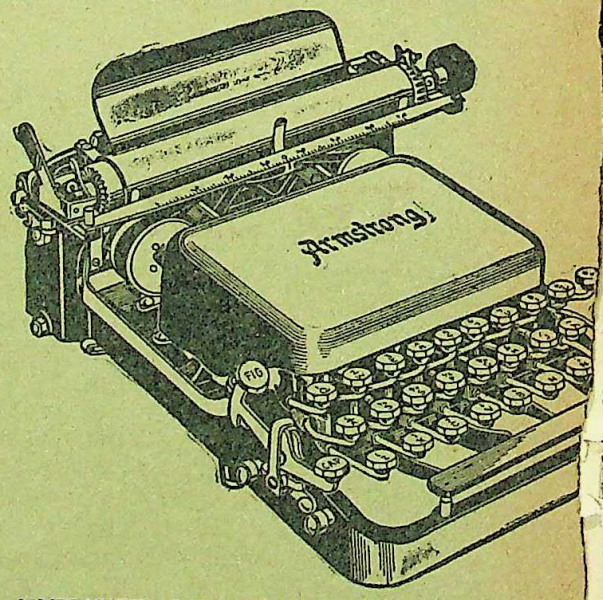
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Contents :

	Page
Frontispiece—The Madonna (from an old Indian painting by a Mughal painter).	
My Interpretation of Indian History, II.—Rabindra Nath Tagore, and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.	231
Religious Education—Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A.	237
A. O. Hume—P.	241
The Possibility of a Science of Morals—Wilfred Wellock	243
Christian subjects and Mughal Masters—Samarendranath Gupta	250
Histoy of the Press Legislation in India—R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B.	256
The Bombay Students' Brotherhood	262
Promotion of Learning during Muhammadan Rule—Kumar Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L. ...	269
The Body of Humanity—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	272
The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur—Saratchandra Roy, M.A., B.L.	279
The Taj Mahal (a poem)—Late Satischandra Ray, W. W. Pearson and Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	277
The Place of India in the Empire—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A. Ph.D., Lecturer, State University of Iowa, U.S.A.	278
The Match Trade and Industry in Burma—A. Ghosh	284
The Economics of "Native India": a plea for a better stody—S. Ranganath	286
An Introduction to Hindo Polity—K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, ...	288
Indian Architecture: a review—Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, B.A.	291
A Constructive Programme—B. P, ...	294
Gleanings	298
Notes	303
Reviews and Notices of Books—Prof. J. N, Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S., etc, ...	317

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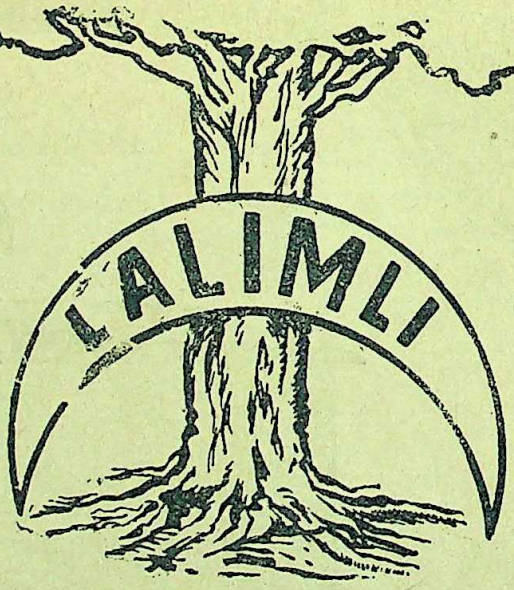
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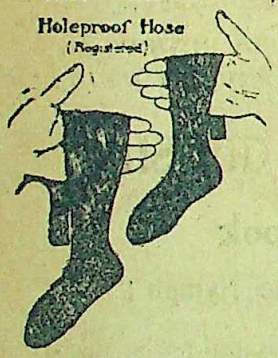
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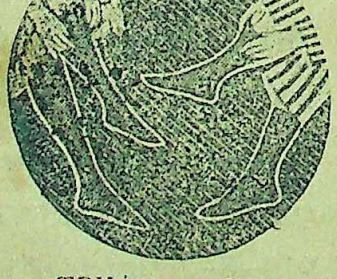
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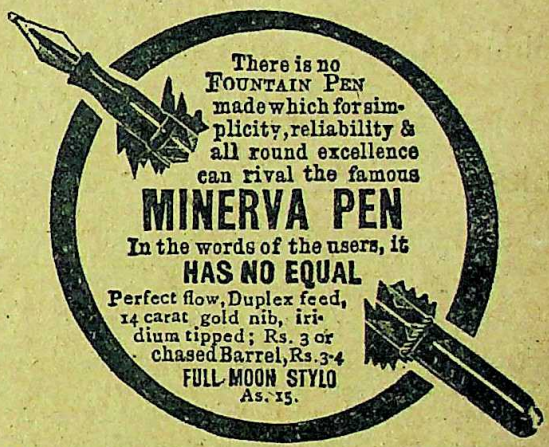
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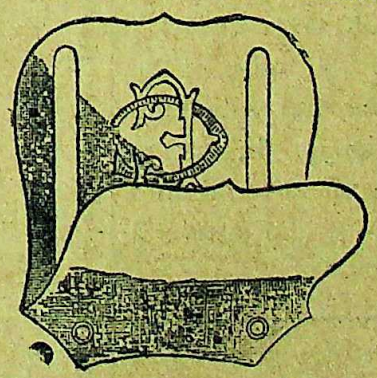


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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XIV
No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1913

WHOLE
No. 81

MY INTERPRETATION OF INDIAN HISTORY

(*From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore*)

II. The Buddhistic and Imperial Ages.

IN the persons of two Kshatriya princely hermits a strong reaction against the conservative self-centred spirit of Indian society asserted itself in another age. The Kshatriya ascetics Buddha and Mahavir proclaimed in India the message of salvation that religion is a reality and not a mere social convention,—that salvation comes from taking refuge in that true religion and not from observing the external ceremonies of the community,—that religion cannot regard any barrier between man and man as an eternal verity. Wondrous to relate, this teaching rapidly overtopped the barriers of the race's abiding instinct and conquered the whole country. For a long period now the influence of Kshatriya teachers completely suppressed the Brahman power.

It was not an unmixed blessing. The extreme conduct of one long dominant party, prevents the race from remaining in a normal state; its health is bound to be impaired. Therefore, the Buddhistic age, in going to free India from all her conventional beliefs, only succeeded in binding her in a new set of superstitions of unequalled range and complexity.....Evidently the fusion of the Aryans and the non-Aryans had been vitiated by an element of excessive rigidity and artificiality, otherwise the reaction against it would not have been so tremendous, nor could it have swept the whole country in the form of a religious movement. The impetus of Buddhism was as strong as the racial exclusiveness against which it was a reaction; it struck at the very roots of society.

When, at last, the Buddhist influence subsided like a flood, it was found that all the old fences of society had been demolished. The system by means of which India's variety of races had been trying to attain to unity was gone. In the quest of social unity, Buddhism had destroyed the principle of unity itself.

The chief reason of it was this,—even while the Brahmans and Kshatriyas were struggling for supremacy in Indian society, they were at least one in race, and therefore the work of nation-building was then in the hands of the Aryans alone. But in the Buddhist age, many non-Aryans from outside entered India, to add to the aborigines within; and thus the non-Aryan element became so strong that a well-ordered harmony between them and the Aryans could no longer be maintained. The days of the vigour of Buddhism prevented this social discord from breaking out in an unhealthy form. But when that faith grew weaker, the race-conflict freely raged over the country in a thousand fantastic and incongruous forms.

The non-Aryans had by this time thrown down all barriers and quartered themselves on the very body of society. Isolation and assimilation with regard to them had now

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become a very vital concern of society; it was no longer something external.

Amidst the Buddhistic flood the Brahman caste, alone in Aryan society, could keep itself intact, because the Brahmans in all ages have been the guardians of the individuality of the Aryan race. Even when Buddhism was at its zenith in India, the Brahmans still stood distinct from the Sramans, while all other distinctions had disappeared from society. By that time the Kshatriyas had become almost entirely merged in the common people.

The *Purans* clearly show that there was hardly any obstacle to a Kshatriya marrying a non-Aryan. Thus it was that in the post-Buddhistic age most of the reigning families of India were of other than the Kshatriya caste.

At the same time horde after horde of foreign non-Aryans,—Scythians, Huns and others,—entered India, and were freely incorporated in Indian society, because society's spirit of exclusion had been weakened in that age [by the missionary character of the dominant faith, Buddhism.] The non-Aryan infusion became so strong in religion, manners and customs, that no thread of consistency or principle could be discovered in the various absurd irregularities prevailing in society, and so the Aryan spirit lying at the core of our community felt itself oppressed and applied all its powers to assert itself.

Then came the great age of the restoration of our racial individuality and our own institutions and ideals, from out the widespread social dissolution of the Buddhistic age. In this age India first marked out her bounds as *Bharatvarsha*. Previously the influence of Buddhism had diffused India so widely over the world that she could not clearly realise her own person. India now confined her geographical self within the limits of the dominion of an ancient emperor (Bharat) famous in Aryan tradition. Then she set herself to recover and knot together the threads which had been torn and scattered during the late social cyclone. In that age the main work of the country was one of compilation. The Vyas of *that* age engaged himself not in original composition but in collecting the old. This Vyas may not have been one individual, but he represents one particular power of the whole community. He began to seek out the eternal foundation of Aryan society.

Led by this spirit, he collected the *Vedas* which were then a matter of intellectual curiosity and not the vital religion (*paravidya*.)

But in that age the chaotic society could be knit together only by setting up in the centre an ancient scripture which was beyond cavil by any party whatever, a scripture which embodied the primeval voice of Aryan society, and the firm acceptance of which could enable diverse conflicting sections to form one body. The *Vedas* formed such a necessary centre for the rallying of Aryan society.

We need a circumference—i.e., unbroken line of limit,—as well as a centre. That circumference is History ; and therefore another task of Vyas was to compile history, to collect the scattered traditions of Aryan society together,—to gather its current faiths, lines of reasoning, ethical codes,—in order to set up in one place the vast figure of the totality of the race. This compilation he called the *Mahahbarat*,—a name which specially reveals the endeavour of the Aryan race in that age to realise its oneness. This book may not satisfy the modern European definition of history, but it is truly the history of the Aryans: it is a nation's self-composed natural story. It gives us an exact and complete picture of what the Aryan race in the age of the compilation of the *Mahabharat* recollected about its own past.

On one side the *Mahabharat* contains an indiscriminate diffuse collection of popular traditions; on the other, it bears the concentrated light of all the floating Aryan faiths and ideas, and that light is the *Bhagabat Gita*. The ultimate truth in all Indian history is the synthesis of knowledge, action, and faith. That is the goal to which the whole course of Indian history has led up. India one day gazed at that supreme end; [she cared not to preserve a record of the path she had followed.].....The *Mahabharat* has kindled a beacon at the crossing point of life's roads, in order to show that ultimate aim, that spot where all human endeavours—knowledge, faith, and action alike,—can meet together in harmony. That beacon-light is the *Gita*. European critics look upon the synthesis of the Sankhya, Vedanta and Yoga philosophies in the *Gita* as a mere patch-work, the Vedanta being (as they say) a later addition to its groundwork of the Sankhya and the Yoga.

But there is the same Essence at the core

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of every system, be it Sankhya, Yoga, or Vedanta. That Essence is not the result of knowledge alone or faith alone or action alone, but the final goal of a fully and completely lived human life. The *Mahabharat* by looking upon all the diverse efforts of India's mind as unified by their orientation to that one final Truth, breathes in its *Gita* the spirit of the vast unspeakable oneness of the national life. Through all its lucidity and mystery, its consistency and inconsistency, there always lurks the deeper perception that Truth embraces *all*, that there is *one* point where all agree..... The *Gita* shows how every aspect of human activity is completed and perfected when it is joined to the Vast, the Complete, the Universal.....

Let none, however, imagine that the non-Aryans have contributed nothing of value to Indian life. The ancient Dravidians were, indeed, not deficient in civilisation. Contact with them made Hindu civilisation varied in aspect and deeper in spirit. The Dravidian was no theologian, but an expert in imagination, music, and construction. He excelled in the fine arts. The pure spiritual knowledge of the Aryans, mingling with the Dravidians' emotional nature and power of æsthetic creation, formed a marvellous compound, which is neither entirely Aryan nor entirely non-Aryan, but HINDU. The eternal quest for the harmonising of these two opposite elements has given to India a wondrous power. She has learnt to perceive the eternal amidst the temporal, to behold the Great Whole amidst all the petty things of daily life. And wherever in India these two opposite elements are not reconciled, there is no end to our ignorance and superstition. . . Wherever the opposite geniuses of the Aryan and the Dravidian have been harmonised, beauty has leaped into life; wherever such union has failed, the moral ugliness is repulsive. Remember, again, that it is not the cultured Dravidians alone, but the wild aboriginal tribes too, whose beliefs and customs have entered into Aryan society through the open door [of the Buddhistic age].

The Aryans had now to fight against an enemy not standing outside, but forming a part and parcel of their society, an enemy admitted within their own doors. The Brahman was now the sole hope of Aryan civilisation. He now naturally tried to secure the highest and most honoured position in society. We shall be taking a false and partial view of history if we see in this endeavour of the Brahmans only the selfish struggle of a particular class to gain power and pelf. It was really the mortal struggle of the critically situated Aryan race [to save its individuality]. It was a desperate attempt at self-preservation. If the Brahmans' influence had not then been instilled in the heart of the entire community as paramount and unquestionable, social reconstruction would have been impossible.

The Brahmans had two tasks, in these circumstances. They had to preserve the old, and they had to reconcile the new to it. As both these actions, necessary for the vitality of society, had then to encounter many impediments, the Brahmans' power and functions had naturally to be magnified to an extreme. . . . The modern Hindu trinity admirably typifies the social reorganisation that has taken place in India: Brahma represents the primitive age of Aryan society, Vishnu its noonday, and the non-Aryan Shiva, (accepted by the Aryans as a form of the Vedic Rudra), its final stage of maturity.

And yet, even after Shiva's admission into the Hindu pantheon, his Aryan and non-Aryan aspects remained distinct. With the Aryans he is the chief of anchorites, the destroyer of Lust, the hermit absorbed in the trance of *nirvan;* his nakedness typifies the renunciation of earthly possessions characteristic of an ascetic. With the non-Aryans he is grotesque, clad in a bloody elephant skin, intoxicated with hemp, *bhang* and *dhatura*. With the Aryans he is the counter-part of Buddha,—and thus he has very easily occupied the Buddhistic temples all over India; on the other hand, by absorbing into his cult the ghosts, demons and other supernatural terrors, as well as serpent-worship, tree-worship, phalus-worship, he has extended his protection and sanction over all the superstitious religions of the non-Aryans included in Hindu society. On the one hand, devotion to him consists in the suppression of all passions and in religious meditation in solitude; on the other, certain classes offer him cruel adoration by working themselves up to frenzy and inflicting torments on their own persons at the Charak puja and similar occasions.

Thus, even after the Aryans and the non-Aryans had mingled together to form Hindu society, they retained their

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distinct colours, like the waters of the Ganges and Jamuna as they flow in one channel below Allahabad. So, too, in Vaishnavism, on the one hand we have the pure and sublime theology of the *Gita*, and on the other, the current folk-lore concerning the god of the non-Aryan tribe of Abhiras or milkmen..... The characteristics of the Shiva-cult are bareness of ornament and sternness ; its peace and passion alike are attuned to the spirit of destruction. It represents the monism of Aryan civilisation, it tends to absorption in One ; it follows the path of negation ; its decoration consists in renunciation, its abode is the charnel house. The essence of Vaishnavism is the play of love, beauty and youth ;—it represents the dualism of Aryan civilisation.

For such a fusion between the ancient Abhira traditions and the Vaishnava faith, there existed an open path of truth. In many countries of the globe man has figured the relation between the human soul and God as the relation of sexual love. When this principle of Aryan Vaishnava devotion (*bhakti*) mingled with the non-Aryan (Abhira) traditions, the latter were elevated to the highest plane of truth. What was mere emotional intoxication in the non-Aryan mind, was now installed in the midst of an eternal truth, it became the emblem of an everlasting spiritual fact of all mankind. Here knowledge and emotion, the simple and the complex, have been most closely wedded together,—just as the fusion of the Aryan and the Dravidian enriched the resultant Hindu civilisation with the marvellous blending of truth and beauty.

Aryan society was essentially patriarchal, non-Aryan society was mainly matriarchal. Hence goddesses do not predominate in the *Vedas*, but they begin to abound from the time when the non-Aryan element influenced Aryan society. Our early vernacular literature bears witness to the many conflicts which disturbed our society as the result of this intrusion.

It is absolutely impossible to reconcile all the diversities, folk lore, customs and ritual of the non-Aryans at all points with the Aryan spirit. If we try to retain all of them, we are bound to give place to a thousand incongruities. Such incongruities are incapable of being reconciled ; time enables us merely to tolerate them. Then gradually this principle asserts itself in society that each man should engage himself in that kind of worship and ritual which is adapted to his individual powers and inclination. This is really a policy of drift in religious matters, but a policy inevitable under the circumstances.

When at the end of the cataclysm of the Buddhistic age, the Brahmans undertook social reconstruction at all costs by taking up all the scattered elements, new and old, of our convulsed society, the rules naturally became too rigid. Things inherently different, things acquired by diverse races in diverse ages, cannot hold together by their natural law of being,—they require strong external chains.

At the dawn of Indian history, when the Aryans fought the non-Aryans, there was a sort of equality between them even in the midst of their conflict. The non-Aryan foeman in the field could not be despised. Hence, the frequency of Kshatriyas marrying non-Aryans in the *Mahabharat*. But in the post-Buddhistic age, when the conflict between the Aryans and the non-Aryans again broke out with all its intensity, the non-Aryans had become a part of Hindu society ; they were within doors, and we could no longer wage war with them. Under such circumstances race-hatred takes the form of extreme contempt,—that is the only weapon which race-hatred can now wield. Such contempt not only keeps man from man, but naturally dwarfs the mind of the despised race, and makes it afraid to claim any of its just rights in society. Thus, while the bottom stratum of society gradually sinks lower and lower, the top stratum inevitably slides down in proportion, [the relative distance between them remaining constant.] This is the great point of difference between the hatred for the non-Aryans which raged in Aryan society in its day of expansion (i.e., the Vedic age) and the hatred nursed in its day of self-contraction (i. e., the post-Buddhistic age.) The former kept society's sense of humanity intact, the latter dragged it down. If a man retaliates when we strike him, it is good for *us* ; but when he tamely pockets the blow, *our* manhood is lowered. The Vedic hatred for non-Aryans is a manly feeling, while Manu's extremely unjust and cruel contempt for the Sudras is the outcome of a cowardly spirit...In truth, when man gets unfettered power to despise man, the most virulent toxic poison enters into

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his nature. Wherever such a mischief has happened,—as between Aryans and non-Aryans, Brahmans and Sudras, Europeans and "natives", Americans and Negroes,—the result is increased cowardice on *both* sides and the ruin of humanity. Better, better far, race-hostility than race-contempt.

With the installation of the Brahman as the supreme arbiter of the entire Indian society, social regulations became extremly rigid. The age of extreme self-contraction naturally followed the age of the freest self-expansion in our history.

But, alas for us! the Kshatriya power which had once matched the Brahman power and thus made society move along the middle path, now ceased to be operative. At the same time the non-Aryan power could not set itself up in society as a rival to the Brahman power. The Brahman, in the very act of acknowledging the non-Aryan element in Hindu society, conquered it. The manly races that had entered India from abroad and under the name of Rajputs possessed themselves of nearly all the thrones in the land, were accepted by the Brahmans—just as other non-Aryan races had been,—and made into a pseudo-Kshatriya caste. *These* neo-Kshatriyas were far inferior to the Brahmans in intellectual power; unlike the ancient *Aryan* Kshatriyas, they could not apply their genius to social construction; their valour and prowess have assisted and obeyed the Brahman power and thrown their weight wholly on the side of tightening the social bonds devised by the Brahmans.

A society thus circumstanced cannot keep its balance. When the path of self-expansion is closed altogether, and the conservative force of society is constantly weaving newer and newer meshes round itself in a spirit of self-contraction,—the genius of the race cannot develop itself. Such social chains cannot build up a body, they can only keep a mechanical religion alive generation after generation, and destroy the vital religion. Such a race becomes unfit for leadership in thought and action, and prepares itself in every way for political slavery.

Once before, at the dawn of Aryan history, the heart of our society had freed itself from the obstruction of the Many and the Foreign by seeking out the path of Oneness through them all. To-day another such epoch has arrived for us. To-day the foreign element is more extensive and more alien to our national genius; it has weighed down the mind of our race. And yet the sole dominant power in our society for long ages now has been conservatism. It has preserved everything that exists,—even ruins have not been swept away, the drift weed of foreign seas has been carefully garnered by it! It is bound to impede the march of the national life at every step; it is bound to narrow human thought and restrict human action. Therefore, to rescue ourselves from such misery, we require to-day above all things that mental power which will liberate the simple from the complex, the essential from the external, the One from the diverse. And yet our society has loaded with a thousand chains this very free and expansive power of man!

Still, the race's heart has not been altogether crushed out by its chains. The middle ages in Indian history afford many examples of how our society's instinct of self-expansion has occasionally fought against the stupor of extreme self-contraction. Nanak, Kabir and other religious leaders have given concrete shape to this struggle of the prisoned spirit. A study of Kabir's life and compositions clearly shows that he pierced through the barrier of vain external rites of India and realised the true aim of India's devotion to be the noblest precious possession of India's *heart*. Therefore, the school of Kabir has been called the peculiarly Indian school. His meditative trance revealed to his sight the secret truth on which India is seated, amidst all the widespread external distraction and inconsistency. In the middle ages, such teachers have risen in our midst again and again,—their aim has been to lighten our load. They have tried to waken the true India by knocking at the closed door of popular practice, religious convention, and customary usage.

That age has not yet ended; that spirit is still working. None can resist it. The history of India shows that from very ancient times her mind has ever fought against inertia. India's richest treasures,—her *Upanishads*, her *Gita*, her religion of universal love, Buddhism,—are all the spoils of victory won in this great war. Her Krishna and Ramchandra have been captains in it. It is opposed to her true genius that this freedom-loving India of all times should lie dormant at one place for centuries under the multifarious burden of

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the inertia of many ages. This load [of ceremonies, superstitions and artificial distinctions, which we call Hindu usage] is not her body, it is not her animal spirit; it is only an extraneous burden to her. India always seeks for the One amidst Many; her endeavour is to concentrate the diverse and the scattered in One, and not to diffuse herself over Many. The true inner nature of India is sure to save her from the terrible load of these futile ceremonies and beliefs. Historical circumstances may have strewn her path with insurmountable barriers, her genius is sure, by its native power, to emerge successfully from these hills. The harder the problem, the greater will her ascetic devotion be for finding out its solution.

Not to fight against the accumulated rubbish of ages, to let matters drift,—is to court death...The strength of a race is limited. If we nourish the ignoble, we are bound to starve the noble. It sounds well to say that Hindu society ought to preserve ignorant faiths for the benefit of the ignorant, weak moral regulations for the weak, hideous rites for the non-Aryans. But when the vital powers of the race have to supply nourishment to these ignoble things, the result is that whatever is excellent in the race is defrauded of its daily share of nourishment, the intellect of the race daily grows weaker and its vigour becomes dead. Toleration of the low is fraud to the high; it cannot be the result of liberality. It is moral stupor, and such stupor can never be the essential Truth of India.

Never, not even in her darkest day of misery, has India entirely given herself up to this stupor. Her inner consciousness has ever and anon made a supreme effort to awake into the light of simple Truth, by pushing aside the fantastic nightmares that weighed down her bosom and tried to strangle her. We cannot, indeed, perceive clearly from the outside the aspect of the age in which we live; but we feel that India is eager to get back her Truth, her One, her Harmony. The stream of her life had been dammed up ages ago; its waters had become stagnant; but to-day the dam has been breached somewhere; we feel that our still waters have again become connected with the mighty Ocean; the tides of the free wide Universe have begun to make themselves felt in our midst. We see to-day that all our newly awakened energy is now rushing outwards to the universe, now rushing inwards to our own selves,—like the blood currents propelled by a *living* heart. At one impulse cosmopolitanism is leading us out of home; at the next, the sense of nationality is bringing us back to our own community. On the one hand universality is tempting us to abandon our racial individuality,—on the other, we are realising that if we lose our national distinctness, we shall lose universality at the same time. These are the true signs of the commencement of *life's* operations within our old inert society. Thus placed between two contending forces, we shall mark out the middle path of Truth in our national life; we shall realise that only through the development of racial individuality can we truly attain to universality, and only in the light of the spirit of universality can we perfect our individuality; we shall know of a verity that it is idle mendicancy to discard our own and beg for the foreign, and at the same time we shall feel that it is the extreme abjectness of poverty to dwarf ourselves by rejecting the foreign.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Patriotism is to religion as a part is to the whole. Patriotism is love, readiness to serve and sacrifice for the country. Religion is reverence and trust toward God, love for humanity, and readiness to serve and sacrifice for the good of humanity and the fulfilment of God's will in the earth. It is true that patriotism may be selfish, so also religion may be selfish; but selfishness is a disfigurement and perversion of both. He who loves God loves his brother man: he who loves his brother man loves God. The spirit of worship toward God is tha recognition of divine worship, toward man it is the recognition of human worthship. Abou ben Adhem asked the recording angel to write his name as one who loved his fellowmen. When the record of those whom love of God had blessed was shown, "Lo, Ben Adhem's name led all the rest."—THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

By Professor Homersham Cox, M. A.

IT is well to have a clear idea of what religious education really means, before discussing its advantages or disadvantages. To avoid vagueness I will take one particular religion, Christianity, and consider the meaning of Christian education. The boy who is taught Christianity at school is asked to believe that a virgin gave birth to a child, that a man after his death and burial came to life again, that this man went up from the ground into the sky and disappeared. Every Sunday in Church, Christians assert their belief in these things. They must believe as well many other things of the same kind. The boy is taught that a woman was once turned into salt; that there was a flood extending over the whole earth and covering the tops of the highest mountains. These stories are mentioned by Jesus and as Jesus was God we cannot suppose him to have said what was untrue. Canon Liddon points out that "the trustworthiness of the Old Testament is inseparable from the trustworthiness of our Lord Jesus Christ." Most of these legends must also be taught to the Musalman boy, for they are to be found in the Quran.

Now it is not *a priori* obvious, that a boy will grow up a better man because he was told at school that a woman was changed into salt. On the other hand we must admit the logical possibility that beliefs which to us seem absurd *may* be of use to people in a certain stage of civilization. Whether they *are* of use or not, is a question to be decided, not by abstract reasoning, but by examination of the facts. This question has been discussed for many different races by Dr. Frazer, in one of his smaller works, "The Task of Psyche." Here, however, it is only necessary to consider India. There are in India men of different religions, Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, some very much devoted to religion, others comparatively indifferent. Now, as a matter of fact are the very pious men morally better than those less zealous? My own experience is, emphatically, that they are not. We all know that "God-fearing" Scotchmen are extremely common in India, but I have never found that they have a higher standard of honour or a stronger sense of public duty than less "God-fearing" men. "I will not have a *namazi** man for a servant, for he is sure to be a rascal," was once said to me. This was a rather hasty generalization, as there must be many *namazi* and honest servants. In private conversation, an Englishman remarked that a certain high Anglo-Indian official was believed to take bribes. "I do not know for certain that he did," another Englishman replied, "but he was quite religious enough for it anyhow." This was going a little too far, for there are men who are both religious and honourable. When however the dependence of morality on religion is asserted, it becomes necessary to reply that men with a high moral standard are not more common, are perhaps less common, among the religious than among the non-religious.

Still I can respect the sincere believer who honestly thinks that his own religion is necessary for morality. But it is impossible to respect men who urge the teaching of a religion which they themselves consider false. Bigotry is better than a cynical indifference to truth. Now the believer in religion does not believe in religion in the abstract, but in one particular religion such as Christianity or Islam. It is this religion which he wishes to be taught, not any and every religion. For a Christian to advocate the teaching of Islam, or for a Muslim to advocate the teaching of Christianity is equivalent to advocating the teaching of falsehood. Not falsehood as to points of minor importance, but falsehood as to

* A Musalman who is very careful to say his five daily prayers.

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doctrines which he is bound to believe concern his eternal salvation. For the Christian hopes "to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ who died for us." There are many divisions among Christians but all the churches alike "preach Christ crucified." According to Islam they preach a mere delusion. Every word of the Quran is for the Muslim the word of God and the Quran says, "They slew him not and they crucified him not, but they had only his likeness" (Suratu' nnissa, Rodwell's translation). No compromise is possible. Either Christ was not crucified, or the Quran was not revealed by God. A sincere Christian cannot wish Islam to be taught, nor can a sincere Muslim wish Christianity to be taught.

Men who stand apart from all religion may however think that the teaching of Islam or Christianity is sometimes useful. For such men all the books that have been considered sacred are human productions containing a mixture of truth and error. But in their estimation the errors are not fatal, as they must be for the sincere believer in another religion. Men who have no religious belief may think that the sound moral teaching of a sacred book compensates for the absurd legends. For my own part, as I have already said, I am very doubtful whether religion is of much value for morality, at least in civilised countries. However it would be going too far to deny that there may be individual cases in which it exercises a good influence. What is less doubtful is the value of religion for the improvement of backward races. An African writes: "The pagan village possessing a Muslim teacher is always found to be in advance of its neighbors in all the elements of civilisation."* So too, as Gibbon admits, the civilisation of Northern and Eastern Europe is due to Christianity. It is even possible that without Christianity, Greek and Roman culture would not have been transmitted to our time. "The knowledge of Latin in the West was preserved by superstition." Even now, among such races as the Mundas, Christian missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, are doing useful work. †

* Dr. E. Blyden, quoted by Stanley Lane Poole in his Introduction to "Selections from the Kuran." I noticed myself in Ladakh, twenty years ago, the superiority of Mohammedan to Buddhist villages.

† See articles on "The Catholic Mission in Chota-Nagpur" Modern Review, April, May, 1911 by S. C. Roy. This lucid and sympathetic account has since been published in book form.

It is possible then to admit the value of a religion for men in a certain stage of intellectual development, without holding it to be absolute truth for all time. In fact, the conception of a sacred book completely free from error belongs to the pre-scientific stage of thought. As M. Loisy says:

"This idea, a legacy of the primitive—one may say the mythologic—age of humanity condemns orthodox expositors to an impossible task. What has not been imagined to reconcile the story of the creation of the world in six days, with the data of geology and the conclusions of modern science; to demonstrate the historicity of the universal deluge; to explain the plagues of Egypt; to solve the contradictions that are met with in the Biblical narratives? In this way, the Bible itself has been injured and the objections and mockery of unbelievers have been excited."

The absurdity becomes greater when old legends and modern science are taught in the same institution. If I am not mistaken, it is intended to teach biology and geology as well as theology in the Mahommedan University. In one class-room geology will be taught, in another the creation of the world in six days; in one the descent of man according to Darwin, in another, that Adam and Hawwa were the ancestors of the whole human race. It would be better to be purely theological as at El Azhar or purely scientific as at a modern European University.

The Greek geographer Strabo writing in the time of Augustus, thinks that the Romans were wiser than the Greeks in that they had maintained the influence of religion, since religion is necessary for women, children, the uneducated and barbarians. Strabo may be right, but I do not myself think that Indian students belong to any of these classes. It is precisely in Strabo's spirit that the European sometimes advises Indians not to neglect their religion. He does not want religion for himself, at any rate not Hinduism or Mahommedanism, but for Indians it is rather a good thing. In fact Sir Harry Johnston says in so many words, that while the civilised European can now dispense with religion, it is still a necessity for the Asiatic and African. The strange thing is that when some Anglo-Indian official expresses his approval of Hindu or Mahommedan religious teaching, Indians do not seem to perceive the latent contempt involved in this patronage.

It is easier to sympathise with men who wish the religion in which they themselves believe, to be taught. But if they suppose

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that they can make the sons think as the fathers thought, they are mistaken. Religious education has not prevented the decay of Christianity in Europe. Men of the age of the present writer were, with very few exceptions, taught the traditional beliefs in their childhood, both at home and in school. Yet many of them have abandoned these beliefs as they grew older. The same tendency may be observed in all parts of Europe, among both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Among the Jews of Western Europe the decay of religious belief is even more marked than among Christians. It is the result of the critical movement of the last two centuries. "This is an age of criticism," wrote Kant. In mediaeval times men were content to appeal to authority and this not in religious questions only. Dante believes that the earth is fixed immoveably in the centre of the universe because Aristotle says so. Vesalius in the sixteenth century was attacked with almost theological bitterness, because in his anatomical teaching, he preferred the evidence of actual dissection to the statements of Galen*. He was one of the pioneers of the revolt against submission to traditional authority which we now associate chiefly with Galileo and Descartes. But the revolt was at first confined to the physical sciences, and critical writers of history are seldom met with before the eighteenth century. When methods of historical criticism had been introduced, it was inevitable that they should be applied to the books held sacred, with results fatal to traditional beliefs. The decay of the old religious doctrines is then merely a part of the scientific movement of modern times. Science and uncritical credulity are incompatible.†

As scientific studies become more general in India, we may expect the same results to be produced as in Europe. To suppose otherwise would mean that Indians and Europeans were of a fundamentally different mental constitution, and that is an absurdity. We might as well suppose they were fundamentally different in anatomy. It is sometimes said that the Indian is "essentially religious", and it is perhaps true, that in general, he has, at the present time, a greater fondness for *puja* and a greater respect for old books. The qualifications are necessary. If we were to compare the Indian with the European of the middle ages we should probably not find him more religious. Even now, it is doubtful whether he is more religious than a Cornish miner or a Tyrolese peasant. The religious nature is not a permanent racial characteristic. It varies in the same race at different times of history and amid different external circumstances. For that matter not one of the alleged mental and moral qualities of the various races of man has been scientifically demonstrated. They are the mere loose generalisations of literary men.*

It is an absurd prejudice to suppose that scientific method is peculiarly Western. Dr. Margoliouth, one of the highest authorities on Islamic history, writes:

"That historical criticism, called in German *Quellenkritik* or 'criticism of the sources,' is an Islamic invention has been seen in the sketch of tradition given above.....It might not be easy to find the principle formulated before Islamic times, that historical knowledge can have only three sources ——divine communication or inspiration, personal witnessing, or communication from witnesses; and that the value of the last of the three depends entirely on the competence and the good faith of the witness. The modern historical page with a footnote for each sentence, referring to the authority for the statement in the text, is therefore in the Islamic style.....So long as history consists of the reproduction of words and deeds, there is no chance of improving on the Islamic method." "The East in taking from the West" critical methods "is taking back its own."†

But if we may judge from the experience of the past, this will not be for the advantage of religion. Muslims eminent in science, such as Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) were seldom free from the suspicion of heresy. In those days all education was religious, but this was not sufficient to preserve orthodoxy. The only way is to abolish scientific teaching altogether and this the orthodox Muslims perceived, with clearer insight than the advocates of religious education in our time.

* See Foster's History of Physiology.

† It seems to me that from their own point of view the missionaries make a great mistake in giving secular education. An illiterate peasant who believes in *bhuts* is much more likely to accept the stories in the gospels than an educated Indian.

* It is necessary to define a race anatomically, before attempting to determine its moral qualities. But of course the literary man does nothing of the kind. Endless rubbish has been written about the characters of the Latin, Teutonic and Celtic races. In reality, there is no such thing as a Latin, a Teutonic, or a Celtic race. The absurdity of these terms was shewn by Broca fifty years ago, but they are still repeated.

† Margoliouth, Mohammedamism, p. 251.

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"Efforts were made to stamp out all liberal culture in Andalusia, so far as it went beyond the little medicine, arithmetic and astronomy required for practical life."*

Here we have the genuine religious spirit. These men were right from their own point of view, for religious education will be of no avail, unless at the same time liberal culture is stamped out.

But it may be said, that even if religious education will not accomplish what the orthodox expect, there is no reason why they should not have it if they want it. Certainly there is none, if only they did not wish to force it on others. But this is exactly what they do wish. In the programme of the Hindu University it is said, "religious education shall be compulsory in the case of all Hindu students of the University." A student at a University is old enough to decide for himself whether religious teaching is profitable to him or not. There is no need for compulsion; but the love of petty tyranny seems to be inherent in the religious mind. Nor is the compulsion made any the less objectionable by the qualification "attendance at religious lectures will not be compulsory on the non-Hindus, or of students whose parents or guardians may have a conscientious objection to their wards attending such lectures." As for "conscientious objection" the only objection to the religious lectures is the waste of time and the boredom, and no sensible man would have any other. But since it is the student who has to attend the lectures, it is his objections that should be considered not those of his parent or guardian. A student has an intelligence of his own or else he ought not to be at a University at all. It is absurd to think that men must always believe what their fathers believed.

Far worse than compulsory religious lectures is compulsory *puja* and to this every honest man must have the strongest objection. The rule of the Aligarh College that students must say their five daily prayers, seems to me highly objectionable. If prayer is not voluntary, it is mere hypocrisy. Now very many Musalmans, I believe the majority, do not say their prayers regularly. A Sufi friend once told me that there was no need of prayer; all that was necessary was to meditate for a few minutes every day on the truth that "Man is God, there is no other God." Yet my friend, if he had been a student at the Aligarh College, would have been compelled to go through the form of saying prayers in which he did not believe. To me this is morally repulsive. We cannot all agree on questions of religion and philosophy but we can at least all try to be honest.

If there were no compulsion, there would not be any great objection to religious teaching. Still it is hardly needed in any case. There is enough, perhaps too much, of religion in India already. If we compare Indians with Europeans, we do not find that they are less religious. What they are deficient in, as they themselves candidly admit, is self-reliance and patriotism. These are the qualities education should seek to develop. My Sufi friend had a pretty little boy who could read Urdu and had learnt a good many English words but could not say his prayers. So I said to the father, "You teach him the things of the world, but you do not teach him the things of religion." His reply was, "Mazhabi baten achchhi nahin hain; main usko *to serve man* sikhlaunga."* If only Indians generally could agree with my friend that the service of man is more important than foolish legends and empty metaphysical speculations, there would be no question of Hindu and Mahommedan universities. To serve as far as in our power lies, first, our city, then our country, then the whole human race; to refuse to recognize any distinctions of race and caste; to think ourselves neither higher than the lowest, nor lower than the highest; these are the lessons we should endeavour to teach. The active service of our fellow-men is better than any *puja*. An Indian university should train its students to become real men, not men with the minds of pious old women, and above all to become honourable men who love their country, not Tartuffes who parade their "spirituality" and their "essentially religious nature."

If however it be said that at the present time an Indian university is impossible without religion as a bait to attract subscribers, then at least let the religion be kept for those students who like it and not forced on others.

* Wallace, "Averroes" in Encyclopaedia Britannica. We may compare the hostility of Gregory the Great, several centuries earlier to the study of the Greek and Latin classics.

* "The things of religion are no good; I will teach him to serve man."

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A. O. HUME*

A. O. Hume is rightly known in India as the Father of the Congress, but many do not know how wealthy he was, or how he devoted his wealth to the cause of science, and presented the British Museum with a valuable ornithological collection and founded the South London Botanic Institute. In this sketch of Hume's life there is little of his Indian activities that is not known to our readers. That the Indian national movement and Hume's connection with it should be ably handled was only to be expected of the author. The memorandum, so full of biographical and historic interest, which was submitted by Hume before the Public Service Commission of 1886, and published in the *Modern Review* for January last, might fittingly have been subjoined in the Appendix. We shall now make some extracts from the book as they are likely to prove both interesting and instructive reading.

(i) The special reasons which led Hume to prefer political to social reform and to think that there was no time to be lost in organising the National Congress, which was to be 'a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces', were as follows :

"Information and warning came to him from a very special source, that is, from the leaders among those devoted, in all parts of India, to a religious life. Among his papers there exists a very illuminating memorandum regarding "the legions of secret quasi-religious orders, with, literally, their millions of members, which form so important a factor in the Indian problem".....among the heads or *Gurus* of these sects are to be found men of the highest quality who, like the ancient Hebrew prophets, have purged themselves from earthly desires, and fixed their aspirations on the highest good. These religious leaders, through their *chelas* or disciples, are fully informed of all that goes on under the surface, and their influence is great in forming public opinion. It was with these men that Mr. Hume came into touch towards the end of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty.....He further explains that absolute secrecy is an essential feature in the life of these devotees; and this accounts for the fact that ordinarily even the existence of these religious sects is unknown to the best informed Europeans, and to the majority of the educated Indians themselves. It was only under the stress of peculiar circumstances, and to avert calamity, that the leaders opened communications with Mr. Hume.....the practical reason why these men made a move towards him was because they feared that the ominous "unrest" throughout the country, which pervaded even the lowest strata of the population, would lead to some terrible outbreak, destructive to India's future, unless men like him, who had access to the Government, could do something to remove the general feeling of despair, and thus avert a catastrophe.....what the nature of this evidence was, cannot be better told than in his own words: "The evidence that convinced me at the time that we were in imminent danger of a terrible outbreak was this: I was shown seven large volumes (corresponding to a certain mode of dividing the country, excluding Burmah, Assam and some minor tracts) containing a vast number of entries; English abstracts or translations—longer or shorter—of vernacular reports or communications of one kind or another, all arranged according to districts (identical with ours), subdistricts, subdivisions, and the cities, towns, and villages included in these. The number of these entries were enormous; there were said, at the time, to be communications from over thirty thousand different reporters. I did not count them, they seemed countless; but in regard to the towns and villages of one district of the North-West Provinces with which I possess a peculiarly intimate acquaintance—a troublesome part of the country no doubt—there were nearly three hundred entries, a good number of which I could partially verify as to the names of the people, &c.".....Many of the entries reported conversations between men of the lowest classes, "all going to show that these poor men were pervaded with a sense of the hopelessness of the existing state of affairs; that they were convinced that they would starve and starve and die, and that they wanted to do *something*. . . They were going to do *something* and stand by each other, and that something meant violence," for innumerable entries referred to the secretion of old swords, spears and matchlocks, which would be ready when required. It was not supposed that the immediate result, in its initial stages, would be a revolt against our government, or a revolt at all, in the proper sense of the word. What was predicted was a sudden violent outbreak of sporadic crimes, murders of obnoxious persons, robbery of bankers, looting of bazaars. "In the existing state of the lowest half-starving classes, it was considered that the first few crimes would be the signal of hundreds of similar ones, and for a general development of lawlessness, paralysing the authorities and the respectable classes. It was considered certain also, that everywhere the small bands would coalesce into large ones, like drops of water on a leaf; that all the bad characters in the country would join, and that very soon after the bands attained formidable propertions, a certain small number of the educated classes, at the time desperately, perhaps unreasonably, bittter against Government would join the movement, assume here and there the lead, give the outbreak cohesion, and direct it as a national revolt." (pp. 79-83.)

(ii) Sir William Wedderburn is strongly of opinion that we have been guilty of an utter waste of energy in not properly appreciating the value of organised propagandism in England, and suggests that the best memorial to the late Mr. Hume would be to endow and perpetuate such an organisation. He says: "Unfortunately the party of progress in India have never properly realised the practical advantage of this method, and in succeeding years have brought upon themselves endless woes by futile resistance in India to irresistible force, while neglecting to conduct effectively in England the operations which, with a moderate expenditure of labour and money, would have secured to them a painless victory.....it will be

* *Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912) : by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart. Indian Edition, Price Rs. 2, To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, London.*

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necessary to urge the Congress to make suitable and permanent provision for its propaganda work in England. This should be done by forming a permanent propaganda fund, and by securing in London the continued presence of responsible Indian exponents of Congress views.....the very precarious position of Indian interests, and the absolute need of an organisation in England, well-informed, vigilant, and with resources sufficient to take effective action whenever a crisis occurs.....what the Indian people have to realise is that *action in favour of Indian aspirations does not spring spontaneously from the ordinary operation of British institutions, but has ever been the result of persistent and laborious personal effort on the part of outside reformers working, both in India and England, on the lines indicated by Mr. Hume.* If from time to time an advance has been achieved, it is due to the sympathy of the British democracy, acting under the propulsion of independent reformers. No reform has ever been initiated by the leaders of the Indian bureaucracy. On the contrary, the class interests which hold the lever of power at Simla and at the India Office, are continuously working to strengthen the official position. Not only have they always done their best to prevent new concessions, but when opportunity has offered, they have taken away the privileges inherited from a former generation of reformers——the liberty of the press, the right of public meeting, municipal self-government, the independence of the Universities. These ill-starred measures of reaction, combined with Russian methods of police repression, brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak; and it was only just in time that Mr. Hume and his advisers were inspired to intervene....From the past learn the future; and let the people of India be assured that disaster will follow, and follow (not undeservedly) from their own default, if effort is relaxed, if the organisation in England, built up so painfully, is allowed to go to pieces, and if the results of twenty-five years of labour are thrown away. We learn from India that influential friends in different parts of the country desire to raise a memorial to Mr. Hume...May I venture to make an appeal with regard to the form of the memorial, and to remind his friends of the views expressed by him in a circular letter which he addressed to Congress workers on the 16th of February 1892, regarding a proposed memorial to Pundit Ajudhia Nath?...he wrote, "For God's sake waste no money on memorials or any other minor enterprise; give every farthing that you can spare to the general cause." The purpose for which he claimed the money was for propaganda in this country: "Our only hope," he wrote, "lies in awakening the British public to a sense of the wrongs of our people." What then is my suggestion? It is this: Mr. Hume's dearest wish was for the emancipation of India, and he held that this could be secured only by an insistent appeal to the British people. The best memorial therefore to the faithful friend who has now passed away would be an "Allan Hume Memorial Fund", having for its object to perpetuate his work, and prevent the destruction of his dearest hopes." (86—103).

(iii) In a letter to the late B. M. Malabari, criticising his Notes on Infant Marriages and Enforced Widowhood, Mr. Hume gave an elaborate exposition of his views on those social problems and their relation to the general question of the regeneration of India, as well as on Female Education. The letter is so full of a wise statesmanship, of a catholic and comprehensive appreciation of the Indian situation as a whole, that we make no apology for making large extracts from it:

"In the first place I must say I think you *somewhat* exaggerate the evil results of these traditional institutions.....my experiences and enquiries lead me to believe that in your righteous indignation against wrong and desire to get rid of what is evil, you have depicted that evil in blacker colours than the facts of the case, *taken as a whole*, really warrant....In the second place, besides holding that obnoxious as are the customs against which you take arms, you have somewhat exaggerated the magnitude and universality of the evils to which they give rise. I cannot but fear that your method of thus attacking particular branches of a larger question, as if they could be successfully isolated and dealt with as distinct entities, is calculated to mislead the public, to confuse their conceptions of proportion, to entail loss of power and intensify, what seems to me at this present moment to be, the most serious obstacle to real national progress.....to me it seems that you put forward these two unquestionably desirable reforms as if they were the most momentous questions of the day, and as if on them hinged the national regeneration, whereas they are mere fractional parts which can never be successfully manipulated by themselves, and which even if they could be so treated, would not, independently of progress in other directions, produce any very marked results upon the country as a whole. The tendency of your Notes must be, I fear, to give all your readers a somewhat exaggerated and disproportioned idea of the importance of these matters, themselves only branches of the larger question of raising the status of our women generally, itself again only one of many essential factors in national progress. Moreover, pressing these isolated points so strongly, as if they were obligatory and stood by themselves, and not as mere optional sections of a general eterprise, has certainly temporarily alienated some who would cordially have cooperated in many other sections....As it is, in consequence of the all-pervading spirit of division of labour, the minds of our reformers are, as a rule, too exclusively turned to individual abuses and too little in sympathy with the aspirations of fellow-workers struggling against other forms of wrong; and our first aim should be to infuse a spirit of catholicity into the entire body of those willing to labour, in any direction, for the common weal. It is essential, I think, that we should all try to realise, that closely interwoven in humanity as are the physical, intellectual and psychical factors, progress in any direction, to be real or permanent, postulates a corresponding progress in other directions—that though we may and must most specially devote our energies to overcoming the particular adversary that circumstances have most immediately opposed to us, we each form but one unit in a force contending against a common foe whose defeat will depend as much on the success of each of our fellow-soldiers as on our own.....What we want, it seems to me, at the present time most of all, is that all these good labourers should understand that they are comrades in one cause, that their aims, though diverse, are not only not antagonistic, but are inextricably interlinked parts of one whole—— .....that moral culture is best fostered mankind being what it is, by removing from men's paths those terrible temptations to evil engendered by poverty, hunger and natural envoy of those more fortunate, and that the hope of attaining to the exercise of political functions is often

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one of the strongest incitements to a higher morality—that the extinction of a few evil customs will avail little without a thorough recast of the social framework, a thing only possible as the result of a general advance along all the other lines, physical, intellectual, psychical and political.....it seems to me that a sporadic crusade such as the one you have now undertaken—not to capture the Holy Land, but merely to destroy one little stronghold of the infidels therein—is an utter waste of power, in so much that even if crowned with momentary success, it could have no permanent result while the hills that command it and its watersupply are still in the hands of the enemy.....And I think further that such isolated crusades have a tendency to intensify that sectarianism in reform which, as I have already said, seems to me the chief obstacle to progress....The time has not yet come when any of us, few as we are, can rightly take up a single branch of one of many questions and devote to that our entire thoughts and time careless of all else. Your pet subjects are but side branches of the great question of elevating the status of our women, and cannot, it seems to me, be dissociated, theoretically and practically, from that. The majority of the opposition with which your proposals have been met in certain Native circles has had its origin in the conviction that our women and girls are not yet sufficiently educated to enable any great change in the social customs which regulate their lives to be safely made at present.

"To me personally, the promotion of female education (using the word in its broadest sense) as necessarily antecedent to the thorough eradication of the grievous evils you so forcibly depict, appears a more important and immediately pressing question than those selected by you....Having alluded to female education, pardon me if before closing I say a few words on a subject too generally overlooked, *viz.*, the intimate connection that exists between the elevation of the status of our women, and that political enfranchisement for which alone so many of our ablest co-workers think it worth while to labour; it will illustrate my previous contention as to the essential oneness of the cause of national reform. I will not argue with my native friends, who twit me with Divorce Courts and Hill-station scandals, whether our modern so-called education does render European women as a whole less liable to fall. I will not argue with them whether, taking households by the million, there is more chastity in the East or the West. Thank God, I have known of thousands of pure households in both—and everywhere so long as this race of man exists, there will be weak women whom *no* education can touch, and wicked men and whether there be more of these in this or that nation no mortal man is really qualified to judge; and this moreover is wholly beyond the present question, since *all* will admit that a *properly* educated woman, whose mental and moral faculties have been thoroughly developed, must necessarily be less liable to err than one who remains uneducated. I by no means set up the average education of European girls as all that could be desired—all I ask for is a really good education for all Indian girls, and if the Europenn system is defective let us improve upon it and adopt a more perfect one. But what I do desire to make plain is that without the proper education of our females, without their elevation to their natural and rightful position, no great and permanent political progress can be hoped for. It is by such education alone that the national intellect can be completed and the East put in a position to compete fairly with the West..... The community which retains its women uneducated and deliberately deprives itself of their intellectual co-operation, can never hope to compete successfully with others in which public policy is the joint product of the cultivated male and female mind. Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element in the nation proceeds *pari passu* with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove v.in; and in so far as the two customs against which you righteously inveigh tend *inter alia* to depress that element, all are bound to sympathise with and support you in your proposed reforms: not overrating their importance, not pressing them too furiously before their time is ripe, but accepting them as two among several reforms by which our women must be raised to their rightful status, before India, whether still affiliated to England or not, can become either truly prosperous or truly free." (Appendix).

P.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A SCIENCE OF MORALS

By Wilfred Wellock

IN ORDER clearly to understand the nature of Moral Science we must make a comparison with Natural Science. A moral law is different in nature from a natural law. The former expresses a judgment of value, the latter states a fact, a relation between two or more things. But both moral and natural laws are inevitable, as inevitable as civilisation itself. For just as at one time custom had to give place to civil law, and at a later time the crude nations of mankind with respect to natural happenings had to give place to natural laws and to science, so eventually must the scattered and, indeed, often contradictory morals of a people give place to a science of morals. And just as the institution of civil law helps to

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make men more conscious of society, of social duty and of social possibilities, so the establishment of natural and moral science tends to make men more conscious of Nature and of life, of the myriads of natural forces which are available for man's use, and of the deeper life and the enhanced well-being that are possible of attainment.

What, then, is a moral law and wherein does it differ from a natural law ?

A natural law is a judgment of fact, an expression of simple relationship between two or more phenomena. All the stock of scientific knowledge is made up of these simple judgments or laws : they are the units out of which the mighty edifice of science is constructed. Even if we consider the definitions with which every science starts, we shall find on close investigation that they are in reality laws, expressions of simple relationships.

Science, as we know it in these days of over-specialisation, is divided up into a number of separate departments, each of which is called a science, as, e. g., the science of Botany, of Geology, of Sound, etc. But all such divisions and distinctions are quite arbitrary and ought always to be regarded as such, for Nature is one and indivisible. The breaking up of science into a multitude of sciences has taken place in order that the accumulation of knowledge might proceed at a much quicker rate. For while all matter has certain qualities in common, and while every particle of matter in the vast universe is related in very many ways to every other particle, there are, in the manifold manifestations of Nature, orders of being within which relations are exceedingly numerous and close, much more so than is the case between phenomena of different orders. These orders of being are the spheres of investigation of the specific sciences.

Science as a whole is the totality of our knowledge concerning the objective world, systematised and unified. But science is in no sense a picture or description of that world, for science is essentially abstract, being at best an expression of but a few out of an infinite number of relations. Still, science is true so far as it goes, is useful, and does tell us something concerning Nature, natural forces and processes. On the whole the pursuit of Nature-knowledge may be said to be a practical pursuit, to have for its object the satisfaction of human need, either spiritual or physical.

But if our knowledge of science is essentially abstract, and represents only a few out of a countless number of actual relations, how can we know that science is true ? If every law is a more or less isolated law, expresses but one out of an infinite number of relations, what grounds have we for saying that it is true, that it correctly describes the process of Nature ? The importance of this question will be more fully realised when it is remembered how great is the possibility of illusion, of, say, optical illusion, in regard to scientific observation. The question that needs to be answered here, therefore, is, when is the scientist justified in declaring a law, truth, that the event A is the cause or necessary antecedent of the event B ?

As a matter of fact it is in the nature of man to declare, or at any rate to assume, a law the moment that one event has been observed to follow another, and to expect on a future occasion, when similar conditions arise, a similar result to follow. It is usually the case however that before a certain relation between two phenomena or events is expressed in a law, and accepted as such by scientists generally, many critical and special tests are made, and by numerous observers. Still, the fact remains, and it is often the case, that many people are the victims of the same illusion, can mistake what really takes place, believe they can see what in fact is not there, and absolutely miss seeing what is undoubtedly there. Thus, in regard to the most commonly-accepted laws it is always possible for the sceptic to step in and say that they may not after all be true, and even to taunt the scientist about the subjective character of his so-called scientific knowledge.

In order to increase the certainty of scientific knowledge, however, we have what is known as the philosophy of science, the unification of all the knowledge gathered by the specific scientists, each in his own department, by means of correlation and synthesis. If in this completed whole of science there should be any contradiction between the several parts, or anything which seems strange or suggests the existence of error, special attention is given to those matters in order that error may be eradicated and unity established.

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But if it is the case that the unity of all scientific knowledge is the final proof of the validity of such knowledge, it follows that truth, in the last analysis, rests on the belief that Nature is one, a unity, and that she will continue to act in the future as she has done in the past. Thus although the scientist may be quite certain that he has made his observations correctly, and may be convinced that the laws he has discovered are in harmony with all the other known laws of science, he is still without justification in saying that his laws are a statement of truth with respect to natural processes, for how does he know that Nature will act the same tomorrow as she did yesterday? As a matter of fact he cannot know, he can only believe that she will. In the last analysis, therefore, we are compelled to admit that scientific truth or certainty rests on belief, on the belief that Nature is one, uniform.

Ultimately, man believes in science for the same reason that he believes in religion, in God, in immortality, in the possibility of a perfect and ideal life; for science, after all, is but verified and systematised experience expressed in such a way as to enable it to be of greater use to mankind in the working out of its purposes, in the attainment of its ends.

As in the case of natural science so in that of moral science, the unit of knowledge is the law, that which tells us something about a simple relationship, yet not merely the "what" or actuality of a happening, but the value or significance of such happening. Moral law is value-law, for the simple reason that it deals with conduct, human action, and tells us not simply what effect will follow a certain cause, but what is the life-value of a certain act, whether a given act will increase life or destroy it, produce happiness or misery; whether it be good or evil. For this reason moral laws are said to be qualitative. Moral science is thus a body of "value" law, whose object is to reveal the relative worth of human actions. Like natural science moral science is concerned with practical experience, but whereas the farmer is confined to sensed impressions, the latter has to do with conduct and its effects, with feelings and intuitions; and whereas the object of natural science is to find out the truth of what "is", the object of moral science is to find out what "ought" to be, what kind of conduct mankind ought to engage in.

But in what sense can we say that moral laws are valid? Or, to put it differently, how can we prove that a science of morals is possible? We can prove that a science of morals is possible, in the same way that we can prove that a science of Nature is possible, for human nature is uniform and one in precisely the same sense that nature is. And cause and effect are just as certain and important in the moral as in the natural sphere. Thus a moral law is valid for the same reason that a natural law is valid, viz., that it is a judgment of experience which is capable of verification. Neither in the moral nor the natural sphere can absolute identity of circumstances be reproduced once an act or event is past, but an act of the same type, and under similar circumstances, to a former one, is always possible, as possible as the repetition of a chemical experiment. Human nature is constant in the same sense that nature as a whole is constant, and a moral act can be reproduced just as easily and completely as can a natural event. But, say the sceptics, see how moral judgments differ! and see, too, how many different moral codes there are in the world, and even in the same community. Morality, says the sceptic, is a question of individual taste, of a man's likes and dislikes, that being called good which brings a man a certain kind of pleasure, and that evil which brings dipleasure: hence, seeing that man's ideas of pleasure, of well-being differ so much one from another, how can we have a universal system of morals, a moral science? It would seem on a surface view, therefore, that in regard to morals, the progress of the scientist was checked by a condition of hopeless subjectivity. Let us see if it actually is so.

Of course, it must be admitted at once that the attainment of truth is more difficult in the case of moral science than in that of natural science, in that moral laws involve an estimation of value. But such difficulty is not insuperable, does not deny the possibility of a science of morals.

Now in order to estimate the value of the different acts or events in one's experience it is necessary to have a standard from which to judge; and we always have such a standard, for every life is an ideal, a

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concept or notion of well-being, of the Good which one feels one ought to realise. This can be easily proved by experience, for were we to examine the lives of even the least thoughtful persons we know we should be able to discover order and purpose in them. More than this we should be able to ascertain the nature of the satisfaction or well-being that each person whose life we examined was endeavouring to realise. Having thus ascertained the conception or notion of well-being which lay at the root of a given life, it would be possible to resolve life to unity, to pass judgment upon, and to ascribe a definite value to, every actual and possible human act or experience. If that were done we should have produced what would be, so far as that particular case is concerned, a science of morals, of life; but it would be a science for one man alone: to another man, whose ideals were different, it would possess absolutely no meaning. It will be quite clear, therefore, that if we are to make good our claim that a science of morals is possible, we must first show that it is possible to estimate the life-producing value of the numerous ideals or concepts of the Good which mankind hold. But before we do this it will be as well if we try to ascertain more of the significance of morality.

Now the very term "morality" is itself a proof of objectivity, of the possibility of universality with respect to moral judgments. For what is morality but hardened custom, the emphatic verdict of an entire community with respect to the life-value of certain modes of conduct. Wherever we find a society, no matter what the level of its civilisation be, we always find in existence a code of morals, and a definite and fairly easily ascertainable conception of the Good, both of which are accepted by the great bulk of the people who constitute that community or society. And this must necessarily be the case, for as we have previously shown, the morals of a people are simply the advantageous customs, or the life-producing practices of that people hardened into dogmas, conventions. It is quite true, as we saw that the moral consciousness comes into being largely as the result of the threats and preaching of the seer, but we cannot get away from the fact that if the conduct which the prophet and the seer try to popularise were not beneficial for man, the real condition of his highest well-being, it could not persist and would ultimately be discarded. The real and ultimate moral authority is the heart, the feeling or belief that a given custom or practice is advantageous, the condition of satisfaction, of well-being. And the human heart is one, ever the same: hence, in the last analysis, disparity in moral judgment, is impossible, given, that is, the same level of civilisation, of spiritual attainment. Every act, every experience tends either to enhance or to distroy life, well-being. Morals are not arbitrary, modes of conduct that can be chosen at will, but veritable laws of human nature, of Eternal Being,—laws which must ultimately be obeyed if the highest human good is to be attained. The penalty of disobedience of these fundamental laws is death, destruction, negation. Goodness is simply the quality we ascribe to those acts which increase man's power over life, joy, beauty, harmony, well-being; and to increase these things is to reap life and to make progress. So also evil is the quality we ascribe to those acts which lessen man's power over life, increase pain and sorrow, lead to impotency and death. And just as vicious physical living undermines physical health and destroys physical harmony, so vicious spiritual living undermines spiritual health and destroys the harmony of the soul. The laws of spiritual health or soul-harmony, therefore, are just as inviolable as the laws of physical health, or body-harmony, the only difference being that the former are fairly well known whilst the latter are scarcely known at all. But that is only because man lives physically and takes delight in physical pleasures long before he lives spiritually and begins definitely and primarily to develop his spiritual life. But now that man has begun to appreciate social values, to seek the richer joys of social contact and to realise the enormous possibilities of spiritual development through the cultivation of social relationships, he will begin, nay, has already begun, to develop a new and finer social morality.

The logical deduction that we are bound to make from the foregoing facts and observations is that in so far there is difference of opinion as to what is moral or immoral, or as to what produces or does not produce well-being, that difference is due to ignorance, narrowness of vision, inability to recognise the real nature and

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effects of a certain order of conduct or to appreciate a higher order of values. A man may find pleasure in physical indulgence, but he would certainly put a curb on his appetites and passions if he knew that the continuance of his habits would bring him to an untimely grave. It is possible for a man to live for physical pleasure alone, but only on one condition, viz., that he is ignorant of spiritual values, of the deeper and fuller joys of spiritual activity. Thus it is always the case in any given society that while the majority of the people accept a given set of morals there is to be found a small minority who do not accept them, who do not recognise the values which those morals presuppose, and who act upon an altogether inferior moral plane. It ought in justice also to be said that in almost every society there are to be found those who, being more thoughtful and spiritually advanced than the majority of the people, have discovered new spiritual reality and thus fresh spiritual possibilities, and have begun to act on a distinctly higher moral plane. From this small class comes a nation's teachers, prophets and spiritual leaders, the men whose task it is to point the way to the grander and loftier heights of spiritual attainment that they themselves have discovered, and to some extent attained.

Now the very fact that morals are teachable and that nations do progress from one moral plane to another, do develop spiritually, is an undoubted proof that morals do possess objective truth. If one set of morals were capable of yielding as much satisfaction or well-being as another what would be the good of morals at all, or why should Churches and Societies of one sort and another, prophets and priests, be ever eager to win the adherence of the people to their own particular moral system? Unless we realise that one religion, with its own peculiar moral system, is higher and superior to another, is the product of a more cultured and spiritually advanced people, we shall never be able to understand either morality or history or comprehend the real meaning of development. Man modifies his conceptions and beliefs, changes his religion, abandons one interpretation of life for another not because morals are arbitrary and devoid of objectivity, but for the very opposite reason; because, that is, they have objectivity; because one set of morals brings to him well-being of one order, and another set well-being of a quite different order; because, in fact, being a developing being it is necessary for him to cultivate new and finer relationships with the world every time he takes a step forward towards spiritual perfection. Every level of civilisation carries with it a certain ideal and type of religion and a certain moral code, all of which have objectivity, are universally applicable to that particular age and civilisation, but which must be abandoned for new, better, more embracive and spiritual ones at a later stage of development. At first morals are for a clan or family, all outside the family being regarded as aliens, barbarians, "inferiors"; later they are extended to other clans or tribes, whence thy become national, while later still they become international, universal. It is this last stage that we have reached, or rather, are reaching, to-day.

But not only does moral progress take place with respect to the sphere of the application of morals but with respect to their nature as well. Negative morals give place to positive, and one code of positive morals to a humaner and more spiritual code. Thus we find that when a very high level of moral development has been reached the idea of love supersedes the idea of justice, and men and women are exhorted to give not simply what is just, but what, upon a strict conception of justice could not be considered due. Such morality is that of Christ. "If a man ask thee to go with him a mile, go with him twain." "If one ask for thy cloak give him thy coat also." "If one smite thee on thy cheek turn to him the other." "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you." And so on. The morality of justice may be said to belong to a material conception of life, of well-being, whereas the morality of love presupposes a spiritual conception, the idea that spiritual relationship between man and man is not only possible but the highest form of well-being.

As development takes place the world grows in beauty, in extensity and significance to the human mind, necessarily so seeing that development must mean in the last analysis self-development, increased power over life, larger conceptions, a keener vision, deeper insight, stronger sympathies, a greater power of appreciation and expression. And to be conscious of such growth is to be conscious of the birth of new realities,

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new ends to live for, new ideals; indeed it is to enter into a new life, into a world where old things have passed away and all things have become new. For when we are blest with a new vision of life the meaning and significance of everything in the vast universe changes: hence all our motives, ideals, relationships, morals, undergo modification also. We cannot conceive that the meaning of society and of social life, of Nature, of religion, etc., was the same for the Christian monk of the fourteenth century as it was for the seventeenth century cavalier, for the twelfth century Crusader as for the twentieth century democrat. In the monk's world God alone was good, worthy of love and service, everything finite being evil, even man being regarded as a sinful, impotent being whose only hope of salvation was in successfully denying and overcoming the world, and so finding God. To the democrat, on the other hand, the world is a beautiful place, a glorious heritage, the spirit of God made manifest, incarnate, while man is regarded as the highest and most perfect embodiment of that spirit, a being whose complete spiritualisation by means of union and corporation with his fellows and with all that is beautiful and spiritual is one of the ends of creation.

We are thus able to see that a given ideal and moral code may have objectivity at one period, be the means of a people's real and highest advancement, and yet be inadequate to that people's needs at a later period, when a new consciousness has been developed, a new world conceived. To discover new reality, a more significant world, is to call for and to develop a new ideal, and thus, eventually, a new code of morals, for morals are simply the means whereby we establish those relationships with the world wherein and through which we believe well-being to be realisable.

If this interpretation of the meaning of morals and of development is the correct one, history ought to reveal to us a series of ideals, unities, or "worlds" each one of which is larger and completer, more perfect, than those that preceded it. And this is precisely what history does. Man is always discovering something new, some fresh reality, and every discovery causes the world to undergo some sort of transformation, the old unity of life to give place to a new one. First of all, with the dawn of primitive intelligence man discovers a world of marvellous and mysterious forces; then he becomes conscious of a certain crude order, whence he conceives that the world is under the control of warring and conflicting gods; later he discovers order of a higher order, regularity, the connection between cause and effect, whereby he is led to postulate and to believe in a single God: later still he awakens to the fact of moral order and this leads him to the conception of a just God; then he discovers his own soul, becomes aware of his spiritual nature and of spiritual aspirations, whence he conceives of and postulates a spiritual God, a God with whom his soul can have communion; finally he discovers his fellow man, or, rather, the spirit of man, the spiritual nature of man objectively considered, a discovery that ultimately leads to the conception that spiritual relationship in fellowship with man is possible. And each of these unities carries with it a particular ideal of life, and conception of the Good. At one time the Good consists in having plenty of good things to eat and drink, life being at this stage almost entirely physical; at a later time the Good consists in realising God, in having close relationship with God, while at a still later time it consists in having fellowship with man also.

But the fact that I wish here to emphasise is this, that at each stage in the process of development the morals that were preached and enforced were true, possessed objectivity, and were the absolute condition of well-being and advancement. In order to realise the Good that a certain level of civilisation and conception of life showed to be possible, it were necessary to cultivate certain relationships with the world, with God and man: in other words it were necessary to accept a particular moral code. But the morals that became necessary at a later stage of development did not contradict those that went before, they rather eclipsed, went beyond, them. The law of love does not contradict the law of justice, it fulfils it, but it goes much deeper, much further, implies and accomplishes more. As the later unities are more complete and perfect than the earlier ones, which they include, so the morals which they carry with them are more perfect than those they supersede, whose demands they nevertheless fulfil. Thus each may be the level of civilisation

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that a given society has reached, there will be a conception of life in the minds of the more advanced members of such society which will be productive of a higher order of well-being than the conception which is held by the people at large, and such being the case it will be the aim of the spiritually enlightened to try and convert the people to their view. But whosoever does not attain to this grander conception will have to be satisfied with the realisation of a less abundant life, of a lower order of well-being. Just as it is more glorious and blessed to give than to receive, and just as the spiritual delights of love and loving service far excel and transcend the pleasures of sense, which are the only reward of selfishness, so do the value and beauty of one conception of life and one code of morals transcend those of another.

What then is to prevent man from investigating life, studying all the ideals, conceptions of the Good, that different nations and societies at present hold, or in past ages have held, and deciding which is best? There is surely nothing to prevent him. For when the time comes that man desires to investigate and criticise life in order to find out the Good for himself, he has attained such a high altitude of spiritual development that he is able at a glance to understand something of the value of any mode of life that should happen to be presented to him. He is able to see, for instance, in the development of the society of which he forms a part, a succession of spiritual awakenings, of transitions from a lower or abstract conception of life to a higher and more embracive conception. And one instinctively knows that it is much better to live in a larger, more significant and spiritual world than in a smaller, merely physical world. To live in the physical world of the savage and to be governed by physical appetites and desires only, is one thing, and to live in a spiritual world, governed by a spiritual God, surrounded by spiritualised human beings, among whom love dwells, is quite another ; and to an enlightened and intelligent mind there can be no doubt as to which is the better. But between these two extremes there are manifold shades of differences, numerous gradations in the ascent towards the spiritual ; still, to the trained eye, the position in the gradiant of any ideal, level, or conception of life can always be ascertained, its true and real value discovered. The farther back we go in the scale of civilisation the more abstract and narrow will be the conception of life and of the world that obtains. With the attainment of free moral self-consciousness, therefore, the individual becomes the philosopher, who, from the vantage-ground of a higher unity and a more perfect development, can see all the limitatioins of the ideals and unities to which a lower spiritual development had given rise. There is absolutely no reason why an intelligent member of a modern civilised community should not be able, say, to ascertain which life is best, will be productive of most well-being, that of an ignorant, labour-ridden peasant, that of an idle aristocrat, that of a Brahmin priest, that of a typical Western plutocrat, that of a Congo rubber gatherer, that of a man-eating savage, or that of the true democrat, the morally free man who labours and loves because he recognises that labour and love are two of life's fundamental spiritual laws.

And, indeed, it is not the case that now we are beginning to think about life and conduct, to realise that by means of criticism and thought we can increase and intensify life, we are coming to realise that whatever the level of our civilisation be, it is not perfect, and that we may learn very much from civilisations which in many respects are so diverse in character from our own. We of the West, for instance, are realising that we should be all the better for adopting something of the attitude towards life which is characteristic of the East, and we believe that in the East the idea is prevalent that there is something in the Western attitude towards life which they would be all the better for adopting. The Eastern has the happy art of taking life with ease, of looking at life quietly and wholly and from the standpoint of individual happiness—an art that we of the West stand in great need of. To us, with our devouring ambition, life is apt to be a thing of to-morrow rather than of to-day, the bunch of grapes that forever hangs just out of reach. By reason of our hot haste, the breathless and reckless manner in which we pursue our purposes, the restful and contemplative attitude of mind of the Eastern is usually forbidden us. Our mad rush after things material is destroying our very power to see the things that are near, especially things beautiful and spiritual.

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Accordingly we miss the hundred little pleasures which ought to come into every day, and neglect the host of little duties with their attendant joys which, after all, are perhaps the most real and substantial part of life, the fulness of it, so to speak. So, on the other hand, the East just lacks that vigour of purpose, and that enthusiasm for life and action, for achievement and self-expression, which characterise Western civilisation.

For three primary reasons, therefore, first, that a moral law operates in the world which must ever be heeded if pain, disease and death are to be avoided, and if happiness, health and life—both physical and spiritual—are to be secured; second, that at every stage in the history of a people's development an ideal has existed which has been the condition of highest well-being to the great body of that people, and which has involved the acceptance of a code of morals whose reasonableness and necessity have been universally felt and recognised; and third, that with the evolution of free moral self-consciousness a moral and spiritual altitude has been reached, a content of experience gathered, whereby the individual is able to take an intelligent survey of the entire range of human experience, to understand, appreciate and estimate the value of every civilisation, every ideal and mode of life that the world exhibits or that history, literature and art reveal—for these three reasons, I say, we know, first, that morals have objective force, second, that out of all the vast number of ideals which history presents to our view, the finest, the most spiritually productive can be discovered, and thus, third, that a science of morals is possible.

Moreover, as we have maintained from the beginning, the very fact that morals have validity, are a veritable part of the texture of life, absolutely inevitable, as inevitabe as eating and drinking, together with the fact that development does take place, is a fundamental law of life, we know that of the many ideals or modes of life that exist or have existed in the world, some must be better and higher than others and of them all one must be best. And because the laws of life are fixed and man is possessed of reason and understanding we know that it is possible to find out what that best life is. Thus again, we are able to conclude that a science of morals is possible, that man can of himself discover the laws of ideal living, the road to happiness, to the beautiful citadel of life—life deep and eternal.

But if reason and the finite powers of human mind can ascertain which of the many existing modes or ideals of life is the best, can they also discover those as yet unborn ideals which are to guide his life in the future and lead him on to still greater conquests, still grander heights? This question brings us face to face with a new problem, and to a very interesting stage in this important discussion. With that problem we shall deal in the next article.

CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS AND MUGHAL MASTERS

OF THE many interesting features in the pictorial art of the Mughal period, the treatment of Christian subjects by Mughal artists is not the least notable. Materials are happily to be found to show when and what led to the introduction of biblical paintings in a country, which, at the time when they were produced, was entirely non-Christian, and when it did so.

The history of the Mughal art of painting virtually begins with Akbar. Babar, the founder of the dynasty, was a soldier of fortune. The sword was the instrument with which he carved out his fortune; adventure and danger were to him as the breath of his nostrils and he sought enjoyment in the cup that inebriates. But in moments when he had his sword in its sheath and his cup dry, he became sensitive to the beauties of nature and would describe

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The subject of this picture cannot be made out.

in a simple but direct way the fauna and flowers he had seen in his adventures. * He also referred to architecture and painting. †

But in spite of this enthusiasm and appreciation for art he had no occasion of becoming its patron. Humayun's eventful life was spent chiefly in recovering his father's kingdom which he had lost. It was Akbar, the wearer of an imperial crown, who enjoyed the full privileges of a monarch and by his vast patronage and catholic views gave a great impetus to the founding of a school of painting, the memory of which will probably last as long as the name of his race and dynasty finds a place in the pages of history.

The representation of animate nature has been prohibited in the Qoran. But Akbar did not pay any heed to it. He was the pontiff of a new faith and he wanted to introduce such measures as he thought would improve the moral and intellectual condition of his people. What his views were regarding the art of painting, which was so long held in disdain, may be fairly conceived by his characteristic words overheard by his friend and the chronicler of his reign, Abul Fazl: "There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike.

* See *Memoirs of Babar.*

† "Taimur built, in the citadel of Samarkand, a stately palace, four stories high, which is famous by the name of *Gok-serai*. There are many other edifices. One of these is the grand mosque, which is situated near the Iran gate, within the walls of the city and is built of stone. A number of stone-cutters were brought from Hindustan to work on it.....To the east of Samarkand there are two gardens. From the first there is a public avenue on each side with pine trees. In the other there has been built a large palace, in which is a series of paintings, representing the wars of Taimur in Hindustan."—F. G. Talbot's *Memoirs of Babar*, p. 30.

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It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life and in devising its limbs one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his works, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of Life, and will thus increase in knowledge."* This



The Virgin Mary, Christ and the Saints

passage not only gives an insight into the views of Akbar on the art of painting but is in itself of great importance because it shows that what had been so long considered to be a sacrilege by the other followers of the Prophet, appeared to Akbar as of the nature of the essence of a new religion of which he was the head. It was perhaps due to this firm belief that the Divine could be realised through the medium of art that he gave liberal and munificent patronage to the artists at his court, without making the slightest distinction of caste, creed or religion. Thus it was chiefly a religious idea that led to the foundation of the Mughal school of painting. But this art which was intended originally to serve purely an intellectual and religious end, eventually became almost entirely secular, probably because none of the immediate descendants of Akbar had his intellectual and religious nature and all of them spent their undoubted gifts in the pursuit of pleasure and power.

The religion of Akbar has been an enigma to many historians. He is said to have denounced Islam and founded a new religion of his own, the *Din-i-Ilahi* or the Faith Divine, which recognised only one supreme God and the Emperor as His *Khalifah* on earth. This new idea was antagonistic to Islam and the promulgation of the new doctrine naturally wounded the pride of the bigoted followers of the old faith. But in spite of all opposition and dislike Akbar became the spiritual guide of his people* and continued to be so till the end of his days.

Akbar's fondness for the Hindus and his belief in and practise of some of the rites of Hinduism are known to every student of Indian History. He married a Hindu wife†

* *Ain-i-Akbari.* Blochmann, p. 108.

* "He (Akbar) has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wonder about panting for truth."—*Ain-i-Akbari,* Blochmann, p. 164.

† Mariam Zamani. Her Maiden name is not known. She was the daughter of Raja Behari Mal Kachhwaha and the mother of Jehangir.

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but this had probably a political rather than a religious significance. His worship of the sun and fire was extremely objectionable to the orthodox followers of Islam—"weakminded zealots" as Abul Fazl calls them, who also explains why the Emperor performed the rites. "It is incumbent on us," he says, "though our strength may fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is essentially the duty of Kings, upon whom,



Jesus Christ

according to the opinion of the wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light. And this is the very motive which actuates His Majesty to venerate fire and reverence lamps."* Thus it appears quite clear that Akbar worshipped the sun because he looked upon it as the source of primal light touched by God himself, the energy which sustains all life.

But this was not all. Akbar "collected the materials of every one, especially of such as were *not* Muhammadans. . . . He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he showed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his new religion received at their hands."* Besides such casual discourses at court during the day, Akbar used to take instructions in Hinduism from Brahmins at night. It is said that a Brahmin suspended in a *charpai* near a balcony (presumably inside the harem) of the Emperor's sleeping chamber used to read to him the sacred books of the Hindus.†

Akbar's religious quest however did not terminate with the Brahmins. In 1568 he requested the Portuguese viceroy at Goa to send a few priests to his court with "the books of the law and the Gospel of Christ."‡ In the next year a mission composed of Rodolpho Aquaviva,§ Antonio de Monserrato and Francisco Enriques left for the capital of the 'Great Mughal,' full of a fervent hope of converting the Emperor and introducing Christianity in the Mughal Empire. Akbar received the missionaries with all courtesy, showed the greatest reverence for the picture of the Virgin which they had brought, and arranged theological discussions between them and the zealous Mollahs.¶ Akbar had

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 155.

* Badaoni. See Blochmann's *Ain*, pp. 179—80.

† "A Brahmin of the name of Debi, was pulled up the wall of the castle, sitting on a *charpai*, till he arrived near a balcony where the Emperor used to sleep. Whilst thus suspended he instructed His majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers."—*Ibid*, p. 180.

‡ A similar request occurs in a letter addressed to the court of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1582 written by Abul Fazl under the instruction of Akbar. This letter is incorporated in the *In-shai-Abul-Fazl*.

§ *Padre* Radolf of Abul Fazl.

¶ I had come across a Mughal painting illustrating this scene. It was probably bought, so far as I can recollect, for the Queen Victoria Memorial collection.

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sent for these Jesuits in the hope of finding out that which neither Islam nor Hinduism had offered to him and for which he had been craving. But "as friar and mollah argued before him, he saw in his Christian visitors the same angry intolerance, the same universal condemnation, of all outside their pale; objurgation was met with objurgation, abuse countered with abuse;* of that quiet seeking spirit which he loved he saw in them no trace or sign."†

Although Akbar was disappointed in the Jesuit fathers, he was not displeased with them. This attitude of the Emperor was however misunderstood by them. Their missionary spirit was too active to make them patient and they began to press Akbar to embrace Christianity so persistently that it is said that Akbar was obliged to play a ruse to get rid of them. He is said to have announced that a devout follower of Islam was about to leap into a huge furnace with his Quran in his hands and he told the Christian visitors that he was confident that they would also perform the same feat with the Bible in their hands.‡ This however the Jesuit fathers would not venture to do, and they returned disappointed to Goa in 1583. Later on twice, in 1591 and 1595, Akbar sent for these missionaries again but they could not make any impression on him.§ Thus ended the attempts of the Portuguese to convert Akbar and the Mughal Empire to Christianity. But although these missionary enterprises failed so far as actual religious conversion was concerned, they eventually had an important effect on the art of the age. Akbar's reverence for the picture of the Virgin was profouud and it is here that we find the key to the treatment of Christian subjects by Mughal masters. Besides holding theological discussions between Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians, Akbar ordered the compilation and translation with illustrations of various books in Sanskrit and Arabic into Persian.* These books were primarily meant for his own use and benefit and those who were not acquainted with the languages in which the original books were written. One of the books thus translated and illustrated was the Bible and his faithful friend Abul Fazl was entrusted with the work.† The translated book was called *Kitabe Moaijizat Masi* or the Book of the Miracles of Jesus Christ. The Lahore Central Museum possesses an incomplete manuscript of this book. It bears the seal of Akbar, which definitely fixes the date of the work. It would not perhaps be quite wrong to suggest that the book may be one of the copies that Abul Fazl translated and got illustrated for Akbar.

There are only a few illustrations now left in the book, but from the serial number of the pictures it appears that the manuscript was copiously illustrated. All the pictures, without a single exception, are in such a mutilated and fragmentary condition that it is very difficult even to identify them. Three pictures are however reproduced in plates 1, 2 and 3.‡ It will appear that the technique is entirely that of Indo-Persian or early Mughal art showing European influence. The landscape in plate 1 is conventional, but the composition, pose and expression of the figures are strongly, if not entirely, suggestive of European art. I have not been able to make out the subject of this picture. The second plate probably represents the Virgin Mary, Christ and the

* Badaoni has a very illuminating passage showing the acrimonious turn which discussions like these generally took. "These accursed monks," he says, "applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities to Muhammad, the best of all prophets —God's blessings rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do."—*Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 183.

† *Travels and Travellers in India, A. D. 1400—1700.* E. F. Oaten.

‡ *Murray's Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, Vol. II, pp. 91, 92.

According to the Akbarnamah the challenge is said to have come from the Christians, which was rejected by the Mahomedans. But when it is remembered that the ordeal by fire is associated with the tradition of the East from very remote times and that Akbar worshipped the fire, the greater probability appears to be that the challenge, if at all made, came from the Mollahs.

§ See the account of the Goa Missionaries who came to Akbar's court in 1595, in Murray's *Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, vol. II. pp. 95, 96.

* For a list of these literary undertakings see Blockmann's *Ain*, pp. 103 to 106.

† "His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel."—Badaoni. See Blochmann's *Ain*, p. 182.

‡ I am indebted to Mr. Lionel Heath, Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore, for kind permission to reproduce all the pictures in this article.

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saints. Christ is on the lap of the Virgin. They are seen on the top of the picture behind a table. Some of the faces of the saints have not yet been entirely mutilated. There is not the least doubt that they are European faces. Jesus Christ is the figure in the centre of the plate 3. It can be said without the least hesitation that these pictures were probably adaptations by Mughal artists from European paintings, for otherwise no satisfactory explanation could be given as to their likely authors. The workmanship is fine and the technique is that of the early Mughal miniatures with necessary adaptations from European art. This influence is noticeable not only in the general composition and figures in the paintings but also in the colours that have been used. For instance, black, blue-black, dull blue, which have been chiefly used in these paintings, seldom occur in Indo-Persian or Mughal paintings. The combination of bright blue, red and orange is also peculiar to these paintings. This is very clearly shown in the picture of the Virgin Mary with a ministering Angel (Frontispiece). It probably belongs to a later period.* The picture is entirely Raphaelesque and if an indifferent observer is not told that it is a Mughal work he is liable to take it for a European work. The face of the Virgin is illuminated by a calm and serene expression. The angel is drawn in the style of the early sixteenth century Indo-Persian paitings.

The representation of Christian subjects by the Mughal artists was not however restricted to the miniature form of painting. They were treated in frescoes or walls also. There are unfortunately very few remains of such paintings. A few are still to be found on the walls at Fatehpur Sikri, the most notable of which are the so-called *Annunciation* and *Fall* in Mariam's *Kothi* or the *Sonahra Mokan*. The fragments of the paintings show winged angels and very strongly suggest the probability of being enlargements of similar miniature paintings. The presence of these paintings in Mariam's *Kothi* is frequently referred to in justification of the popular theory that Mariam, a Portuguese Christian, was one of Akbar's wives. This evidently is a mistake. Akbar never had a Christian wife. Had he contracted such a marriage the fact could never have escaped his indefatigable and vigilant chronicler, Abul Fazl. On the other hand, he distinctly tells us that this *Mariam-uz-Zamani* (lit. the Mary of the Age) was a Hindu, the daughter of Raja Behari Mal and sister of Bhagwan Das and that she was the mother of Jehangir. Mariam in Arabic signifies Mary and has come to be used as an honorific title for Mahomedan ladies.* The misconception about *Mariam-uz-Zamani*'s being a Portuguese Christian may be due to two main reasons; first, the accidental presence of paintings of Christian subjects on the walls of the palace where Mariam used to live, and Mariam being apparently a Christian name was associated with the Portuguese friars, who themselves do not make any mention of Mariam as being a Christian. The presence of only the paintings of Christian subjects cannot be reasonably said to support the theory that the fair occupant of the *Sonahra Mokan* was a Christian. For, similar paintings are to be found elsewhere also, along with Persian and Hindu paintings.

The true explanation of the presence of these paintings can be had only if Akbar, to whose patronage they owe their existence, is correctly understood. Akbar was a seeker but he could not find the object of his quest either in bigoted Islam, conservative Hinduism or proselytising Christianity. He always wanted to know and learn the real truth. This explains why he founded the *Din-i-Ilahi*, why he received lessons in Hinduism in the peaceful hours of the night and why he sent for the Jesuits. The discourses and discussions which he arranged between the representatives of different religions were to him moral and intellectual entertainments which helped him to learn the lesson of religious toleration and to acquire that largeness of heart which prompted him to patronise the execution of costly works of art dedicated to religions which were antagonistic to his own. Such wide sympathy and liberal patronage can come from only a heart where form and rituals have no being. It was the possession of such an expanding soul that made Akbar undoubtedly the greatest of all the Great Mughals, not only

* The treatment of Christian subjects was not uncommon in the time of Jehangir.

* Hamida Banu Begum, Akbar's mother, was called Mariam Makani.

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as successful monarch but as a true friend and patron of literature, music, sculpture and painting without any distinction of caste, creed or religion, a man of the most Catholic views and sympathies and a ruler who held the balance even between widely conflicting and even jarring sections of his subjects.

SAMARENDRA NATH GUPTA.

HISTORY OF THE PRESS LEGISLATION IN INDIA

BY R. G. PRADHAN, B. A., LL. B.

II

FOR about fifteen years after the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, there was no change made in the legislation affecting the Indian Press. But again there was a wave of reaction, and in 1898 material amendments were introduced in the law concerning sedition. In 1896 plague broke out in the Bombay Presidency, and the public mind was greatly agitated by the horrors of the grim disease as well as by the strong policy adopted by the Government for "stamping" it out. The employment of European soldiers on plague duty in Poona was a colossal blunder, and naturally aroused a good deal of public dissatisfaction and resentment. Two European officers were shot dead in Poona while on their way home from the Government House. The Government thought that the cruel murders were due to violent writings in the the Press, and prosecutions were instituted against Mr. Tilak, the editor of the *Kesari* and a few other journalists who were all convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Not content with merely instituting successful press prosecutions, the Government wished to amend the law of sedition so as to bring it in harmony with judicial decisions, and also to arm themselves with further powers for the repression of seditious writing or preaching. The revival of the old Vernacular Press Act in all its grim severity was advocated by some fire-eaters; but the Government of India wisely brushed the suggestion aside, and adopted the alternative course of amending the law as it stood at the time.

The changes made in the law affecting the Press in 1898 were as follows:

(*a*) The amendment of Section 124 A of the Penal Code.

(*b*) The amendment of Section 505 of the Penal Code.

(*c*) Introduction of a new Section—Sec. 153A in the Penal Code, punishing the promotion of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.

(*d*) Introduction of a new section—Sec. 108—in the Criminal Procedure Code designed to prevent the dissemination of seditious matter, either orally or in writing, by means of a system of personal security.

None of these changes was approved of by the educated public who regarded them as quite uncalled for and thought the law as it stood quite sufficient; but the amendment of Section 125A of the Penal Code and the enactment of the new Section, *viz*, Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code aroused by far the greatest opposition. The Hon. Mr. (now Sir) Chitnavis, the late Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu, the Hon. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar and last but not least, the late Hon. Mr. Sayani voiced the public opinion and feeling and led the opposition in the Imperial Council with great ability, independence of spirit and tenacity of purpose, though, as was to be expected, with very little success.

Section 124 A of the Penal Code as it stood before its amendment in 1898 was as follows:—

"Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite feelings of dissatisfaction to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life, or for any term, to which fine may be added,

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or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years to which fine may be added, or with fine.

"Explanation—Such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, is not disaffection. Therefore the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting this species of disapprobation, is not an offence within this clause."

I have already pointed out above that this Section was inadvertently omitted from the Indian Penal Code, when it was enacted in 1860, and that it was embodied in the Code in 1870. In proposing the inclusion of the Section, Sir James Stephen, then Mr. Stephen, interpreted the Section as follows:—

"So long as a writer or speaker neither directly nor indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force, he did not fall within this Section."

Again, he said:

"Let it be shown that the matter complained of was not consistent with a disposition to obey the law; let it be shown that it was consistent *only* with a disposition *to resist the law by force*, and it did fall under this Section. Otherwise *not*."

There were in all only four important trials under this Section until its amendment in 1898. The first was the famous *Bangabasi* Case, in 1891, tried by the then Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir C. Petheram. As the jury did not return a unanimous verdict, they were discharged, and the case was set down for retrial. The editor, however, having in the meanwhile, tendered an apology, the prosecution was withdrawn.

The next important prosecution was against the *Kesari*, edited by Mr. (then the Hon. Mr.) B. G. Tilak, in 1897. Mr. Tilak was convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for a year and a half.

In all these four cases, the defence naturally interpreted the Section in the same way as Sir James Stephen, it being urged that so long as a writing did not suggest or intend to produce the use of force, it was not seditious. There can be no doubt that this view of the meaning of the Section was in harmony with the intention of the Legislature as expressed by Sir James Stephen at the time of proposing the inclusion of the Section in the Penal Code. But judges are not bound by any expressions of opinion as to the intention of the Legislature in the course of a debate in the Legislative Council; they are the sole interpreters of law, and their interpretation is to be mainly guided by the wording of a section, though in the case of ambiguity or doubt, they may refer to Council proceedings as a valuable aid, but only as an aid. I think, it would be the height of perversity to maintain that the law of sedition as embodied in the old Section 124 A was a model of clear, unambiguous legislation; and the judges who tried the *Bangabasi* and other cases might well have taken into account the interpretation put by the Legislature itself upon the section. But in that case the trials would have, in all probability, proved abortive, and political policy been defeated. Petheram C. J. indeed seems to have felt the force of the view urged by the defence as to the meaning of the Section. For he says in his charge to the jury:—

"If a person uses either spoken or written words calculated to create in the minds of the persons to whom they are addressed a disposition not to obey the lawful authority of the Government, or to subvert or resist that authority, if and when occasion should arise, and if he does so with the intention of creating such a disposition in his hearers or readers, he will be guilty of the offence of attempting to excite disaffection within the meaning of the section, though no disturbance is brought about by his words, or any feeling of disaffection in fact produced by them."

But curiously enough, he immediately gives up this position, and concludes as follows,

"It is sufficient for the purposes of the section that the words used are calculated to excite feelings against the Government, and to hold it up to the hatred and contempt of the people, and that they were used with the intention to create such feeling."

The strict interpretation put upon the section by Petheram C. J. was followed by Justice Strachey in the Tilak case, and other judges also adopted the same view about the scope and meaning of the law of sedition. In spite of this unanimity in judicial interpretations, the Government had misgivings as to whether the same view of law would be always upheld by judicial tribunals, and it was to remove any doubt on the point that they decided to amend the section so that it may convey, clearly and indubitably, the meaning given to it by Chief Justice Petheram, Justice Strachey and other Judges. The amendment has of course made it impossible to contend that the essence of Sedition lies in attempting to create a disposition not to obey the lawful authority of the Government.

Sec. 124 A as amended runs as follows:—

"Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representation or other-

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wise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine."

Explanation 1—The expression 'disaffection' includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation 2—Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

Explanation 3—Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section."

It need hardly be said that the law of sedition as thus defined is characterised by extreme severity.

An important change was also made in the procedure regarding the trial of sedition cases. Whereas formerly such cases were exclusively triable by the court of sessions, since the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code in 1895 jurisdiction to try them has been conferred upon District Magistrates and Magistrates of the First Class specially empowered in this behalf by the Local Government. That this is an important change of a very retrograde character will be seen from the fact that a trial in a Sessions Court is always conducted with the aid either of a jury or of assessors. This change, therefore, virtually deprives the people of their right to be tried by their peers in cases of sedition.

The conferment of jurisdiction upon District Magistrates and Magistrates of the first class specially empowered, in cases of sedition is also objectionable from another point of view in as much as prosecutions for sedition are hardly instituted except with the previous consent of District Magistrates, who would thus combine in themselves the functions both of prosecution and judge. And the inequitable character of this provision will be felt all the more strongly in cases in which, the sentences inflicted not exceeding a month's imprisonment, there can be no appeal, but merely a revision of the Magistrate's order.

It should be added that though the offence of sedition has been made triable by a District Magistrate or a First Class Magistrate specially empowered, an appeal against his order lies directly to the High Court and not to the Sessions Court.

I now come to other changes made in the law affecting the Press.

Section 153A provides for the punishment of attempts to promote enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.

Section 505 penalizes the publication or circulation of any statement, rumour or report (a) likely to cause any officer, soldier or sailor to mutiny or otherwise to fail in his duty (b) likely to cause fear or alarm to the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the state or the public tranquility, or

(c) likely to incite any class of persons to commit any offence against any other class.

Section 108 of the Cri. Pro. Code provides for security for good behaviour being taken from any person who, either orally or in writing, disseminates or attempts to disseminate or abets the dissemination of (1) any seditious matter (2) any matter punishable under 153A I. P. C. as calculated to promote class hatred or (3) any matter concerning a Judge which amounts to criminal intimidation or defamation. Proceedings under this section can be taken against the editor, proprietor, printer or publisher of a publication only with the authority of the Government or some specially empowered officer.

For about ten years after these changes there was no fresh legislation relating to the Press. But on 8th June 1908, an Act was passed called "The Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act. Much water had flowed under the bridge during the interval. The dissatisfaction caused by the indifference of the Government to the legitimate demands of the progressive party as represented by the Indian National Congress had been on the increase. The highhanded administration of Lord Curzon particularly had aroused a storm of indignation among the people. The latter part of his lordship's *regime* was a series of reactionary and unpopular measures culminating in the partition of Bengal. Discontent and dissatisfaction reigned over the country and the relations between the rulers and the ruled went from bad to worse. As a result, Indian politics underwent rapid and hitherto unexpected developments. The Congress proclaimed boycott of English goods as a retaliatory measure, whereas some ardent spirits openly and courageously declared national independence as the political goal of India and a constructive policy of self-help and passive resistance as the means to gradually attain to that goal. As yet, however, the relations between the Government and the people, though bitterly strained, had not been marred by violence. Unrest had reached its utmost limits, but the bounds of con-

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stitutionalism had not yet been over-stepped. True, there were the atrocious Poona murders in 1897, but they were an isolated incident to which very little political significance was supposed to attach. They were generally regarded as having had some connection with the mistaken, though certainly well-intentioned, plague policy of the Bombay Government, particularly with the employment of white soldiers on plague duty in Poona, and the very great offence that ill-considered measure had naturally given to the sentiments of the people. At any rate there was no political spirit as such behind those murders. Suddenly however in 1908, the whole world was shocked by the bomb outrage in Muzaffarpur. That was the first unmistakeable indication of the fact that Indian politics had, after all, evolved all the varied elements such as are witnessed in some European countries from ultraloyalism to anarchical violence. It showed—and the revelation gave a shock to the feelings and expectations of all sane, sober and thoughtful people—that India had been exposed not only to the wholesome but also to the evil influences of the West. As usual, the Press was regarded as the parent of this new birth, it being supposed that but for the violent writings in the Indian Press, there would have been no sedition and no anarchical outrages. Of course in face of this new and serious danger, the Government could not rest quiet. The Press must be brought under better control (to use the official phraseology) and anarchy cut off from its source of inspiration and vitality. Already provision had been made for the executive control of the platform by the enactment of a law called "The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act." That was a very effective weapon for suppressing undesirable platform agitators. It was passed on 1st November, 1907, and on 8th June of the next year, as said above, it was followed by the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, which, again, was followed within two years by the full-fledged Press Act of 1910.

The Newspapers Act is a small act of only 10 Sections. It is designed for the prevention of incitements to murder and to other offences in Newspapers.

It provides for the forfeiture of a printing-press in case a Newspaper contains any incitement to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act or to any act of violence. At first the order of forfeiture is to be conditional but if no cause is shown against it, it is to be made absolute. An appeal against the absolute order must be made to the High Court within fifteen days. When an order of forfeiture has been made absolute, the Local Government may annul any declaration made by the printer or publisher of such newspaper and may prohibit any further declaration being made or subscribed in respect of the said newspaper or of any newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper.

In concluding the debate in the Council on the above measure, H. E. Lord Minto admitted that the legislation was exceptional, being framed to meet dangerous emergencies, and foreshadowed the enactment of a General Press Act. His Excellency said :

"I look upon to-day's legislation as exceptional, as framed to meet dangerous emergencies, and as regards the Newspaper Bill to give powers to deal with a particular class of criminal printed matter. It is quite possible our Bills may not be strong enough, and in that case, we shall not fail to amend them. But the Newspaper Bill in no way takes the place of a General Press Act, and it in no way ties our hands as to the future introduction of such an Act. In my opinion a further general control of the Press in India is imperatively necessary. . . . India is not ripe for complete freedom of the Press. It is unfair upon her people that for daily information, such as it is, they should be dependent upon unscrupulous caterers of literary poison. We are called upon to regulate its sale. No exaggerated respect for principles of English freedom, totally unadapted to Indian surroundings, can justify us in allowing the poison to work its will."

The intention thus so clearly expressed by the Government to enact a general Press law, was carried out within two years from the passing of the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act. On 4th February 1910, the Press Bill was introduced and on 8th February, it became law.

The debate on the Bill which, by the bye, occupies about a hundred pages of the *Government Gazette* affords a very interesting reading. It was the first important measure that came up before the Reformed Council, and the cruel irony of this circumstance was most painfully felt by the elected members. They were placed on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, as representatives of the people and guardians of popular liberties, they could not conscientiously support a measure that aimed at suppressing the freedom of the Press; on the other hand, they could not overlook the fact that the circumstances were exceptional and their refusal to support the Government in such an important matter in such a crisis would be misunderstood. Most of them, therefore, adopted a strange middle course. They spoke strongly against the Bill, and fought tooth

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and nail, though without success, for softening its rigour and limiting its operation to a short, specific period, but when it was pressed to a division, with the exception of the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, they all voted in favour of it!

There were in all, twenty-three amendments moved to the Bill, but with the exception of two minor ones, all of them were negatived. The most important of them aimed at limiting the operation of the Bill to a short definite period. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale moved that the Act should be in force for three years only and most earnestly appealed to the Government to accept his amendment. Nevertheless it was defeated by a large majority, 16 voting for, and 42 against it. The Hon. Mr. Mudholkar moved a similar amendment to the effect that the Act should remain in force for three years but that the Governor-General in Council might by notification extend its operation for a further period of two years. The Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu also moved an amendment to the effect that the Act would be in force for three years or "for such further period as the Governor-General-in-Council may determine." Both these amendments met the same fate as the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's.

The principal provisions of the Press Act are as follow:—

(I) Sec. 3 of the Act provides that a keeper of a printing-press set up after the passing of the Act must deposit such security, not being less than 500 Rs. and more than 2000 Rs. as the Magistrate may require.

No keeper of a printing-press already existing before the Act is required to furnish security at first; but if the Local Government finds that such a printing-press is being used for the publication of objectionable matter as defined in Sec. 4 of the Act, they may require the keeper of the press to deposit security not being less than 500 Rs. and more than 5000 Rs. as they might require. (2) Sec. 8 makes similar provisions for newspapers.

(3) Sec. 4 provides that if a printing-press which has furnished security is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely to or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise

(*a*) to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, or to any act of violence, or

(*b*) to seduce any officer, soldier or sailor from his allegiance or duty, or

(*c*) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government or the administration of justice or any native Prince or Chief or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government or any such Prince or Chief, or

(*d*) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, or

(*e*) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or

(*f*) to convey any threat of injury to a public servant or to any person in whom that public servant is believed to be interested, with a view to inducing that public servant to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions,

the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opnion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited and all copies of such newspaper, book, or other document to be forfeited.

(4) Sec. 9 makes a similar provision with regard to newspapers.

(5) Sec. 5 provides that if a printing-press makes a fresh declaration under the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, it shall deposit such fresh security, not being less than Rs. 1000 or more than Rs. 2000 as may be required by the Magistrate.

(6) Sec. 10 makes a similar provision with regard to newspapers.

(7) Sec. 6 provides that if such a printing-press offends again by publishing prohibited matter, the Local Government may declare (a) the further security (b) the printing-press itself and (c) all copies of the printed matter, to be forfeited.

(8) Sec. 11 makes a similar provision with regard to newspapers.

(9) Sec. 12 empowers the Local Government to declare forfeited any newspaper, book or other document, wherever printed, which contains prohibited matter.

(10) Sec. 13 empowers certain Customs-officers to detain packets, imported into British India, which they might suspect to contain any newspapers, books or other documents of the nature described in Sec. 4.

(11) Sec. 15 empowers an officer in charge of a post-office to detain any article other than a letter or parcel in course of transmission by post which he might suspect to contain any newspaper, book or document containing objectionable matter as defined in Sec. 4.

(12) The order as to the furnishing of security is purely executive, and there is no appeal against it; but an order as to forfeiture of security, press, newspaper, &c., may be appealed against within two months and such appeal will be heard by a special Bench of the High Court.

The case for the Press Bill was very ably placed before the Council on behalf of the Government by the Hon. Mr. Sinha, the then Law member. His speech is marked by great eloquence, lucidity of argument and high debating skill. Nevertheless, I think, it must be said that it fails to carry conviction either of the necessity for the Bill or of its alleged moderation and reasonableness. His attempt to prove that the existing laws viz., the Penal Code, Sec. 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Seditious Meetings Act, The Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act were insufficient for the purpose of

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putting down seditious writing or speaking, must be pronounced to be a failure. In the first place, throughout his lengthy speech he does not even once refer to the Newspapers Act and try to show how that is insufficient to meet sedition along with the Penal Code. He admits that the working of Sec. 124A of the Penal Code has proved its efficacy in securing convictions for seditious writing; but he says that there is a good deal of doubtful matter which Sec. 124A cannot reach, and which is therefore sought to be reached by the Press Bill. But he nowhere defines doubtful matter as conceived by him or by the Government. Sec. 124A of the Penal Code is so wide that it is difficult to believe that any writing that cannot come under it will be really harmful. If Sec. 4 of the Press Act is to be regarded as mentioning what the Government consider to be doubtful but not actually seditious matter, then the provisions of that section are so comprehensive that, as was pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, they will cover even legitimate criticism of the measures or policy of the Government. Again, Mr. Sinha says that ordinarily a Magistrate will require only the minimum amount of security to be deposited by a printing-press or a newspaper. But as was remarked by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, many things might be taken from Mr. Sinha but not this, as it would depend upon the Magistrate and not on the law member of the Council.

It is not necessary to make further comments upon Mr. Sinha's speech, or upon the provisions of the Press Act. When we remember how stringent and wide Sec. 124A of the Penal Code is, that a preventive remedy for the dissemination of sedition is already provided for by Sec. 108 of the Cri. Pro. Code, and that the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act gives very large powers—even to the extent of confiscating the Newspaper and the Press—to the Government in cases of incitements to acts of violence in the Press, there can be no other verdict than this, that the Press Act will seriously interfere with the legitimate freedom of the Press, that while it will certainly check all license of writing and to that extent, be an instrument of good, it will no less certainly fetter the free expression of honest and reasonable opinion, mislead the Government as to the true opinions and feelings of the people, and hinder the progress of Indian journalism and literature in general. The freedom of the press is no doubt liable to abuse and is abused by some journalists all over the world; but the ordinary law of the land is quite sufficient for the purpose of putting down such abuses of the Press as constitute sedition. And however desirable it may be and is that the Press should be an ideal one, free from the slightest reproach, this object can never be attained by means of repressive legislation, which, however well-intentioned it may be, is such that it cannot fail to have a demoralizing effect upon the Press, and by emasculating it, to deprive it of all fearlessness of expression and independence of spirit—qualities which are no less essential to ideal journalism than a scrupulous regard for law, and generous toleration of differences of opinion. No sane man can have sympathy with any license of writing, which certainly deserves to be discouraged, and if the Press Act could have no other effect, it would command universal approval and support. But unfortunately its provisions cannot fail to place unnecessary obstacles on the path of honest journalism, and to hinder the progressive development of the Press in India.

Conclusion.

I have thus briefly sketched the history of the Press Legislation in India. And I shall conclude this article with an earnest appeal to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to repeal the Press Act. Apart from the merits or demerits of the Act, it cannot be denied that it is a special piece of legislation devised for a special emergency. This was admitted in the course of the debate both by the Hon. Sir Risley and Mr. Sinha. As was well observed by the *Spectator:*

> "We must always look upon such measures as temporary precautions; India cannot be governed by a series of restrictions which contain no seed of progress, no possibility of fructification."

And the Hon. Sir Risley himself assured the Council that "when we get a Press temperate in tone and honest in intention, then it will be possible to repeal that law," i.e., the Press Act. It need hardly be said that the political situation in India has greatly changed for the better during the last three years. Lord Morley's reforms, His Gracious Majesty's visit to India and his noble utterances, particularly the farewell message His Majesty has given to his Indian subjects,

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the modification of the partition of Bengal, the policy of steady reform and appeasement that is being followed by H. E. Lord Hardinge—all these have revived the faith of the Indian people in the British sense of justice and the British spirit of beneficence, and we are now looking forward with renewed hope and confidence to a long period of unbroken prosperity and steady peaceful progress. All classes of people have begun to realize that what India so badly wants at present is peace and harmony of relations between the officials and non-officials, so that she may be enabled to achieve enduring progress in every sphere of her national life—social, educational, economic, and political—and thus to work out her high destiny under the *ægis* of British rule. This has not been without its influence upon the Press, and I think, it may now be justly said that we have a Press "temperate in tone and honest in intention." The time is thus come for the repeal of the Press Act, and it is to be sincerely hoped that His Excellency Lord Hardinge will soon see his way to remove the Act from the Statute-Book. If he does so, he will certainly win the lasting gratitude of the Indian people.

If His Excellency thinks that the time is not yet come for the total repeal of the Act, I would earnestly beg of him at least so to amend it as to do away with the provisions requiring security to be deposited by new Presses and newspapers on the very threshold of their career. The Act does not require security to be furnished by existing presses and newspapers so long as they do not offend by printing or publishing matter of the prohibited kind; and much stress was laid upon this to prove that the Act was far from stringent. That the Government have shown commendable moderation and self-restraint in not requiring old presses and newspapers also to deposit security can hardly be denied; and we are deeply grateful to them for this mercy. But no reason has been shown why new concerns should not be placed on the same level with old ones in this respect. The Hon. Sir Vithaldas Thackersay made this suggestion in the course of the debate, and the Government would have done well in accepting it. The necessity for furnishing security at the very outset is a very serious difficulty in the way of all honest would-be journalists, and cannot but operate as a great check on the progress of journalism. Let no special difficulties be placed on the path of those who would like to take to journalism as a profession; let them be required to deposit security only in case they offend by publishing prohibited matter. This concession, at any rate, is so moderate and reasonable that His Excellency Lord Hardinge should have no hesitation in making it.

Another suggestion I should like to make before concluding this article; and it will be not to the Government but to Indian journalists. The time is come for Indian journalists to have an association of their own with a view to defend their interests and to promote superior journalism. Such an association should agitate for the repeal of the Press Act; it should also seek to improve Indian journalism and bring it to a high level of excellence, so that no Section of it may be open to such objections as were urged against it at the time of the enactment of the Press Act. I earnestly hope that such an association will be an accomplished fact at no distant date.

THE BOMBAY STUDENTS' BROTHERHOOD

THE Students' Brotherhood, which has now established for itself a place among the most useful philanthropic Institutions in the City of Bombay, commenced its career in a very quiet and unostentatious way. In February, 1889, Mr. N. G. Welinkar, who had then just begun his life as a teacher, feeling the need of some regular moral instruction for the classes which he was teaching in the Free

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

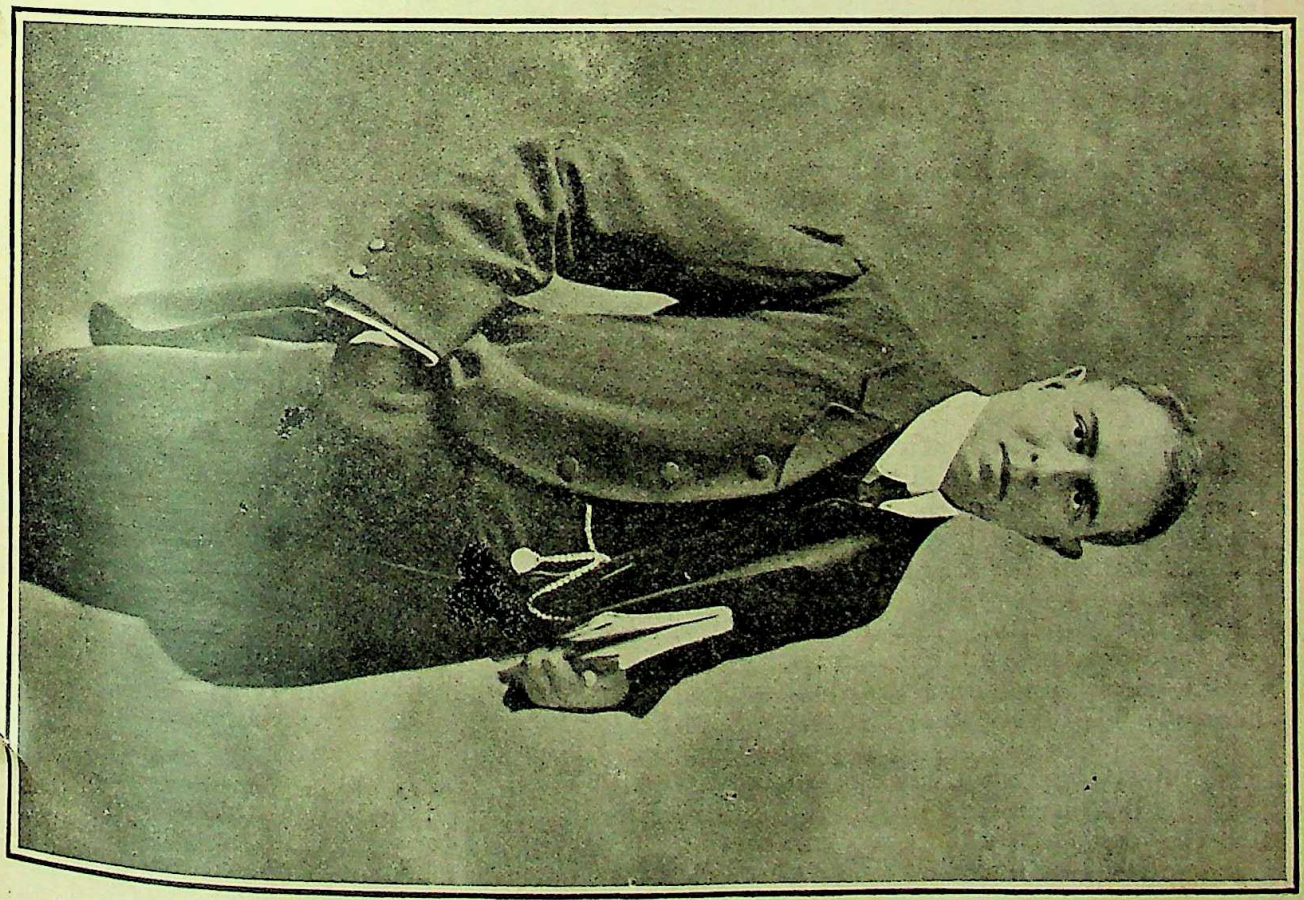
MR. N. G. WELINKAR.

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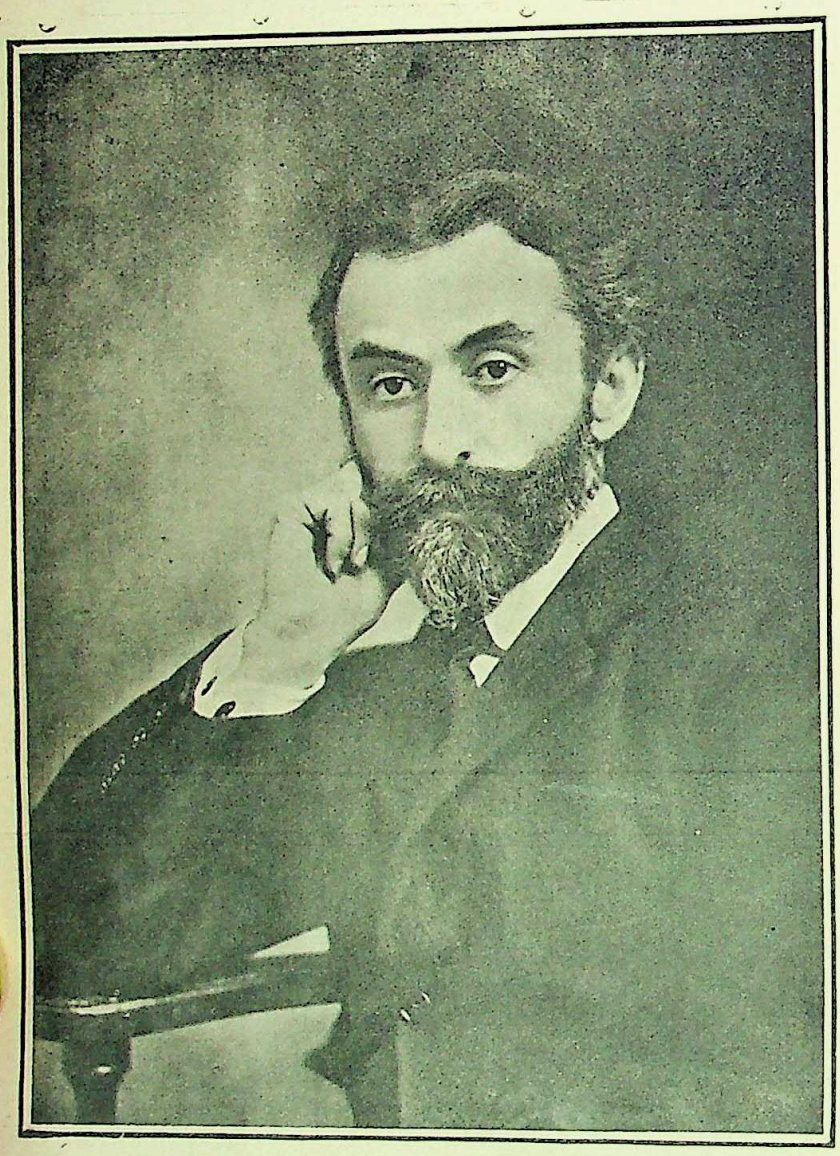
SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.



MR. N. G. WELINKAR.

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MR. RATAN TATA.

General Assembly's Institution, formed a class for a course of reading which should be morally helpful to the students and required each member of the class to promise to observe a simple four-fold pledge insisting on speaking the truth, refraining from the use of abusive or indecent language, endeavouring to make the class known among friends and some small self-sacrifice for the sake of the newly formed class. Soon the name "Students' Brotherhood" was adopted and a weekly collection began to be made for the formation of a library. The class met every Sunday regularly and for the first three or four years Mr. Welinkar did all the teaching, taking his pupils through books of useful advice to students like Dr. Todd's Student's Manual and Blackie's Self-Culture. The numbers increased rapidly and the Committee of the Prarthana Samaj had to be approached very early for the loan of the Mandir to hold the classes in. The request was granted and from that time about 20 years ago to the present day the weekly classes have continued to be held from Sunday to Sunday in the same place.

As the work began to be more widely known it attracted both students and sympathisers. After a few years the need of organisation was felt as well as of the formulation of the principal aims. The latter have now come to be pretty definitely formulated. Briefly put the aims are:—

(1) to encourage the habit of study,

(2) to uphold the ideal of Brotherhood,

(3) to urge to the pursuit of the higher life, and

(4) to insist upon social service as the path to the higher life.

The Brotherhood has steadily endeavoured to "bring together persons of all communities desirous of raising the moral tone of the rising generation and of guiding them in their aspirations"; and in pursuance of this aim has been fortunate enough to enlist the co-operation of many distinguished citizens of all communities who have assisted in teaching and lecturing. Foremost among these must be mentioned its President, Sir Narayanrao G. Chandavarkar, who voluntarily came forward to teach and has taken part in the weekly teaching for the past 10 years to the great benefit of the large number of

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MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE BOMBAY STUDENTS' BROTHERHOOD PRIOR TO THE YEAR 1908.

Row 1—(1) Mr. B. N. Motiwalla, (2) Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas (Hon. Treasurer), (3) Mr. P. G. Doctor, (4) Mr. S. A. Turkhud. Row 2—(1) Mr. N. L. Shroff, (2) Mr. B. S. Turkhud (Hon. Secy.).

students who attend the Sunday Classes. He associated himself with the Brotherhood when its work was in its beginnings and gave it an impetus and a new life which have enabled it to extend its influence and the scope of its usefulness. As a scholar and as a lover of English poetical literature he has endeavoured successfully to inspire in its members a genuine love of culture and particularly a taste for poetry. He has also infused into them some of his own personal enthusiasm for learning. Among the regular teachers in addition to Mr. Welinkar, there have been other prominent university men, while in the list of the occasional Lecturers are found the names of most of the men who compose the Professoriate of the Colleges in the Bombay Presidency, not without distinguished names from the other Presidencies as well.

Besides the two names mentioned above the list of teachers includes the following:—

Mr. K. K. Santoke, B.A., LL.B., Mr. F. D. Master, B.A., Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., Mr. J. B. Mehta, B.A., Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Mr. Bhulubhai J. Desai, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Mr. Jehangir J. Vimadalal, M.A. LL.B., Solicitor, Prof. P. A. Wadia, M.A., Mr. Mirza A. A. Khan, B.A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, Mr. K. J. Dubash, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B., Mr. V. Y. Kashalkar, M.A., LL.B., Mr. N. S. Kaushik, B.A., and Mr. Pitamberdas L. Thakar, B.A., LL.B., Advocate.

As the teaching became more advanced in character with the progress of time, a junior class was opened about 8 years ago for the benefit of High School Students in particular. It carries on its work regularly from week to week.

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MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE BOMBAY STUDENTS' BROTHERHOOD FOR THE YEAR 1808-10.

Row 1—Sitting on the Ground—(1) Mr. E. C. Lilauwala, (2) Mr. P. G. Doctor.
Row 2—(1) Mr. Mirza Akbar Ali Khan, B.A., Bar-at-Law, (2) Miss Sherene S. Paruck, M.A.
(3) Prof. N. G. Wellinkar, M.A., LL.B., (4) The Hon'ble Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, (President),
(5) Miss B. A. Engineer, M.A., LL.B., (6) Mr. Jehangir Jamsetji Vimadalal, M.A. LL.B., Solicitor,
(7) Prof. P. A. Wadia M.A.,
Row 3—(1) Mr. K. J. Dubash B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, (2) Mr. B. S. Turkhud (Honorary Secretary),
(3) Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas (Honarary Treasurer), (4) Mr. M. Vishwesher Rao (Honorary Librarian),
(5) Mr. B. N. Motiwalla, B.A., LL.B., (6) Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M.A , LL.B.

As the institution grew the want of a centre for social intercourse,—a sort of Head Quarters,—was keenly felt and is being now supplied by the generous annual donation of Mr. Ratan Tata, who through the good offices of Mr. C. M. Cursetji became interested in the aims and work of the Brotherhood. Through Mr. Tata's munificence the Brotherhood has now comfortable and well-furnished rooms in Girgaon, where its reading room, its library and the Committee's offices are located.

The aims set before itself by the Brotherhood have received wide acceptance, and Brotherhoods with like aims have been established in Poona, Ahmedabad, Junagad, Baroda, Karwar and other near and distant centres.

At the present time the Students' Brotherhood has 250 A class members, citizens well-known in many different walks of life, and 200 B class members consisting of young men who are studying in the different local Colleges and High Schools.

By systematic teaching, by literary

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MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE BOMBAY STUDENTS' BROTHERHOOD OF THE YEAR 1911--12.

Row 1—(1) Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B., (2) Mr. Jehangir Jamsetji Vimadalal, M.A., LL.B., (3) Mr. H. J. Bhabha M.A., (4) The Hon'ble Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, (5) Prof. P. A., Wadia, M.A., (6) Mr C. M., Cursetji, B.A., Bar-at-Law, (7) Prof. N. G. Welinkar, M.A., LL.B.

Row 2—(1) Mr. K. J. Dubash, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, (2) Mr. B. S. Turkhud (Honorary Secretary), (3) Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas (Honorary Treasurer), (4) Mr. B. N., Motiwalla, B.A., LL.B., (5) Mr. M. Vishwesher Rao (Honorary Librarian and Honorary Asst. Treasurer), (6) Dr. E. Moses, M.D.

meetings and addresses, by the circulation of a Quarterly Journal and other educative literature, by promoting healthy social intercourse, by occasionally aiding poor students, and in other ways, the Brotherhood is earnestly striving to purify, enlarge and in the best sense enrich the life of the student population, who are to be the citizens of the future.

This brief article would be incomplete without the mention of the Honorary Secretary of the Brotherhood Mr. B. S. Turkhud, the Honorary Treasurer Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas, and the Honorary Librarian Mr. Vishvesher Rao who have borne the burden of heavy self-sacrificing work for many years—the first two from the commencement of the Brotherhood. Mr. P. A. Wadia has been the Editor of the Brotherhood Quarterly from its very commencement five years ago.

The aims and objects of the Society, fully stated, are:—

(*a*) To promote the moral and intellectual development of its members and with this view to arrange for weekly classes, public lectures and addresses, social and literary gatherings, etc.

(*b*) To bring together persons of all communities desirous of raising the moral

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MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE BOMBAY STUDDNTS' BROTHERHOOD FOR THE YEAR 1913.

Row 1—(1) Mr. B. S. Turkhud (Hon. Sec.), (2) Mr. Mirza Akbar Ali Khan, B.A, Bar.-at-Law, (3) Mr. C. M. Cursetji, B.A., Bar.-at-Law, (4) The Hon'ble Sir Narayan Chandavarkar (President), (5) Prof. N. G. Welinkar, M.A., LL.B., (6) Mr. D. G. Dalvi M.A , LL.B.,
Row 2—(1) Mr. Shahabudin R, Mulla, B.A., (2) Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas, (Honorary Treasurer). (3) Mr. K. J. Dubash, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, (4) Mr. B. N. Motiwalla B.A., LL B.

tone of the rising generation and of guiding them in their aspirations for worthier lives.

(*c*) To bring together for purposes of ethical study, students of different schools and colleges and others interested in such study and to place within their reach opportunities of wholesome social intercourse.

(*d*) To form and maintain a Library with the view of placing wholesome literature within the reach of the members.

(*e*) To publish literature calculated to advance the aims and objects of the Society.

(*f*) To foster and encourage the spirit of practical benevolence; provided always that the Brotherhood shall not inculcate any distinctive religious or political doctrine.

Some of the addresses delivered to the Students' Brotherhood have been published in the form of pamphlets. One of the earliest was on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow by the Rev. J. T. Sunderland, M. A., of America, who was then in India as the representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Prof. M. MacMillan, who presided at the Lecture, spoke in high terms of the eloquence and literary attainments of the Lecturer, who, he said, by virtue of his being a fellow-countryman

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of the poet and having had personal acquaintance with some of those pupils who had the pleasure of attending those ideal classes of Longfellow at the College where he was a professor, could enlighten the audience on many points that no British lecturer could have done. It may be mentioned incidentally that Mr. Sunderland is expected to be in our midst in the coming cold weather.

Another pamphlet contains summaries of a series of twelve lectures delivered by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar to the Sunday classes of the Students' Brotherhood.

Institutions like the Students' Brotherhood would prove of great value in all towns containing a considerable student population.

PROMOTION OF LEARNING DURING MUHAMMADAN RULE

By Kumar Narendrantah Law, M.A., B.L.

CHAPTER VIII.

(*Minor Moslem Kingdoms.*)

WE have thus far dwelt upon the contributions made by the Pathan kings towards the progress of Muhammadan education and learning in India. But Moslem culture was not promoted by the Delhi kings alone. All over India there sprang up many a small kingdom which made its own contribution to the general progress of Islamic learning in the country; and an account of Mahomedan education of the period will be incomplete without a survey of the achievements of those smaller kingdoms apart from the work of the paramount power enthroned at Delhi.

1. The Bahmani Kingdom (1347—1526 A. D.)

Some of the kings of the Bahmani kingdom were great patrons of letters, and one of them was almost as great in literary enterprise as Sultan Firoze Tughlak of the Imperial dynasty. The founder of the Bahmani House, however, was not much noted either for his literary accomplishments or his literary encouragement. But he knew Persian and took care for the education of his sons. The *Bostan* of Sadi was a favourite book included in the course of study of the princes. Mahmud the youngest prince being questioned by his father one day replied that it was the *Bostan* that he was then reading with his tutor.*

At the time of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, it was the general belief that Hasan Gango Bahmani was the first Brahmin who accepted service under a Muhammadan prince and before his time the study of the *Vedas* and the duties of religion were the Brahmin's only pursuit. Though as physicians, astronomers, metaphysicians or historians they sometimes mixed with the rich and the powerful, they never consented to take regular service. The acceptances of office by Gango marks the period whence the management of the revenue was invariably entrusted to them by all the Deccan Kings.†

Mujahid Shah Bahmani who ruled some twenty years after Hasan Gango was noted for the fluency with which he could speak the Turkish language,‡ but his successor had a better literary equipment and made himself famous by his literary encouragement. This prince named Mahmud Shah Bahmani was himself a poet and wrote some elegant verses. He was also proficient in Persian and Arabic which he spoke fluently. He was a patron of

* Ferishta—Vol. II. P. 296.
† *Ibid* p. 292.
‡ *Ibid* p. 328.

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learning and many poets of Arabia and Persia came to his court and partook of his liberality. Mir Feizulla Anju, it is related, presented the king with an ode, for which he received a thousand pieces of gold and in appreciation of his poetic power, he was loaded with wealth and distinction before his retirement to his native country.*

The fame of this prince for his patronage of learning spread far and wide, and on the assurance given by the aforesaid Mir Feizulla Anju to Hafiz, the Shirazi poet of world-wide renown, that he would have a cordial reception at the court and a handsome reward if he came thither, and also a safe conduct back, Hafiz distrbiuted away the presents sent him by Mahmud Shah Bahmani and embarked on a royal *vessel* that had arrived at Ormus from the Deccan. But no sooner did it weigh anchor than a gale arose and the ship had to return to the port. The poet suffered much owing to the storm and abandoned the voyage, but he wrote a few stanzas which he sent to Feiz-ulla. When these were read out to the king, he was much pleased and as a reward for Hafiz, gave a thousand pieces of gold to Mahomed Kasim Meshidy a learned man of Kulburga to purchase those products of Ind that would be most acceptable to the celebrated bard.†

The prince was the father of the poor and the helpless, and for the education of orphans, he established schools in several cities of his dominion, viz., Kulburga, Bidar, Kand'har, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Choul, Dabul and in many other places and he supplied them with ample endowments for their maintenance.‡

This good prince richly deserved the title of Aristotle given him by the Deccanies for his wise administration.

Ghiasuddin Shah and Shamsuddin Shah next succeeded and were followed in their turn by the great Bahmani King named Firoze. It was this prince whose literary enterprise can well bear comparison with that of his name-sake of the Imperial dynasty of Delhi. He was perhaps more learned than the erudite Muhammad Tughlak: he was a good linguist and Ferishta records that in his harem there were ladies of various races such as Arabians, Circassians, Georgians, Turks, Europeans, Chinese, Afghans, Rajputs, Bengalees, Guzratis, Telinganies, Marhattins and others, with each of whom he could converse in her own language.*

He also utilized his linguistic attainments in his conversation with the foreigners who came to his court. He had a very retentive memory which enabled him to acquire his many literary qualifications. On Saturdays, Mondays and Thursdays, he used to hear *lectures on botany, geometry and logic*, generally during the day, but if business intervened, at night. He was a good poet and often composed extempore verses. He was well versed in many sciences and very fond of *natural philosophy*. Every fourth day, he used to copy 16 pages of the Koran, before engaging in public business. He spent most of his time in the society of divines, poets, reciters of history, readers of the *Shah Namah*, and the most learned and witty among his courtiers. He took much pleasure in such pursuits; so that they were prolonged up to mid-night.†

Firoze used to send *ships* every year from the ports of Goa and Choul to different countries particularly to invite to his court men celebrated for their learning. This is a feature of his literary ardour quite peculiar to him. It was his opinion that kings should draw around them the most learned men, in order that they might help them with information and advice. Of the many learned men assembled at his court, we hear of Mulla Issac Sirhindy who was famous for his wit and scholarship.‡

Firoze was a great lover of astronomy, and for accurate stellar observations he caused in A.D. 1407 an *observatory* to be built on the summit of the pass near Daulatabad. The work was under the supervision of the astronomer Hakim Hussain Gilany, whose death put a stop to its completion.§

* Ferishta—Vol. II., p. 347.
† Ferishta—Vol. II., pp. 349-347.
‡ Ibid, pp. 349, 350.

* Ferishta—Vol. II., pp. 369, 370.
† Ferishta—Vol. II., p. 365.
‡ Ferishta—Vol. II, p. 366.
§ *Ibid*, p. 388.

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Syed Mahomed Gisu-duraz had a great fame for his vast learning and Firoze went to meet him. The king with his natural keenness could see through his learned veneer and found him deficient. However, the King's brother Khan Khanan had unstinted reverence for this Syed and not only built a magnificent palace for him but also spent a great part of his time in hearing his lectures.*

Ahmad Shah Wully Bahmany followed the foot-steps of his worthy brother Firoze Shah, showed great deference to the learned and did much for their benefit and advantage.

The king gave several towns, villages and extensive lands near Kulburga, in perpetuity to Syed Mahomed Gisu-duraz and built for him a magnificent College near Kulburga. But he was unfortunately not very well disposed towards the Hindus and when he attacked Bijapur, he destroyed *several Colleges of the Brahmans* † in the open country near the town.

The succeeding kings were not much noted for their literary enterprise or learning until we reach Muhammad Shah Bahmani II. The education of this prince was under the supervision of Khwaja Jehan, who appointed Sudr-Jehan Shustry a celebrated scholar of that age, as his tutor. The prince made considerable progress in his studies, so that next to Firoze Bahmani, he was the most learned king that ever wielded the sceptre in the Bahmany Kingdom. ‡

A noteworthy event of this reign is the literary munificence of Mahmud Gowan the minister. He was himself a very learned man, a good writer both in prose and verse and had few equals in his knowledge of Mathematics. The *Rozut-ul-Insha* and some poems from his pen are still to be found in a few libraries of the Deccan. He used to send every year valuable presents to several learned men in Khorasan and Irak, for which the princes of those countries bestowed honours upon him. Moulana Jami Abdul Rahman's letters to Mahmud Gowan have been incorporated into the volumes of his works and a poem by Moulana was written in praise of the minister. Mahmud Gowan had the honour of having his biography written by Mulla Abdul Karim Sindy.*

His literary beneficence was so widespread that, it is said in his praise that there was scarcely a town or a city, the learned men of which had not derived advantage from him. There are in the Deccan many remains of the public works that he accomplished with his own resources, amongst which may be mentioned the *famous College at Ahmedabad Bidar* built by him two years before his death.† Says Mr. Meadows Taylor:—

"*The noble College of Mahmud Gowan* in the City of Bidur was perhaps the grandest completed work of the period. It consisted of a spacious square with arches all round it, of two storeys, divided into convenient rooms. The minarets at each corner of the front were upwards of a hundred feet high, and also the front itself, covered with enamel tiles, on which were flowers on blue, yellow, and red grounds, and sentences of the Koran in large kufic letters, the effect of which was at once chaste and superb."‡

The College had a mosque attached to it so that religion might go hand in hand with secular learning.§ At the time of Ferishta, the whole College was as entire as if just finished, but now-a-days it has lost much of its beauty through mutilation by an explosion of gun-powder which took place when Aurangzebe used it as a magazine and a barrack.

The College was equipped with a library for the use of its students and it contained 3,000 volumes.¶

* Ferishta—Vol. II, p. 388.

† Ferishta—Vol. II, p. 402.

‡ Ferishta—Vol. II, p. 477.

* Ferishta—Vol. II, pp. 510, 511.

† Ferishta—Vol. II, p. 510.

‡ Meadows Taylor's Hist. of India p. 185.

§ [BIGG'S NOTE.—"After the capture of Bidar by Aurangzebe, in the latter end of the 17th century, this splendid range of buildings was appropriated to the double purpose of a powder-magazine and barrack for a body of cavalry, when by accident, the powder exploding, destroyed the greater part of the edifice, causing dreadful havoc around. Sufficient of the work remains, however, even at the present day, to afford some notion of its magnificence and beauty. The outline of the square, and some of the apartments, are yet entire and one of the minarets is still standing. It is more than 100 ft. in height, ornamented with tablets, on which sentences of the Koran in white letters, 3 ft. in length, standing forth on a ground of green and gold, still exhibits to the spectator a good sample of what this superb edifice once was. The College is one of the very many beautiful remains of the grandeur of the Bahmani and Barid dynasties, which flourished at Bidar; and they render a visit to that city an object of lively interest to all travellers, but particularly to those who may peruse this history." Ferishta—Vol. II, p. 510.]

¶ Ferishta—Vol. II. p. 514.

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These works of Mahmud Gowan stand out as a brilliant example of what a single individual with his own unaided resources could achieve. He was imbued with a spirit of such a great self-sacrifice as is rarely met with in a man. His income was very large "equalling that of many kings," but his beneficence was so great that after his death, only a small sum was left in his treasury. He lived the life of an ascetic sleeping on a bare mat and using earthen utensils, thus combining plain living with high thinking.

Mahmud Shah Bahmany II's reign is a good example of the great extent to which the vitiated taste of a king can spread its infection broadcast, so as to affect even those who have made education their profession. The king was much addicted to the baser pleasures and his court became the resort of magicians, and dancers from Delhi, Lahore, Persia, and Khorasan. The only kind of pleasure that could lay a claim to greater refinement was that afforded by the story-tellers and reciters of the Shah Namah. The people caught the royal malady, which became so wide-spread and virulent that even "holy teachers quitting colleges retired to taverns and presided over the wine-flask, and reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars."*

The succeeding kings are not noteworthy from our standpoint. We should note here that the Bahmani kings had a library at Ahmednagar which Ferishta visited.†

*Ferishta—Vol. II. p. 535.

† *Ibid*, p. 297.

THE BODY OF HUMANITY

I.

THE last ten years have brought to an end an age-long cycle of geographical discovery. The world we live in has at length become fully explored from pole to pole. No region of the earth's surface, which contains large masses of population, still awaits demarcation. We know now exactly what we mean when we use the term 'mankind'; we can allocate its millions to the different continents, and mark out through maps and figures the great centres of human activity. The completion of this process has given a new vantage ground for thought to occupy. There is no more need of vagueness about the mental picture we draw.

I take up a modern atlas today, and compare it with an old one of my father's, which I used to delight in when a boy, and the significance of the great change which has taken place in human knowledge is at once apparent. In that old atlas, there used to be drawn, across Africa, certain vague and shadowy mountains, looking like big catterpillars, called "The Mountains of the Moon." These were a survival from those still more delightful atlases of the Middle Ages which described

> The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Did grow beneath their shoulders.

In my father's atlas a great part of Asia, Africa, Australia and South America was marked 'terra incognita' (unknown country). Now every one of these vacant spaces has been filled in. Only a few barren, unpopulated tracts still remain unexplored. A traveller like Sven Hedin has great difficulty in finding new worlds to conquer. The last of the great, heart-stirring world-discoveries has been made.

But this exploration itself is only a minor part of the whole process of external world unification. Fa Hien and Marco Polo made great geographical discoveries in bye-gone days; but the former took fifteen years and the latter twenty-two years to complete a single journey, and, except for the information they brought back, little practical result followed. No

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new highways of human intercourse were opened up. No impeding barriers of intercommunication were broken down. Modern exploration has been different. Where Livingstone and others have led the way, railways have followed. The interiors of continents have not only been explored, but world communication has been also established. Asia may now be crossed from end to end in less than a fortnight: North America in less than a week: three days will take the modern traveller from the coast into the heart of Africa, and multitudes of people every day pass up and down these routes. The ocean voyages are almost equally rapid.

The spread and transmission of news has been no less accelerated. Messages, which took months to carry from one continent to another, now take an equal number of seconds, and their contents are known to whole populations at the same time. One daily paper in England has often exceeded the circulation of a million copies in a single day. Dr. Johnson could begin his famous satire grandiloquently:—

> Let contemplation with extensive view
> Survey Mankind from China to Peru,

but that which the learned Doctor could only accomplish by painful research into rare volumes of travel, may be effected by the ordinary reader each morning at the breakfast table by a single glance through the Reuter telegrams. The postal service again is now used even by the poorest peasants in remote village districts. Villages have thus come in touch with towns, and towns with great cities. The different parts of great cities have also come in touch with one another. A twenty minutes' motor-drive will take the business man from the suburbs to the centre of Calcutta or Bombay, and the telephone has become a necessary part of his business life. There are indeed evils connected with this rapidity of modern civilisation, which will have to be watched and overcome; but there are also new possibilities of good which the human mind is only slowly grasping.

An interesting illustration of the latter may be worth mentioning, in order to show vividly what is taking place in our own day before our own eyes. In connexion with Lady Hardinge's Children's Day, it was possible to come into almost instant touch with every part of India and Burma, and to communicate the news, through press agencies, to every part of the world. On one and the same day, the children of India in the remotest villages were able to join in a common festival of rejoicing. This was accomplished by no elaborate preparation, but simply by an appeal to Indian sympathy made through the columns of the Press. The success of such a movement, which reached on a single day the children of one-fifth of the human race, was only possible owing to our wholly new conditions of life. Its rapidity of achievement would have been quite inconceivable to our forefathers.

But not only have the living races of mankind been linked together geographically in our own generation: the past has also been unified before the eyes of the mind. Historical discovery has not yet, it is true, reached the completeness of geographical exploration; but the past history of mankind is now treated as a whole, and its links of connexion have nearly all been formed. The study of comparative religion has also added wonderfully to the clearness of the picture. The Europe-centred point of view is now definitely abandoned by scholars in the West; and Christianity is no longer divorced from other world-religions. We are apt to forget how essentially modern all this wider outlook is, and in what water-tight compartments of thought we were shut up a century ago. The intellectual greatness of Raja Ram Mohan Roy was seen most conspicuously in this, that he was able in his own age to transcend those barriers. But what, with him, was a feat of genius, is to-day achieved with ease by the youngest school boy.

But again, as in the parallel case of geographical discovery, the new historical outlook might have remained the perquisite of a few commanding minds, had not universal education and the wide circulation of the best literature made this new knowledge available for the millions of mankind. Just as the railway and telegraph have linked up continents outwardly, so literature and education have linked up continents mentally. Whole populations to-day are reading each others' histories. There are no longer any hermit kingdoms shut out from the Parliament of Man.

What the future has in store, when education has spread its arms still further, when travel and communication are far

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more rapid, when the records of the past have been fully related and made known, few would be rash enough to prophesy. We can say, however, with confidence that the remaining barriers are certain to be broken down and inter-communication fully established. For instance, here in India, it is inconceivable that the present illiteracy will be allowed to continue. The whole force of the world movement will be against it; and that will be far stronger than the good will of individual statesmen.

The poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in his paper on Race Conflict, published in the 'Modern Review', has pointed out the vast spiritual significance of the new position to which humanity has attained. He has called upon us fearlessly to face the new issues, and carry forward the work of the 'Making of Man'; to come out of our narrow individual grooves into the larger life. The poets' paper, with its fervent appeal to action, made me determine to put down some thoughts with regard to the Body of Humanity, which had for many years been gradually growing in my own mind. They are only tentative; and in the section on Islamic civilisation I am still groping my way forward. But, crude though they may be, I now venture to publish them in this and the succeeding number. I shall attempt to take stock, as it were, of the different groups of mankind, which have now come so clearly into evidence. While doing this, I shall have to follow a somewhat clumsy process of my own, in order to set my conclusions forward. Many may be unable to accept my method of grouping, which starts from a religious rather than a racial or economic basis; but if it helps any one to get a clearer idea of humanity as a whole, my main object will have been accomplished.

II.

When we try, with all our new knowledge, to picture the human race, past and present, we find that the two largest groups spring originally from two underlying religious movements. The former of these movements had its centre in Northern India, and passed from thence over the whole of China and Japan and Burma, unifying for many centuries the Far East. It goes by the name of Hinduism in India and Buddhism in the other lands. The second (Christianity) had its home in the South-East corner of the Mediterranean, and passed from thence over Europe and America, unifying the West. Between these two vast groups of mankind comes a great land-barrier in Western Asia, occupied by Semitic races. This has only in the rarest instances been crossed by the religions which are on either side. The land-barrier of Western Asia has almost completely divided them. Thus the water-sheds of Indian religion have been eastward: the water-sheds of Christianity have been westward. Up to quite recent times there has been little inter-mingling of waters. The two greatest religious currents in the world's history have run into two opposite troughs, or valleys, of human population, separating off from one another on either side of the great land-barrier. It might be of speculative interest to conjecture what would have happened if Indian Buddhism under King Asoka had pierced the land-barrier west-ward; or if St Paul's spiritual genius had pierced the land-barrier east-ward, but for practical purposes such speculations are of little value. The course of human history has flowed steadily in other directions. When East and West in modern times began at last to meet, it was an event in the history of the race which had never previously occurred since those earliest days when the fresh stream of Aryan life was divided into two channels in its high mountain home in Central Asia,—one stream flowing down to fertilize Europe, the other proceeding on its life—giving course to India and the East.*

The human populations which have been affected by this twofold Aryan migration, now number by far the largest portion of mankind. Eight hundred millions is a rough estimate of the Eastern portion. The Western portion, with all its branches, cannot number less than four hundred millions; and this section is more rapidly increasing and expanding than any other part of the human race. Taking the whole world population at

* One of the unsolved problems of history is that of Nestorian Christianity, which did actually pierce the land-barrier eastward. New evidence is coming to light which shows that it may have deeply affected Mahayan Buddhism. Another obscure problem is that of Buddhistic influence on the border of Syria and in Egypt. In both these cases, I am inclined to think, that the final historical verdict will not materially alter the picture, which I have given, of a comparatively independent religious developement on either side of the land-barrier of Western Asia.

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sixteen hundred millions, or one hundred and sixty crores, it will be seen that these two groups comprise one hundred and twenty crores, or three quarters of mankind.

A third group, with its centre in Arabia, occupies the land barrier itself, and bifurcates northward and southward. At one period, during the early Middle Ages, it held the torch of learning alight for Western Europe: at another time it penetrated India, and profoundly affected Indian society. Its greatest expansion, however, has been in Africa. Its numerical proportion may be taken roughly as twenty crores or one eighth of the human race.

A fourth group, comprising the pagan or semi-pagan tribes of Africa, Polynesia, etc., need not delay us. It has no independent religious unity of its own, and is certain, sooner or later, to be absorbed into one or other of the religions already mentioned. In Africa, Islam is likely to go on expanding from the North, while Christianity is rapidly spreading from the South and around the central African lakes. In Polynesia and aboriginal India (which really belongs to this group) the future seems to be with Christianity. The greatest failure of the latter religion in the past, to uplift the peoples of this group, was in South America. In Africa, slave-dealing and polygamy have greatly marred hitherto the nobler civilising features of Islam. Christianity shared for a time in the former criminal practice, but purged itself of the evil a century ago. Quite recently, however, other evils have occurred in the Congo State. The Hindu-Buddhist religious group seems to have lost for a time that philanthropic and civilising mission to this type of humanity which was once so powerful and beneficent. It is therefore probable that this group will enter the Christian or Islamic spheres.

III.

When we turn to examine the two larger groups of mankind (leaving aside for the moment the Islamic area) we find that there is one striking resemblance in their early history. In either case a secular civilisation has been penetrated by a deep religious movement.

With regard to India, we are coming slowly to understand how far advanced in art and commerce the ancient Dravidian civilisation was before the Aryan migration took place. The Aryan religion from the North, as it proceeded southward, did not find merely savage peoples to conquer. It found also the secular Dravidian culture in possession. The religious work of the Aryans was at last so effectively accomplished, that Dravidian India was not only converted, but became creative in religious thought in turn, and gave the direction to each new advance of Hinduism during the early Middle Ages. Thus India has kept permanently religious.

In China, on the other hand, the penetration of the original secular civilisation by the Aryan religious movement (in the form which we call Buddhism) was never so complete as in India itself. The Confucian ethics, secular in character, had already so deeply impressed Chinese life, that the Buddhist movement was tempered and changed and almost absorbed by this strong ethical culture. Nevertheless the religious spirit of the Aryan, transplanted to China and Japan, has left its mark upon both countries. It has produced many of the same qualities in the peoples of the Far East that we find in India, and has given a certain unmistakable spiritual distinction to all the different eastern peoples, who have come under its sway. To summarize the result very briefly,—it has created a somewhat passive attitude towards human existence, as a thing of fleeting moment: it has inculcated in the masses (with singular exceptions here and there) a peace-loving disposition; it has produced a spirit of calm and patience in the face of calamity and sorrow. In India it has also brought about a reverence for the animal world which has united man and nature in a religious fellowship.

The power of this religious atmosphere to transform character may be measured from the fact, that the vast barbarian invasions of the most fierce and savage races into India and China, have never been able to modify this inner spirit for any length of time. The invaders themselves, on the contrary, have submitted to its influence. Indeed it may be said with accuracy, that if the East, amid radical differences of race and character, is at all homogeneons to-day; if there is an atmosphere of the East peculiarly its own; it is due chiefly to that Aryan religious movement which radiated from Northern India in wave on wave of penetrating power.

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When we turn to the Western group we find the same permeation of secular civilisations by deep religious movements. The Aryans, who migrated into South-Eastern Europe, found a civilisation already in possession even more highly developed than that of the Dravidians in India. With its centre in the island of Crete, it mingled with the older civilisations of the world, and reproduced their art and culture. But it lacked altogether the spiritual idealism, which should make it a beacon-light for humanity. This light was first kindled in Europe by the mingling of the young Aryan invaders with the older inhabitants of Greece, which produced Hellenism. At Athens especially, from the sixth to the fourth century, this new and wonderful expression of the Aryan spirit formed a beacon-mark in human history by its intellectual brilliance.* But the light thus kindled in Europe had almost died away and the Western world was becoming like one of the secular civilisations of the past, soulless and decayed, when Christianity, starting from Judæa, caught up the dying embers of Hellenic thought and fed with them her own pure flame. The Roman Empire was quickened into a new and varied life and the soul of man awoke.

In the subsequent history of the West the Christian light has more than once been nearly extinguished. From the eighth to the tenth centuries in Europe barbarism reigned almost supreme. During the Middle Ages a revival of pure religion passed over the whole of the West. A second revival came with the Reformation, and the Modern Age began. During the following centuries the religious movement of the West crossed the Atlantic and reached the New World, and powerfully affected the growth of the young civilisation which sprang up in North America. In the centre and south of that continent, the religious cruelties of the Spaniards have left a blot on history and Christianity has never recovered from this evil beginning.

When we try to review this process and to consider the character of the spiritual atmosphere produced in the West, we must allow for certain factors, as in the case of China, which stand apart from religion and may be traced to purely ethical causes. The chief of these, perhaps, is that strong physical vigour and aggressive energy which has been derived partly from the old Roman ethics and partly from Teutonic sources. Christianity has used this and modified it, but has never completely assimilated or transformed it. The elements infused into European society, making its distinctively Christian atmosphere, have been a growth of personal consciousness and responsibility, a vital belief in progress, and a temper of practical philanthropy. To these may be added, from the time of St. Augustine onward, a deepened sense of sin, which, in spite of certain aberrations, has been salutary and good.

IV.

With the groundwork thus mapped out, we may now go on to consider how far the corporate ideal of humanity has been already advanced, and how far it has been retarded. Turning first to India and China, which comprise nearly half the human race, we find in certain directions a very strong cohesive tendency at work. It is a strange historical blindness, which fails to see the inner unity of the Indian peoples,—a unity all the more striking, because of the multiplicity of races, and languages and local customs. It is a unity, not so much dependent on national sentiment (using the word in its western sense) or political organisation; but rather on a spiritual atmosphere, difficult to define, but omnipresent. A bewildering variety of religious emotions age after age have gone to produce it; the continuous tradition of the Brahman priesthood has influenced it for good and ill alike; but deeper than this, there seems something equivalent to a religious attachment to the very soil and history and traditions of the country itself; a sense of the *genius loci* on a transcendent scale; a devotion to the motherland which has made every mountain and river sacred, and every hero worshipped. This religious attachment is bound up with the thought of God, as immanent in nature and in man. It has bound the country and its people together. It is not an artificial product of the schools but closely akin to nature and found most strongly developed in those who are nearest

* How very closely allied the Hellenic and Sanskritic cultures were, may be judged by a comparison of the two languages. Not only are the roots the same but even the verb and noun constructions, etc., are extraordinarily close. I have always found it very easy to teach Greek to any Indian who knew Sanskrit well. He seemed to be able to pick it up almost immediately.

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to nature—the villagers, the peasants. This sense of unity, this religious spirit, which finds God's immanence everywhere, has given an atmosphere to the country and made the land of India like no other land on Earth. Alien races have entered India, and fallen under its spell. Alien religions have come, and felt a subtle change pass over them. India has always been, and always must be essentially a country of religion. It is, as it were, in the very air the Indian breathes.

When the social effect of this remarkable religious spirit is looked for, the first impression is one of disappointment. The stratification of society caused by the caste system has become artificial, unnatural, and in certain aspects even inhuman. Caste may have been in the past an attempt, not lacking in nobility, to express, in social life, the body of humanity exercising its different functions. However that may be (and the history of caste is extremely obscure) today, in its present form, caste is clearly an anachronism. It is one of those most lamentable survivals—a perverted and distorted ideal, an ideal gone wrong. The self-contained village community of India next attracts attention, owing to its persistence through all the changes of history, but while it has a simplicity and beauty of its own which should not be lost, it has in its present form, little progressive power. It is when we come to the inner circle of the family that we find the true secret of India's greatness. It is the ideal of womanhood, so intimately bound up at every point with religion, that has given its deepest unity to Indian society and makes its highest contribution to the body of humanity. Marriage, to the Indian wife, is a religious sacrament indeed,—the sacrament of renunciation. By her utter and absolute self-devotion as wife and mother,—making her husband and her children a worship, a service,—she has kept religious idealism high, and set forth the infinite and the unbounded before the eyes of men. Thus man in his turn has been drawn away from the world to the religious life, century after century, and has found as old age advanced no satisfaction save in the eternal.* That painful abuses, and gross idolatries, should have existed side by side with this ideal of the Wife and of the Mother, only shows the vitality and persistence of the high ideal itself.

In China, the close cohesion of the population has been reached by a different process. I have already spoken of the unifying effects of the Buddhist religious movement. The conservatism of the Confucian ethics and its effect upon society demand further consideration. We have here, not (as in the caste-system of India) a perverted ideal, but what may be described as an arrested development. Society, under this unchangeable ethical system, has become static rather than dynamic. The study of the Confucian Classics as the final word of education, the hatred of novelty of any kind, the stress on moderation as a supreme virtue,—these factors have made society stable; but they have also stunted originality, clipped the wings of progress, and made a highly ingenious and inventive people comparatively barren. The conquest of China by a barbarous foreign race, which brought no new gifts of civilisation in its hands, has only driven the Chinese people still further back into their conservative groove. On one side only, that of art and painting, the higher genius of the nation remained unfettered. The outward result has been, a vast multitude of people, (one quarter of the population of the earth) bound together by very close bonds, but lacking hitherto a progressively organic life, and strangely out of touch with the currents of the modern world. But is this all? Is there not, as in India, something deeper and more spiritual? Assuredly there must be, otherwise a static conditiont of society would have meant stagnation and corruption; and China possesses a marvellous and inexhaustible vitality. When we look for this spiritual force, we find it, as in India, in the family life,—only in China it is the devotion and self-obliteration of the children towards the parents that is the centre of idealism; not as in India the devotion of the Wife and Mother. This fact has made the idealism of China more sober and plodding, and less religious and soaring, than that of India; for the filial love of China is based on noble ethical law and custom, finding a response in the human heart: the love of the Wife and Mother in India had its origin in religion, and has maintained throughout its essentially religious basis. Thus the love of the son for the

* The greatest of all India's social ideals in the past, (including in its scope that of the perfect wife and mother) was that of the four ashrams, in which every stage of life, fulfilling a social function, reached forward to the infinite and the eternal.

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parents in China has not brought the sense of the infinite to the same degree as that possessed by India. We must not forget, while we admire this Chinese filial devotion, that there has been a growth of superstitions connected with ancestor worship detrimental to human progress. But the fact is abundantly evident that, in possessing the supreme gift of filial devotion, China has a worthy contribution to offer to the body of humanity.

When we turn to the West, away from India and China, we find a strangely different picture. At first sight, here again, the outward effects of Christianity, with its high spiritual idealism, are disappointing. There has been, on one side, the immoderate haste to increase material possessions at the expense of others, which has led to the exploitation of alien races and the growth of an inhuman colour prejudice. On another side, there has grown up a system of aggressive nationalism which (like the caste system in India) has become inveterate and a menace to mankind. The poet may make a typically Western hero declare—

Better fifty years of Europe than the cycles of Cathay,

but a saner judgment is already beginning to cause the conscience of the West to be uneasy and self-critical. The feeling is growing stronger, year by year, that the body of humanity is being wounded, rather than healed, by such a socical system.

But along with this negative evil there has been a positive contribution of good which represents the great achievement of the West. This finds its centre in the ideal of freedom, often grossly misinterpreted and caricatured, but still a continuous and ever-growing possession. The ideal may have already existed in Europe in pre-Christian times: it underlies both Greek and Roman history and it has gained fresh strength from the Teutonic races. But Christianity has imparted to it a peculiar genius and made it current coin for mankind to use. Its chief social expression may be seen in the development of the idea of nationality. Starting from small beginnings, this idea has now come to occupy the whole horizon of the West, so that political life can hardly be conceived in other than national terms. Nationality itself has tended more and more to transcend racial barriers and become ethical rather than geographical. It has also become intimately bound up with the growth of free institutions. As we trace its history, the conviction is strengthened that we have here no artificial product of a mechanical kind, but rather a vital growth, which will be in the long run a permanent gain to the body of humanity. The national principle is passing on from its earlier and cruder stages to those of a more complex, spiritual kind. Among these are the stage of a national unity built up and compacted from religious and racial diversity, and again, the stage of a federation of states making up a larger Commonwealth. It is found that in these newer forms the intensive national ideal is still preserved and the freedom of the parts maintained. All this represents a social structure quite distinct from the old despotic empires of the past, or the undifferentiated populations of the present. To take an illustration from natural history, it is like passing on from the age of the slowly moving mammoth and ichthyosaurus to the highly developed animal kingdoms of a later period of evolution. No one who has experienced the fuller and freer life of humanity under the new conditions would wish to go back to the old. But the new conditions have not yet fully justified themselves before the bar of humanity. They will not do so until the evil parasitic growths are cut away which are corrupting the inner life of the West.

A further phase of the same ideal of freedom, representing a mingling of the Christian spirit with the experimental knowledge of modern science, has been the development of practical philanthropy. This has already cleared away many of the foul diseases from the body of humanity, and made directly for health and soundness. It has led in modern times to the emancipation of the slave, the mitigation of human suffering, and the reduction of cruelty both to man and beast. What was fore-shadowed in early Buddhist times, and practised then in one quarter of the world, is now becoming a movement coextensive with humanity itself.

The New World of North America has been freed from the aggressive nationalism of modern Europe and the crushing weight of excessive warlike preparations. For the free people of the great Republic of the West (already numbering nearly a hundred millions), the narrower conceptions of nationality have been left behind, and a

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federation of young nations has been successfully accomplished. The disruptive tendencies have, so far, been overcome without any over-centralization. While the life in each part has developed its own individuality, there has been a strong cohesive tendency binding the numerous states together. Differences such as those between the northern and southern states last century, or those between the new Pacific and the older Atlantic states of recent times, here not been allowed to lead to separation. Further more, a vast immigrant population from the poorest classes of Europe—Poles, Swedes, Italians, Russians, Irish—has been absorbed and assimilated without racial divisions springing up, or old National animosities reviving. On the other hand the negro-problem still remains unsolved. A further difficulty is now looming in the horizon—the relation of the Republic to China and Japan. The signs here again are ominous. The growth of capitalists and multimillionaires presents a menace to humanity from another quarter. The increase of luxury has crippled literature and corrupted art and deadened the spiritual life.

Yet in spite of these very serious drawbacks, there is a youthful vigour, and freedom from past impediments, about the peoples of the far West, which may enable them to meet and overcome evils which have defeated Europe and Asia. This younger member of the human family has not yet, however, won the right to take the lead. That right if prematurely given, might only spell disaster for mankind.

In the concluding portion of this essay, I shall endeavour to show what contribution the Islamic civilisation has to make to the body of humanity, and then examine the possibilities of the immediate future when intercourse and communications become still further developed among the different groups of mankind.

(*To be concluded*)

Shantiniketan, Bolpur. C. F. ANDREWS.

THE ORAONS OF CHOTA-NAGPUR

IV.

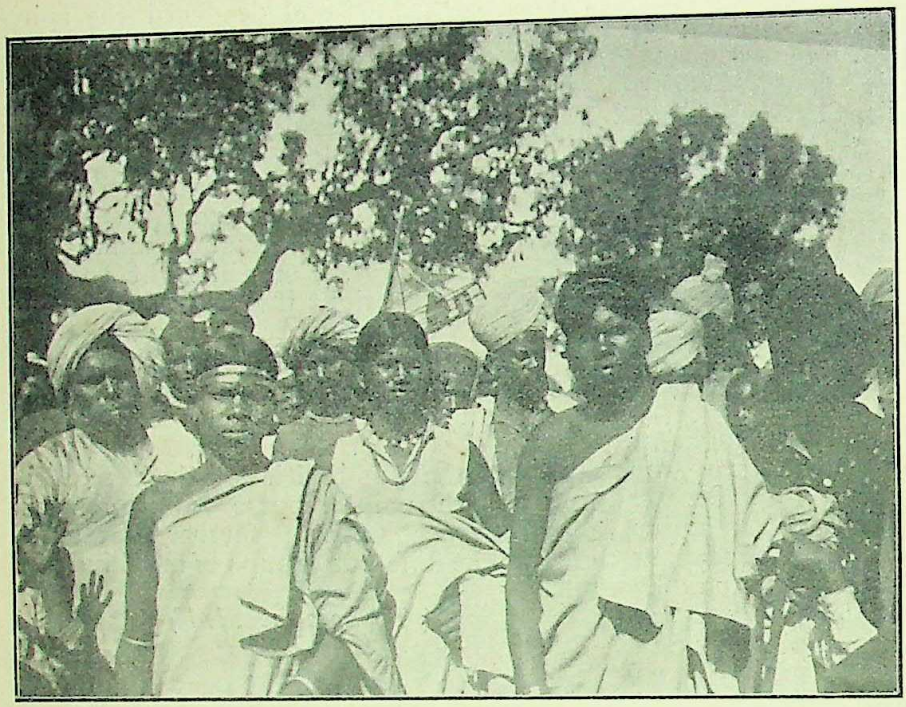
SOME NEIGHBOURS OF THE ORAONS.

THERE are very few villages in the Oraon country, where you will find an exclusive population of Oraons. The landlords of Oraon villages are for the most part Hindus, and, occasionally Mahomedans, resident in the country. Again, as the chief, and practically the sole, occupation of the Oraon is agriculture, and he considers it derogatory to himself to engage in such occupation as weaving, basketry or wicker work, pottery, and working in iron, he necessarily requires the services of people of other tribes and castes to supply his few simple needs. And thus in most Oraon villages we find a sprinkling of families of Lohars who make or mend the Oraon's ploughshares, etc., Ahirs who tend his cattle, Kumhars who make earthen-ware for his domestic use and tiles to roof his huts with, Jolahas and Chick Baraiks to weave his clothes, Turis, Mahalis or Ors, to weave or plait his baskets, and Goraits and Ghasis to play music at his social festivities and to serve him in some other ways.

Besides these low-class Hindu or rather Hinduised castes, you meet with in Chota-Nagpur a few other purely aboriginal tribes living side by side with the Oraons. The more important of these aboriginal tribes are the Mundas, the Kharias, the Korwas, and the Asurs. The Mundas and the

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NON-CHRISTIAN ORAON YOUTHS : THE BEARDED MAN ON THE LEFT IS A MAHOMEDAN TENURE-HOLDDR.

Kharias stand on the same level of culture as the Oraons. If these tribes occupy a low level of culture, the Korwas and the Asurs represent a still more primitive culture. As, however, these aboriginal tribes are not necessary factors in the Oraon village organisation, we shall in the present article briefly notice those castes and tribes whose services are indispensable to the Oraons, and who consequently form component parts of a typical village community in the Oraon country. Such castes are the Ahirs, the Lohars, the Goraits, the Ghasis, the Mahalis, the Turis, the Kumhars, and the Jolahas.*

1. *The Ahirs*—In every Oraon village, in or near which there are jungles and pasture land, you find at least one family of Ahirs. The duty of the village Ahir is to graze and look after the cattle of the villagers. For his services, the Ahir gets a certain measure of paddy (from 30 seers to a maund) every year for each pair of plough-bullocks and buffaloes owned by the Oraon whose cattle he grazes. The plough-cattle are left in his charge only for about six months, that is to say, from after the harvest till the commencement of the next sowing season. In addition to his annual allowance of paddy from each client, the Ahir gets one day's milk out of every two days' for each cow left in his charge and one day's milk out of every three days' for a she-buffalo.

The cattle of the Chota-Nagpur village are a very poor breed, and the cows and



A ZEMINDAR IN THE ORAON COUNTRY.

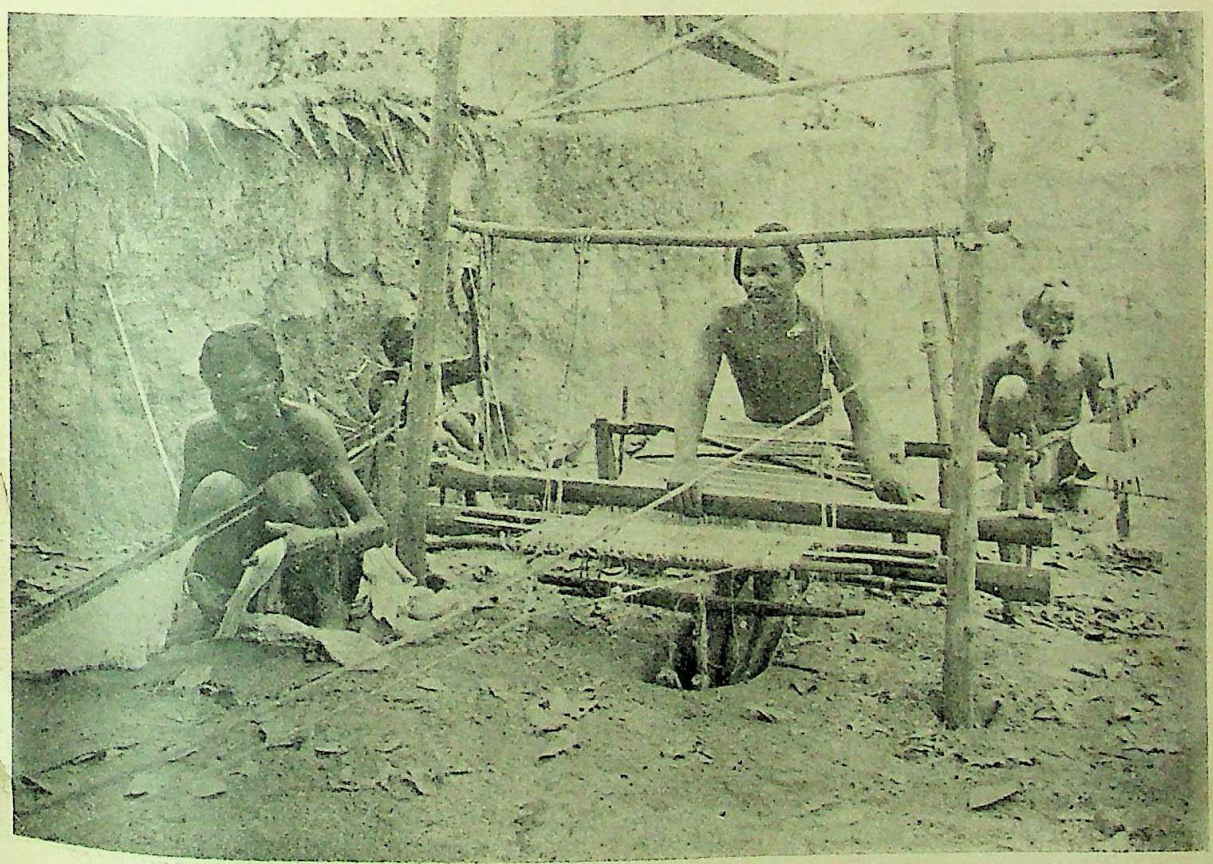
* As the Jolahas of Chota-Nagpur, who belong to the Shiah sect of Mahomedans, hardly differ in material respects from the same class of Mahomedan weavers in other parts of India, we do not give any account of them. But the illustration on the next page represents a good type of the Chotanagpur Jolaha.

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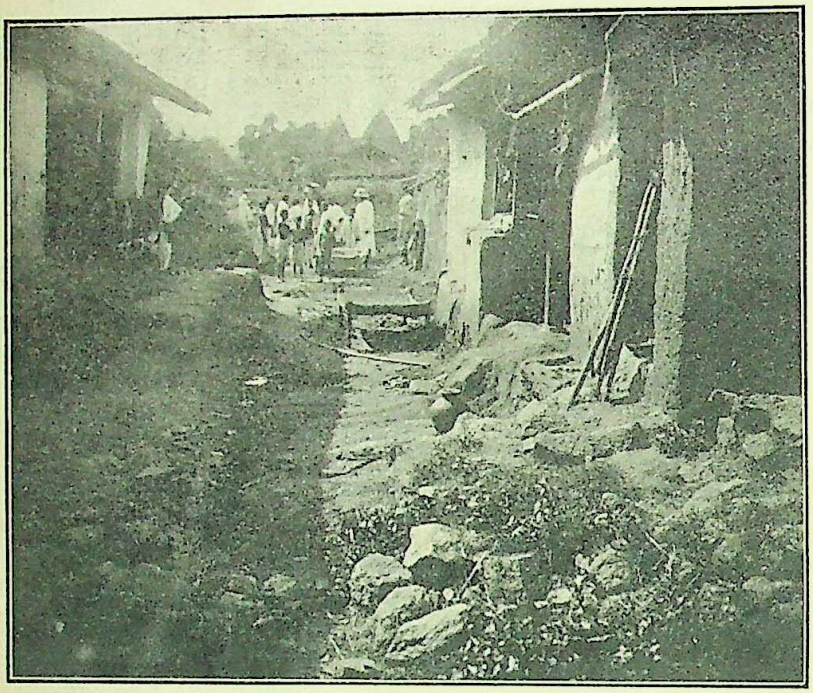
ORAONS AND KHARIAS WITH THEIR SPADES AND PICKAXES, COLLECTING GRAVEL.
[From a photograph by Mr. P. Kumar.]



HANDLOOM WEAVING OF THE ORAONS:
The man on the right hand is a Mahomedan [illegible] the other two men are semi-Hinduised Panrs (weaver caste).

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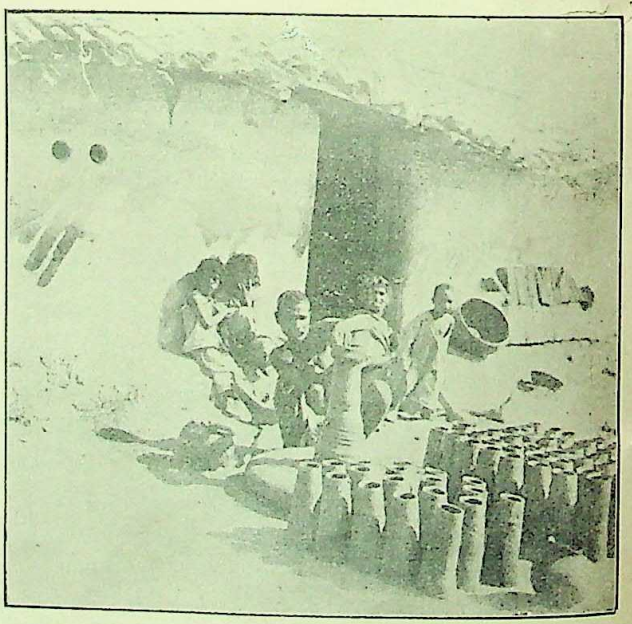


INSIDE A CHOTA-NAGPUR VILLAGE WITH A MIXED POPULATION OF ORAONS, MUNDAS AND SOME HINDU CASTES.

she-buffaloes yield a very small quantity of milk.

The Ahirs of Oraon and Munda villages appear to have a strong admixture of Dravidian blood, if they are not actually a class of Hinduised aborigines. They eat fowls and sometimes, it is said, even pork, though beef is taboo to them. They are sometimes served by Brahmans, but only Brahmans of a degraded class. Like the Kumhars and the Kurmies of Chota-Nagpur the Ahirs are given the title of Mahato. In some villages of the Ranchi district, the Ahir has to play a curious and amusing part when an epidemic breaks out amongst the cattle of the village. The villagers tie a small bell such as is sometimes hung on the neck of oxen or buffaloes to the back of his waist. Thus arrayed, the Ahir has to run in the direction of the adjacent village, a number of villagers chasing him all the time with *lathis* or sticks. Arrived at the boundary of the next village, the Ahir gets rid of his bell and beats a hasty retreat. The villagers chase him up to the spot where the Ahir has thrown down the bell and then go back to their village, relieved in mind, for the pest of the cattle disease, they are now satisfied, must needs pass on along with the bell from his own village to the next. In Some villages, the village Ahir also acts as the *panibahara* or water-carrier of the landlord and has to keep the landlord and his agents during their visits to the village supplied with water.

2. *The Lohars*—To the Oraon village community, the Lohar or blacksmith is even more indispensable than the Ahir. For, whereas in some villages, the Oraon cultivator manages to have his cattle tended by the boys of his own family or by a servant (dhangar) when he can afford to engage one, the necessary repairs to his ploughshares and other



A *Kumhar* (Potter) AT HIS WHEEL MAKING ROOFING TILES.

tools and implements cannot be similarly managed. The Lohar, like the Ahir, is remunerated by a certain measure of paddy (generally a maund) annually for every

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HUTS OF THE KORWAS.

plough owned by each cultivator who requires his services. In addition to this annual allowance, he is paid separately for his services in making or mending other tools and implements, for which each client find his own iron. These village Lohars of the Oraon country are partially Hinduised Dravidians, and are popularly known as 'Kal Lohars' or rather 'Lohars', as distinguished from purely Hindu Lohars locally known as 'Sad Lohars'. These Lohars act as their own priests.

The Goraits—Almost every Oraon village has its family of Goraits. The Chota-Nagpur Goraits are, like the Lohars, a Hinduised aboriginal people. The function of the village Gorait is aptly described as that of the village drudge. He is to carry messages to the Zemindar and to the village headmen, act on ceremonial occasions as the village drummer and perform several other miscellaneous functions. He makes combs, cards cotton, and the services of his womenfolk are requisitioned in tattooing Oraon girls. In some places, again, where there are rivers that are not fordable during the rains, the Gorait acts as the ferryman by poling a canoe which is only the hollowed out trunk of a sal tree. In some villages, the Gorait also acts as the village-Kotwar in which capacity he has to call the tenants to the landlord, carry letters, and collect fuel and provisions for the zemindar or his agents when they visit the village. The village-Gorait like other village-officers are generally paid a certain measure of grain annually by each cultivator. In a number of villages, he holds a plot of rent-free service land known as '*Goraiti khet*.' Like their neighbours the Oraons, these Goraits eat beef, pork, and fowls, and are great consumers of spirituous liquors.

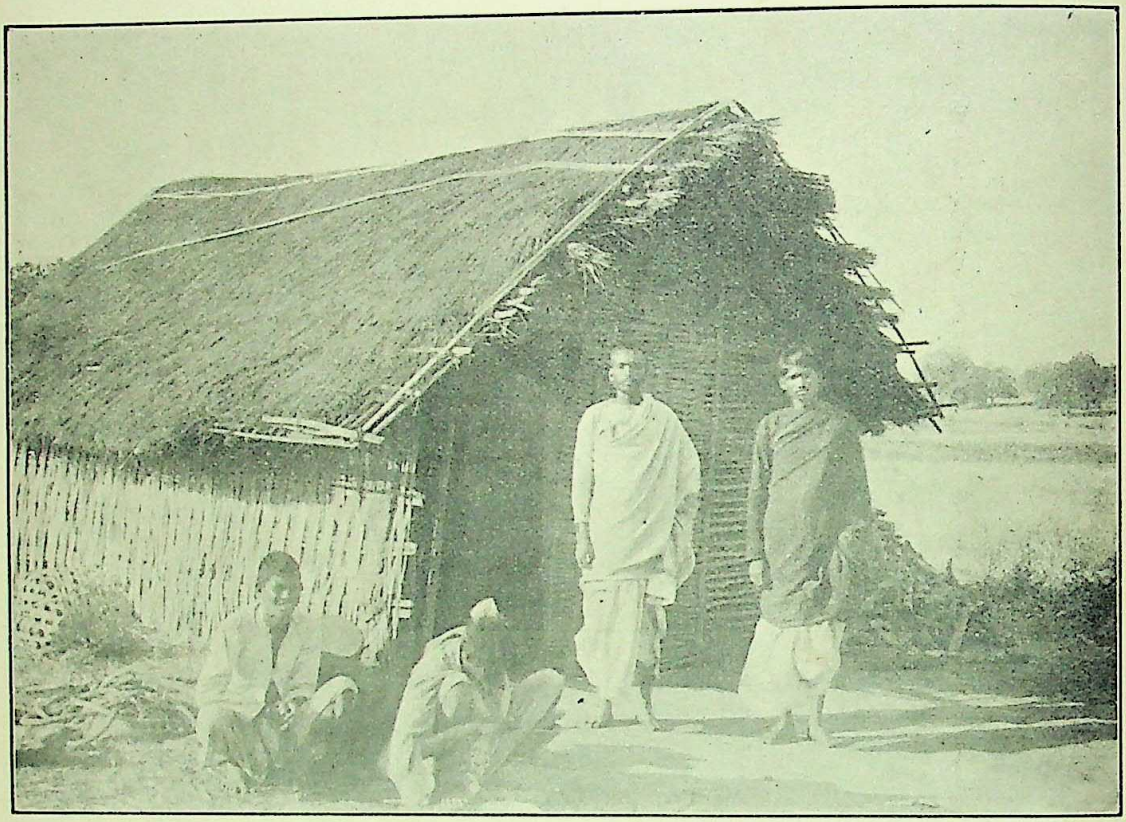
The Ghasis—In many Oraon villages you meet with one or more families of Ghasis. Although they profess to be Hindus, they appear to be a purely Dravidian tribe who eat beef and pork and indulge freely in spirituous liquor. Fishing is a favourite occupation with this tribe. They also turn their hands to bamboowork. Their men are good players on flutes and pipes and are hired to play music at weddings and other social festivities, and their women act as midwives and nurses. A Ghasi will not feel ashamed in begging for alms from door to door. And the tribe has a very bad reputation for thievish habits. They are only nominal Hindus, and are denied the services of Brahman priests.

The (*Bans*) *Mahalis*, *Turis*, *Ors*, or *Oreas*—These are the basket-makers and workers in bamboo in the Oraon country. They appear to be of purely aboriginal extraction. Though more or less Hinduised, beef, pork, fowl, and liquor do not come amiss to them. They have not yet secured the services of Brahman priests.

The Kumhars—Higher in the social scale than the castes hitherto described is the potter caste of Kumhars. They have better features, are served by Brahman priests though not of the best type, and conform more strictly to orthodox Hindu tenets. They cannot however resist the temptation of partaking of the meat of fowls when the opportunity occurs. The Chota-Nagpur Kumhar is not exclusively devoted to his wheel, but engages in cultivation and thus ekes out the scanty income he derives from his caste-

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THE CHRISTIAN ORAON'S HOUSE IN THE WEST WITH GRASS THATCH AND PLAITED BAMBOO WALLS.

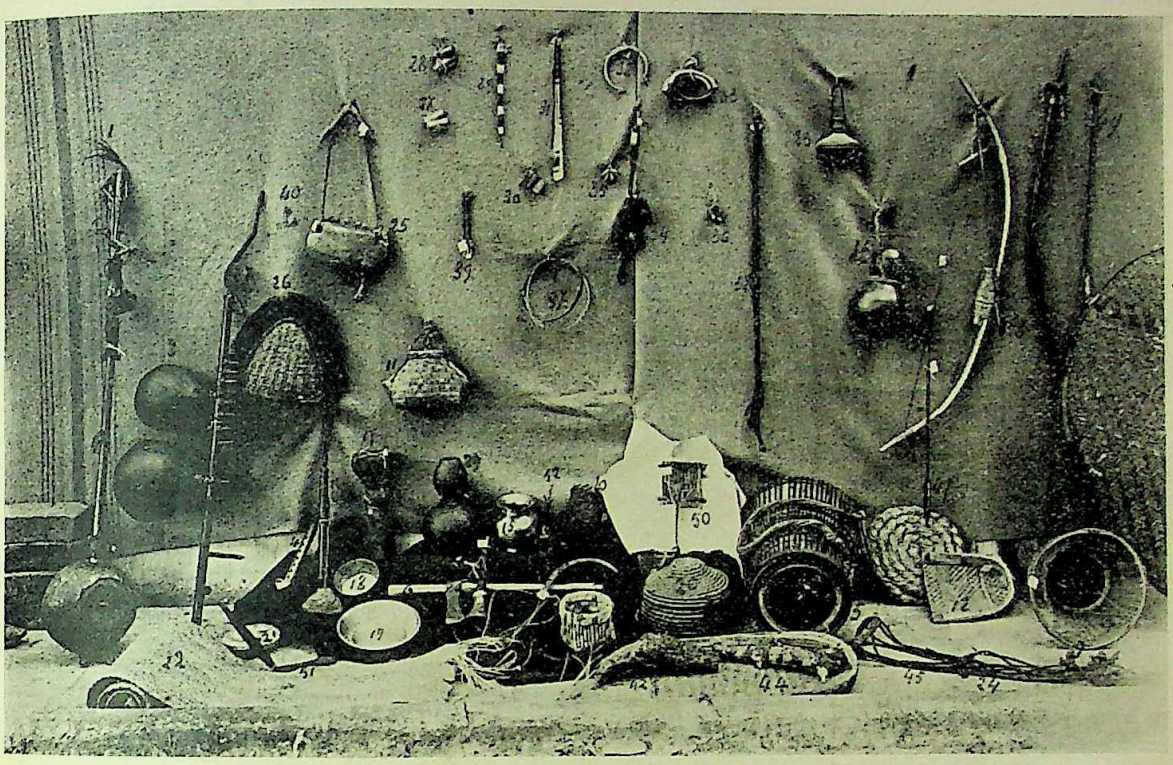
occupation by the produce of his fields. Kumhars are found only in the comparatively large villages of the district, generally in villages which have resident landlords. In many of these villages, the village-Kumhar holds a plot of land called 'Khapar kheta' (land given for services in making *Khapra* or roofing tiles) in lieu of which he has to supply pots and pans to the Zemindar and his agents free of cost.

In villages where there are no Kumhars, an Oraon desiring to have tiled roofs to his huts or houses, has to get a Kumhar from another village. And the Kumhar generally with an assistant comes to his house with his wheel and other appliances, and they have to be fed and lodged by the owner of the house and paid at a certain rate for every thousand roofing tiles made for him. But this is what the poorer Oraons cannot afford to do. It is only in the parganas nearer Ranchi that many Oraons go in for houses with tiled roofing. But in the jungly *pargnas* in the west and south-west of the district, where plenty of thatching grass and bamboos are easily available, houses with grass thatching and plaited bamboo-walls, as in the accompanying illustration, are more numerous. The wild tribes of Chota Nagpur, such as the Korwas, especially that branch of them known as the Paharia Korwas or Hill-Korwas (as distinguished from the *Dih-Korwas* or Village-Korwas) live in huts of the rudest style with thatching of wild grass.

All these tribes and castes use the same sort of household utensils, agricultural implements, tools and weapons,—live in the same style of huts,—and their women-folk wear the same kinds of ornaments, as the Oraons do. The accompanying illustration will give the reader an idea of these utensils, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Women of the comparatively more respectable of these castes—such as the Ahirs, Kumhars and Bhogtas, wear in addition to the 'jwellery' in use among

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ORAON MUSICAL AND HOUSEHOLD INSTRUMENTS, ORNAMENTS etc.

Description of Photograph of Instruments, etc.

1, 2. *Kendera* (guitars). 3. *Sahnai* (a kind of clarionet). 4. *Murli* (Bamboo flute). 5. *Mandar* or *mandal* (clay-drum). 6. *Tangi* (small axe). 7. *Gulel* (bow for shooting stones with). 8. *Dhanu* (bow for shooting arrows with). 9 & 10. *Girgo* (fish-traps). 11. *Bis-lasa thongi* (lime twigs). 12. *Supli* (diminutive winnowing-fan). 13. *Bira* (pad of rice-straw for squatting). 14. *Toki* (bamboo receptacle for various things). 15. *Lota* of brass. 16. *Tumba* (pumpkin-gourd for carrying water on journeys). 17. (Oil-lamp with stand) *Malwa* with *chanuka*. 18. *Chipni* (curry-plate) made of brass. 19. *Tharia* (rice-plate) made of brass. 20. *Peti* (basket made of rice-straw with lid, in the shape of a box). 21. *Khijur* (pad of palm leaves for head). 22. *Chatai* (mat of palm-leaves). 23. *Dhurua*. 24. *Banghi*. 25. Wooden cow-bells. 26. *Torper* (cap worn at war-dance) 27. *Tarki* (ear-plugs, ¾ in. thick worn on the lobes of the ears). 28. *Tarkala Parpat* (Ear-plugs of rolled-up painted palm leaves). 29. *Rita mala* (Necklace). 30. *Kangi* (wooden comb). 31. *Mala* (necklace with long woolen string). 32. *Hansli* (solid brass crescent-shaped necklace). 33. *Tainri* (solid brass rings for ankles). 34. *Dori* (woollen string with tassels to tie women's hair into a knot). 35. *Thotiya* (4 thick brass-rings for toes with 2 copper wires for fastening them on to the toes). 36. *Tarka Parpat* (same as 28 but without ornamental top). 37. *Chilpitayna* (brass ring worn on the forehead of youngmen to keep the hair in place). 38. *Kardhani* (belt of leather-strings worn by men). 39. amulets. 40. *Tattaparpat* (Ear-plugs of rolled up leaves, 1 inch in diameter). 41. *Hansua* (saw-edged sickle for mowing grass). 42. *Yam* (edible roots, taste like potatoes). 43. *Yam* (edible roots, taste like potatoes). 44. *Sup* (winnowing basket). 46 Bamboo umbrella 47 *Thota* (arrow with wooden head to shoot birds with). 48. *Thota* (arrow with iron head to shoot birds with). 49. *Chiari* (arrow for shooting small game). 50. *Patra* (sewing apparatus for joining two pieces of cloth into one). 51. *Bainthi* (kitchen knife). 52. *Keya* (snuff-box).

N.B. 16 (*Tumba* with string attached to neck)—the number has been smudged in the Photograph.

Oraon women, a few ornaments on the nose and ears, of which specimens are given in the accompanying illustration.

All these peoples are more or less completely Animistic in their beliefs. They all believe in an ever-increasing host of often indeterminate powers and shapeless spirits in whom there is more of malevolence than of beneficence. These are believed to bring rain, storm, drought and other pests on earth and to afflict man and animal with all sorts of diseases and ailments, great and small, and cause misfortune and death. All these tribes and castes share

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with the Oraons their superstitious beliefs about omens and dreams, and the powers of wizards and witches, observe the same ceremonies as the Oraons do to expel disease from man and cattle and to send it on to the next village, make use of the same charms and amulets for protection from the evil eye and employ the same methods for exorcising evil spirits when they possess people and cause epilepsy and other diseases. Most of their gods and godlings too are common to all these tribes and castes. Among Gods, the worship of *Gaon-deoti* (village-deity) or *Devi Mai*, the Burha-Burhi or ancestor-gods, Barpahari (the Murang-buru of the Mundas and Santals), and the Sun-God, is known to all these peoples. The manner of worship or rather of the offerings, or the colour of the animals or fowls to be sacrificed to the different gods sometimes differ in different tribes. Some of these tribes have indeed a special god of their own, but that does not prevent the other tribes and castes from revering or rather fearing those special gods. Thus the *Gorea bhut* is particularly the God of the Ahirs, but other castes and tribes, including the Oraons, offer sacrifices to this *bhut*: Again the Nature-spirits and stray godlings (bhulas), the souls of men and women who died a violent death (*muas*, *churins*, *baghouts*, &c., are common to the spirit-cult of all the castes and tribes of Chota-Nagpur. We shall conclude this article with a reference to another class of peculiar godlings which may be said to form the local cult of the Chota-Nagpur plateaux. These are places hallowed by some unusual and awe-inspiring occurrence such as the immolation of a Hindu *sati* on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband,* and weird-looking rocks and unusual natural features which inspire fear and awe in the minds of these simple folk. In such cases it is to the soul of the departed or to the spirit of the water-fall or hill, or other place, as the case may be, that homage is paid by the Oraons.



LOW CLASS WOMEN OF CHOTA-NAGPUR.

Ranchi. SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

* As, for example, in villages Hendlaso and Jovi in Thana Lohardaga.

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THE TAJ MAHAL

A free rendering into English of the Bengali Poem of Satish Chandra Ray*

By W. W. Pearson and C. F. Andrews

This is not a tomb of marble,—never, never!
My heart cries out it is a dome of heavenly flowers.
Snow-white flowers have blossomed on a tree of Paradise:
A massy heap of them has thus upreared its beauty.
—This is never a tomb of marble,—never, never!

A heap of flowers,—they fell to earth, from heaven
And now gleam white on the blue breast of Jumna.
By a touch from falling flowers Mumtaz has died,†
Their breath has quenched the light of her dear life,
—And flowers from heaven have fallen where she lies in death.

What time the white-robed Rishi crossed the moonlit sky,
Mumtaz, by Shah Jahan's side, heard his rapt music.
She dreamt a dream on that last festival of love,
—While the Rishi's lute was heard in the sky of the full moon

There came to her listening ear the sound of rippling Jumna,
And she longed that the night should never have its dawn.
From the Rishi's lute fell down, answering her heart's desire,
Death's emblem—a flower wreath—sent to the beloved.
—For her that moonlit night had never a dawn.

On her dear, dead face the dream of happiness
Blossomed, fair and white, as the crescent moon.
Her eyes, seen through a mist of tears, shone brightly:
She smiled in death, while hearts around were breaking,
—The dream of happiness still blossomed in her eyes.

Her smile was bright as were the heavenly flowers
Showered down from Parijat and Mandar trees
By angel hands, ruffling the quiet Jumna,—
Blue Jumna felt the white gleam touch her waters,
—Her smile was bright as snowy flowers of Paradise.

* From সতীশচন্দ্রের রচনাবলী (The Writings of Satischandra), Price Re. 1-4. The Indian Publishing House, 22 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

† The legend referred to, in this and the following stanza, is that of the Raghu Queen, Indumati, who met a peaceful and beautiful death from the touch of a garland of flowers that fell from the lute (vina) of the Musician of Heaven, Narada, the Rishi.

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Did the King bring marble, quarried from the hard hills,
To build his Queen a tomb all white and dazzling?
I, at least, have not seen it!
Yet many, in the day glare, see and praise it.
—But I have never seen a tomb of marble.

Dust rises: overhead the sun glows burning,
The peasant ploughs, rending Earth's sandy breast.
Jumna with dried up stream winds slowly on:
Wearily, yonder, men and women come and go,
The distant railroad sends its black smoke skyward.

But I do not see a tomb of marble. . . .
—To-night, the air is steeped in moonlight sandal-scented:
The half-moon, bending low, descries a blossomy white-ness,
—Like the Queen's smile,—on Jumna's blue breast floating.

That have I seen,—that heap of snow-white flowers,
Beautiful, it is bathed in the sweet laughing moonlight,
And in my heart the Rishi's lute is sounding,
The glory of it all to-night—for aye—is with me.
—That have I seen—that dome of snow-white flowers.

This is not a tomb of marble,—never, never!
My heart cries out it is a dome of heavenly flowers.
Those flowers that blossom on the trees of Paradise
Have shed their radiant beauty to enshrine Mumtaz.

THE PLACE OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE

THE latter-day politicians of imperialistic England are practically unanimous in declaring that India is "necessary to our existence", and that without India, Great Britain would be reduced to a "hopeless insularity." They constantly refer to Hindustan as "our magnificent dependency," "the brightest jewel in the British crown", "the key-stone of the arch" of the British Empire. A fine compliment for India! But leaving all imperialistic sentimentality aside, let us look the cold facts in the face and consider for a while the actual status of the Indians in the Empire. This can be done best by an impartial investigation of the condidions of the Indian immigrants in such typical portions of the Empire as Australia, South Africa, and Canada.

Let us begin with Australia. According to a recent report to the writer from Mr. A. H. Pritchard—the Secretary of the Austral-Indian Society and the "recognized" official Indian interpreter for the state of Victoria for the past twenty-five years—there are about 550 Indians in the state of Victoria, about 700 in New South Wales, 400 in Qeensland, 60 in Tasmania, 250 in Adelaide, and 800 in Perth, Western Australia—thus giving a total of 2,760 for the entire Australian Commonwealth. They did not go to Australia uncalled. Owing to the scarcity of labor, the "squatters" sent for Indian hands as shepherds early in the nineteenth century. But all classes of Indians are today excluded from the "South Land" by the immigration restriction act of 1909 and

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the immigration restriction amendment act of 1905. The prohibitive clause of this act reads: "Any person unable to write out at dictation by an officer a passage of fifty words in length in any prescribed language" shall be ineligible for admission to Australia. This law gives the Australian officer, and not the Indian immigrant, the choice of language. And not infrequently the authorities, in order to disqualify the Indian, ask him questions in European languages of which they are sure he knows nothing. Nor is this all. The decisive proof that it is the avowed policy of the Australian colonists to exclude their fellow-subjects is to be found in the provision of the naturalisation act of 1903.

"By this act an applicant for a certificate of naturalisation in the commonwealth must adduce evidence to show that he is not an aboriginal native of Asia, provided that he has not already been naturalized in the United Kingdom, and even in this case the Governor-General of the Commonwealth may withhold such certificate on the grounds of public good."

Since this law has gone into operation, on January 1, 1904, not a single Indian has been naturalised in that country!

Australia with its sub-tropical climate, with its over two million square miles of territory and only four and a half million of population surely has room enough for a few thousands of law-abiding, industrious, and honest British Indian subjects. But the doors are closed against them. They are now

"despised, cruelly treated, and deprived of the rights of citizenship. They are debarred from enrolling on the Electoral Rolls—though there are several possessing real estates, and nearly every one having a banking account, yet they are not allowed the right to vote at an election. They are not allowed to bring their Indian wives and children."

Such are some of the "glorious priviliges" of the Indians in Australia!

Let us now turn to South Africa. More Indians have gone there than to any other part of the Empire. They are to be found in all the states of the Union; but we shall confine our investigation to only a few of the principal provinces—such as Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape of Good Hope.

It was in 1860 that the first Indians landed in Natal. As in Australia, they did not go to Natal uninvited. They were sent for to supply the shortage of labor. In 1859 the land owners of Natal petitioned the government for permission to introduce the Indian laborers. The Corporation of Durban backed their petition with the following statement:

"Independently of measures for developing the labor of our own natives, we believe your Excellency will find occasion to sanction the introduction of *a limited number of coolie or other labourers* from the East in aid of the new enterprises *on the coast lands*, to the success of which sufficient and reliable labor is absolutely necessary; for the fact cannot be too strongly borne in mind that on the success or failure of these rising enterprises *depends the advancement of the colony or its certain and rapid decline.* Experimental cultivation has abundantly demonstrated that the issue depends solely on a constant supply of labor".

The Indians have fallen on evil days in South Africa. Their services are no longer appreciated by the native whites, notwithstanding the fact that the prosperity of Natal is due in a large measure to their patient toil.

Under the direct encouragement of the Colonial Government, the number of Indian laborers in Natal was 6,500 in the year 1870. In 1907 it ran up to 115,000; and in 1911 it leaped to 122,000.

"Of these about 42,000 are Indians who have been indentured in India, and 62,000 Indians who either have been re-indentured in the colony or are descendants of those who were indentured in India, the remaining 18,000 being Indians who have gone on their own account."

The Indians in Natal, as indeed all over South Africa, are subjected to many harsh and cruel indignities. They cannot find accommodation in public hotels, and in many places they cannot even travel in Municipal trolley cars.

Ordinarily it would seem that a subject of the British Empire should not be deprived of the means of his livelihood by his other fellow-subjects; yet the Act of 1897 which requires every merchant to secure a trading license inevitably tends to that end. This law, to be sure, is of a general character; but in practical operation it is capable of indefinite administrative differentiation. The licensing officer is advised not to grant a new or to renew an old license if the applicants do not keep their premises in satisfactory condition or fail to keep their books in English. He has, to use the words of a Chief Justice of Natal, "absolute discretion" to grant or refuse license. There is no appeal from his decision. Thus, it is easy to see how the licensing officer, who is elected to his position by the votes of the white merchants, should be influenced in not giving licenses to their business rivals, the Indian traders. Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, Attorney of the Supreme

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Court of the Transvaal, gives in his very illuminating book on the Indians in South Africa fifteen typical cases where Indians, who had already established themselves well in business, were totally ruined because of the preemptory refusal of the officer to renew their licenses.

Since July 1, 1911, a law has been passed in India prohibiting the transporation of indentured labor from India to Natal. And one of the serious grievances from which the Indians suffer unspeakably is the imposition of about forty-five rupees annual tax upon every ex-indentured Indian, including boys above sixteen and girls above thirteen years of age. "This tax has driven a large number of Hindu women to a life of shame, while many men have been compelled on its account either to take to crime or to desert their families." Today the free immigrants from India are practically prohibited from entering Natal by the so-called education test. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1903 provides that "Any person who when asked to do so by any duly authorized officer shall be unable to himself write out and sign in the characters of some European language an application to the satisfaction of the Minister" shall be excluded. Although no official information as to the actual condition of the Indians in South Africa is available to the outsiders,* it is certain that the restriction act of Natal has proved as effective in excluding Indians as similar legislation in Australia.

The grievances from which the Indian immigrants suffer in the Transvaal may be classified under three heads: "restriction of immigration; methods of registration; and disabilities in respect of tenure of property, residence, trade, . . . and the use of public facilities of locomotion." A moment's consideration of these facts will reveal the extent of the hardship to which the Indians are subjected in the Transvaal. The Transvaal government permits no Indian to enter the province "other than bona fide refugees who left on the eve of the (Boer) war, and they are only admitted gradually and after long delay for the consideration of their applications." Act 2 of 1907 and Act 36 of 1908 have been, perhaps, the most obnoxious of all laws operating against the Indians. These Acts demand that the Indians who have secured the right of entrance in consideration of their former domicile should register in the office of the Registrar of Asiatics and obtain a pass or certificate. As if this measure of humiliation was not enough, they must also affix their thumb and finger impressions to their names, like criminals, who have to be identified.

"Any police officer can ask any Asiatic to produce the certificate at any time, and those who cannot or will not produce it can be immediately hauled up before a Magistrate, and after a trial, sentenced to three months' hard labour or a fine of £100. Those who enter the country before providing themselves with the certificate as mentioned above, can be deported, in the first instance, by the order of the Executive Government, and those who re-enter after the said deportation ceremony is gone through, can be hauled up before a Magistrate and sentenced to six months' hard labour, or a fine of £100."

As this treatment is meted out to all Indians irrespective of their character or social standing, it is as undeserving as it is atrocious. Rather than submit to such degrading conditions, the Transvaal Indians organized, what is known as the "Passive Resistance Movement" and went to jail by the hundreds. The sufferings that the "passive resisters" went through with heroic courage and determination will ever remain one of the tragic chapters in the history of Indian immigration.

Not only the Indian immigrants, but also the Indian visitors are barred from entering the Transvaal. Under the new regulations only persons of certain education and respectability can go through the "forbidden" African country when provided with "temporary permits". This means plainly that a member of the British Empire is not free to travel within the Empire. In discussing this point, Mr. S. M. Mitra justly voices the sentiment of India when he writes as follows in the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

"Why, even Russia does not require this (passport) from her subjects. The Mahomedans of Bokhara and Khiva, portions of the Russian Empire, are not restricted in moving about within that Empire. As for consider America. The negro, the lowest form humanity, is allowed to move about the United States as freely as any white person; he is in the full sense a citizen. Any of the subjects of the Sultan may travel from Constantinople to Mecca without passport. Russia and Turkey, backward countries, require

* In answer to a questionaire sent to the Governors of the Cape of Good Hope, of Natal, and of the Transvaal, the Minister of the Interior of the South African Union wrote: "I have the honour to inform you that it is regretted that the information asked for cannot be furnished." Letter, No. 6811102, dated 26 November, 1912.

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passports from foreigners only, not from their subjects; our Imperial Government has agreed to passports being required within the Empire. . . . Is it meant, in short, that the inferior Indian is not to be admitted to the Transvaal, even as a visitor, because he has a brown skin? What kind of citizenship of the Empire does the inferior Indian then possess? Are there two kinds of citizenship, one of British India, the other of the British Empire? Where does the Liberalism or Imperialism come in?"

As to the third list of grievances, it appears that the Indians can own no real estate except on certain streets or at certain locations. This law is strictly enforced, even when the landed property is needed for religious purposes. Furthermore, the Indians are not free to choose their placeof residence. They have to live, like Jews in the ghettos, far away from the town, in such places as the government may be pleased to assign. The commercial interests of the Indian residents are also being deliberately injured through the lack of sufficient government protection. The Indian merchants are black-listed, boycotted, and even picketed with the connivance of the government.

"In some cases Vigilance Associations have been formed, largely to watch the Indian traders. Public meetings have been held at which resolutions have been passed demanding the removal of the Asiatics to locations. In one case a boycott was resolved upon and pickets were placed before the Indian stores to see who purchased at them; at another place a "black list" was drawn up of all property owners who had let premises to Indian traders—who, by the way, usually offer higher rates than the Europeans. The latest idea was embodied in the following resolution carried by the Krugersdorp Town Council:—

"(*a*) That in future no tender for Municipal work or supplies be accepted from any person, persons or company, hiring or leasing business premises to Asiatics. (*b*) That notice of motion be given to the Transvaal Municipal Association: That legislation be enacted at the earliest possible date, vesting in local authorities the allocation of trading stands and residential premises to Asiatics."

Indeed, the Indian immigrants are treated in the Transvaal as outcasts. In Pretoria and Johannesburg they are prohibited by law from walking on the sidewalks. Not only that, but they are also forbidden in these two "white" cities from making use of the ordinary trolley cars.

The Hindustanese fare much better in the Cape of Good Hope than in any other province in the South African Union. There any British subject of over twenty-one years of age, able to write his name and address, is entitled to vote, provided he has lived in the colony one year, owns property to the value of seventy-five pounds or earns not less than fifty pounds a year.

Although the Cape Government has been more liberal towards the Indians than any other govenment in the Union, it does not follow that the Indians have no disabilities in the Cape of Good Hope. Two of the most objectionable laws which affect the Indian immigrants are the Immigration Restriction Act and the Dealer's License Act. Both of these Acts are copied from Natal, and they are both just as harmful to the interests of Indians in the Cape as they are in Natal.

In connection with the Indian problem in South Africa some mention should also be made of the indentured labor system which prevails all over South Africa—except in Natal. As has already been pointed out, the scarcity of labor has always been acutely felt in South Africa. The natives having proved inefficient and unreliable as workmen, the colonists introduced Indian laborers under indenture. Now, the indentured labor is a system of whips and lashes. It is another name for legalized slavery. Strangely enough, this is permitted by the Indian Government at the expense of India for the benefit of the English colonies. Mr. Gokhale, in moving a resolution in the Imperial Council for the total abolition of the recruitment of Indian laborers under indenture, thus describes the chief features of this servile labor system:

"Its principal features are roughly six. Those who are recruited under this system bind themselves, first to go to a distant and unknown land of which they have no idea, of the language, life, customs, and usages of which they are totally ignorant, and where they have no friends or relatives. Secondly, they bind themselves to work there for any employer to whom they may be allotted, whom they do not know personally, and who do not know them; and in whose choice they have no voice. Thirdly, they bind themselves to live, during the period of indenture, on the estates of their masters, unable to absent themselves or even go on short visits without a special permit, and compelled to do such tasks as might be assigned to them, however irksome they may be. Fourthly, they bind themselves to their masters for a period generally of five years, during which they have no power to withdraw voluntarily from the contract. Fifthly, they bind themselves to work for a fixed wage during the time, which is inevitably lower than that paid to free labour around them. And sixthly and lastly—and that is the worst feature of the system—they are placed under a special law never explained to them before they enter into the agreement, which throws a criminal liability on them for the most ordinary breaches of the contract in place of the civil liability usually attaching to such breaches. Thus under the law, they are liable to imprisonment with hard labor not only for fraud, not only for deception, but for negligence, carelessness and will the Council [Imperial] believe it, even for an impertinent word or gesture to employers or overseers."

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The government in supporting the indentured labor system maintains that it rests on a free contract. This is presumptively true; but as a matter of fact the ignorant, illiterate villagers are tricked into signing the contract, whose very contents they have not sufficient intelligence or education to understand. In the majority of cases the contract is induced by fraud.

"The labourers are given all sorts of false hopes and promises, and are made to believe that they have simply to go there in order to obtain nuggets of gold, which they can do by simply digging the land which is represented to them as full of riches of all sorts. As soon as they yield to these and similar temptations they are made to affix their signatures to a document binding them for five years to serve unknown masters in distant lands, of which they have no conception whatever, for a mere pittance. Legally they are supposed to have voluntarily entered into the contract, and to be able to understand its terms fully, though the document is so worded, as all legal documents are, that even lawyers would not find it easy to interpret it always properly."

Mr. Gokhale's resolution, to which reference has already been made, demanded that the indentured system should be altogether done away with. But the resolution, although unanimously supported by the non-official members of the council, was killed by the vicious circle of opposition of official members. Take as long as it may India will never give up the fight till she succeeds in overthrowing this "traffic in human flesh." The opinion of the day has declared against this traffic; the temper of the day has demanded its abolition. How long will the English government trifle with Indian public opinion in order to cater to the colonies?

The history of Indian immigration to Canada dates from 1905. The causes which induced this immigration to Canada are, roughly speaking, three: the scarcity of Japanese labor, owing to the Russo-Japanese war; the inadequacy of the Chinese labor, due to immigration restriction, and finally, the insistent demand of the Canadian Railroad Company for more labor. All these causes combined gave such encouragement to Indian immigration that in 1905 there came to the Dominion 45 Indians; in 1906, 387; in 1907, 2124; in 1908, 2623. Much opposition was then aroused against Indian immigration, and the Canadian government passed a law in the spring of 1908 excluding the Indian immigrants from Canada. The law, though general in character, was aimed specially at the Indians. The Immigration Act of 9 and 10 Edward VII laid down the rule that

"From and after the date hereof the landing in Canada shall be and the same is hereby prohibited of any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country or prepaid in Canada."

As there is no means of getting to Canada from India by a continuous journey, the Indians are therefore automatically excluded from the Dominion. It will be noticed that this Immigration Act not only excludes the Indian laborers, but all classes of Indians, irrespective of education, wealth, or social position. Furthermore, the practical working of this law has entailed untold sufferings on those Indians who wish to go through Canada or visit their friends even for a few days. Besides this Immigration Act, the Dominion Government by an order in council, dated June 3, 1908, required that the amount of money in the possession of Indian laborers upon landing should be increased from 25 to 200$. These two measures secured the purpose for which they were intended. In 1909 the number of Indians admitted to Canada was six; during 1910 there was only one; and in the year following there were five.

If the object of the Dominion Government be sincerely the exclusion of the Asiatics, why then are the Japanese and the Chinese preferred to the Hindustanese? During the year 1911 there came into Canada 5,720 Asiatics. Of this number 5,278 were Chinese, 437 Japanese, and only 5 Indians. This discrimination cannot be due to the fact that the Indians, as a class, are inferior to other Asiatic people, for the weight of evidence is decidedly on the side of the Indians. To give a few concrete instances in which the Indians are discriminated against as an alien people, let us take the case of the Japanese. According to a mutual agreement in 1903, Japan can send to Canada 400 immigrants in any one year; while it is sought to totally exclude the Indians. Again, a Japanese who has in his possession only $50 can land in Canada; but in the case of the Indian, he must have at least $200. Moreover, a Japanese or Chinese can bring his wife and children into Canada; whereas the Hindustanese can not. All this constitutes such gross discrimination that no other government but that of India would tolerate it for three days. To be sure, the Canadians would

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not dare treat the Japanese as rudely as they do their Indian fellow-subjects, since the Japanese government would certainly retaliate.

There are in Canada today about 6,000 Indians, mostly in British Columbia. Of these 1,500 are to be found in Vancouver, 600 in Victoria, and the rest are scattered in the rural districts. About ninety-three percent of the Hindustanese in Canada are Sikhs, the remaining seven percent is made up of people from various other classes. The great bulk of the Indian immigrants are for the most part unskilled laborers; but there are many among them who are more than mere common laborers. Dr. Sunder Singh, the able leader of the Hindustanese in Canada, has estimated the Indian colonists own 2,000,000$ worth of real estate in the Dominion.

Having briefly reviewed the conditions under which the Indians have to live in the British colonies, it may be well to consider some of the objections advanced against them by the colonists. In the first place they maintain that the introduction of Indian labour will supplant white labor. This is a strong argument, apparently. But Indian wage-earners are machines; and machines, all economists are practically agreed, do not displace labor. There is no logical basis for thinking that the Indian working man is unfairly competing with the colonist. Competition can only take place between persons of the same class. There cannot conceivably be any competition, say, between lawyers and doctors, merchants, and missionaries. The Indian working man does not exactly belong to the same class as the colonist. The Indian does not do the kind of work which the colonist performs. In Australia, the Indians are employed on the farms and in all sorts of menial work. In South Africa, the great majority work in mines, factories, and on farms. There are, to be sure, in South Africa a number of people who are engaged in small trades. But these men are honest and upright in their business. They serve the Indian community chiefly, and to a limited extent cater to the colored natives and the poor whites who "otherwise would be unable often to procure even necessaries, let alone luxuries." In Canada, the Indian immigrants find employment chiefly as unskilled laborers on the railways, in lumber and shingle mills, and in the fishing industry. In short, the Indians do not unfairly compete with the colonists; nor do they supplant the white laborer.

Another and only serious objection raised against the Indian immigrants is that they send back home a considerable portion of their earnings. The reason for this is that since they are not allowed to bring in their wives and children, they must send remittances to India to support their families. Doubtless, the sum represented by these home remittances is very small. But is not the same thing done by the Australian, the Canadian, and the English who come to India as civil servants? These men, these "birds of passage", after a few years of stay in India, not only return to their native homes with accumulated fortunes, but they also continue to draw pensions from India as long as they live. If the colonies wish to reap the advantages of being in the Empire, why should they not also share its disadvantages equally?

When all is said and done, it seems that Indian immigration is viewed by the colonists not as an economic question, capable of practical solution, but rather as a race question subject only to blind race prejudice. It is probably for this reason that we find the Indians penalized in the colonies not for their vices but for their virtues. Their habits of industry, frugality, and simplicity instead of finding hearty commendation meet with condemnation. The strangest thing about it all is that the immigration laws in the colonies aim not only to exclude the laborers, but also the princes who are in alliance with the British King, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, visitors, students, and merchants. These men, although not permitted to set foot on colonial soil, have free access to the best society in any European capital. The absurdity of the exclusion legislation of the colonies becomes very apparent when we remember that the colonists are not only free to enter India and engage in such trades and occupations as they wish, but even "the highest posts in the imperial service in India are open to subjects of his Majesty from the Dominions."

The people of Hindustan deserve more respectful consideration at the hands of the colonists. India is an important asset of the Empire: she pays more than her share of its cost.

"While Great Britain receives no contribution in aid of Imperial defence from Canada, and very little

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from other self-governing Colonies, India pays over £100,000 per annum for the British Navy, and pays her share of the military expenditure of an Imperial character."

Lord Curzon, in stating the various contributions of India to the imperial service, once admitted that

"Natal would not have been saved in the Boer war of 1899—1900, and the European legations at Peking would not have been rescued in the Boxer rising in China in 1900 but for the contingents that were despatched to the scene of war from India. To South Africa I sent out in the Boer war campaign 13,200 British officers and men from the British army in India, and 8,000 natives, principally followers. To China we despatched from India 1,300 British officers and men, 20,000 native troops and 17,500 native followers."

It is a fact that His Highness the Maharaja of Sindhia equipped and took a hospital ship to China at his own cost.

Queen Victoria in her Proclamation of 1858 made this solemn pledge to India:

"We ourselves are bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of the Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

According to this pledge, we are entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other British subjects within the Empire. However, we do not insist that this pledge be carried out all at once; we do not wish to embarrass the imperial Government unnecessarily. We are willing to be satisfied at present with a partial redress of our crying grievances. Being moderate in our demands, we claim that we should be given the right of free entry into the colonies on the same terms as the non-Indians. We should have absolute freedom to trade, and freedom to choose our residences in the colonies, same as the colonists have in our own country. Sensitive of our national dignity and self-respect, how can we ask for less than this? At present the colonists say to us in effect: "You must buy our goods; you must welcome our missionaries and anything else that we are pleased to send. You are a part of the British Empire; you must furnish us with employments; you should pay for the protection of our country; but do not show your faces within our gates on the peril of your lives."

The colonists who follow this line of argument, and turn a deaf ear to the voice of reason, would do well to pause over the words of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain addressed to the premiers of the self-governing colonies in June, 1897:

"The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 of subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilised as we are ourselves, who are, if that be any thing, better born, in the sense that they have older traditions and older families, who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the Queen, and have in times of great difficulty and trouble . . . . saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say, you who have seen all this cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight which I think is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feelings not only of Her Majesty the Queen, but of all her people."

June 26, 1913

SUDHINDRA BOSE M.A. Ph.D.,
Lecturer, State University
of Iowa, U. S. A.

THE MATCH TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN BURMA

OF all the provinces in India, I believe, Burma is the place which according to its size and population consumes proportionally the largest quantity of matches. The reason is that here the young and old men, women and children are all smokers. Burma consumes annually matches to the value of about well above 15 lakhs against about 90 lakhs of rupees of the total import in British India.

The matches imported are from Sweden, Austria and Japan. Japan has a good share in the import and though the Japanese matches are much cheaper than the European matches, the latter are standing well the hard competition owing to superior quality

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in the main and a recognised fixed market. Lately however the influx of Japanese matches has enormously increased, owing to the cheap sea freights and Japanese league of manufacturers and shippers and to the formation of a regular Japanese merchant vessel fleet sailing from Japan to Calcutta via Rangoon. Therefore the Burma market is now flooded with cheap Japanese matches of various kinds and qualities. There is now a tug of war between cheap and inferior quality Japanese matches (even then we should say that we sometimes come across Japanese matches which are equal to and in some respects better than any other foreign brand) and high priced superior quality Europe ones. But we are all slaves of cheap commodities, specially in a poor country like ours. It is no wonder that in time cheap matches will threaten to completely oust the others.

Burma with its abundance of timber supply and many other advantages is one of the best places for the match industry. The India Government Forest Department reports as follows :—

"Burma would probably be the most profitable province in which to undertake the manufacture of matches, and even as it is further investigation will show that this province is one in which the industry is likely to pay well."

It goes on to point out the following advantages—(1) There is abundant supply of suitable timber at cheap rates. (2) The country is well supplied with streams for floating rafts. (3) An up-country factory might obtain market for matches in South Western China, &c. And the following are some of the disadvantages—(1) Labour is expensive and one has to depend on imported Indian labour. (2) Means of communication other than waterways are backward, specially in the neighbourhood of forest tracts. (3) Competition with Japanese matches, &c....

These reports on the suitability and probable success of the match industry encouraged some moneyed people in Burma and the result was the starting of two good sized and well equipped match factories within the space of two years.

The present writer has taken responsible practical part in starting, working and developing both the above concerns and therefore the facts and figures about these factories are easily obtainable and they might be looked upon as a true basis or groundwork for future entrepreneurs.

As they might be interesting to the readers I will give some descriptions and facts in general of the two existing match factories in Burma.

One of the factories is in Rangoon and is owned by a rich Chinese gentleman of the town. The factory is situated a couple of miles off the city proper and on the bank of the Rangoon river. The timber for matches is brought down in rafts of three to four hundred logs in each from forests varying from 20 to 150 miles distant from Rangoon. On an average two logs would go to make a ton and the price varies from 10 to 15 Rupees per ton. About 15 such logs are converted daily into match splints and veneers for boxes. The wood used for matches is generally from the following species—

(1) Bombax Insigne, Bombax Malabaricum (Bengali—Shimul).

(2) Anthocephalus Cadamba (Beng.—Kadam).

(3) Sarcocephalus Cordatus.

(4) Spondias mangifera (Beng.—Amra).

(5) Engelhardtia Spicata (Beng,—Palash ?).

Of course it must be admitted that the timber used is of inferior quality and therefore the matches cannot be compared side by side—as regards finish—with foreign matches. The species of white wood such as poplar and pine (Populus, Pinus, Salix and Alnus) though they grow in abundant quantities, is very little in supply owing to difficult extraction and transport and therefore costly. The timbers which would make first class matches are not obtainable so to say and hence most of the matches made in these factories are of the second quality. But the fact must not be ignored that it was possible to make first class matches here too. It will however not be out of place here to mention that there is much room left for further investigation and trials and experiments to get over these difficulties of the timber question. When these questions are practically solved—which I believe will be in the very near future —Burma will be able to manufacture first class matches.

The Burma-made matches are sold in the market at 2 to 3 pice per packet of 10 boxes at retail and the Japanese matches are sold also at the above rates. The Rangoon factory employs over 250 labourers, half of whom are Burmans and half non-Burmans. Out of

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the total, about half are men and the remaining two quarters women and juveniles respectively. Of the non-Burmans all are male hands. The labourers as a whole present a fine array of heterogeneous nationalities coming from different provinces and professing various religions. They comprise Bengali, Behari, Ooria, U. P. men, Madrasi, Punjabi, Chinamen, Malayan, Sinhalese and Burman. The average wages of ordinary labour are Rs. 14 for men, Rs. 10 for women and Rs. 5 for boys and girls per month. Skilled labour such as mechanics, fitters, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c., earns about Rs. 40 a month. The factory turns out per day of ten hours work about two lakhs of finished safety match boxes. The capital employed is over five lakhs of rupees. The factory with residential quarters for officers and barracks for workingmen occupies about 20 bighas (6 acres) of land. The factory is equipped with two Lancashire boilers, steam and oil engines, totalling 60 H. P., dynamo for lighting and modern match machineries and apparatus. The fuel for the boiler is paddy husk and wood refuse.

The other match factory is in Mandalay, Upper Burma and is owned by an European company. It is of the same manufacturing capacity as the Rangoon factory and the other details are very nearly the same. One special feature of this factory is that there is an equipment for a cooling room where chemical compositions are handled and matches are dipped. The process employed is the ammonia compressor and ventilator for producing cold air draught.

There is opening in Burma for another ten such factories.

A. GHOSE.

THE ECONOMICS OF "NATIVE INDIA": A PLEA FOR A BETTER STUDY

IT has been said that one-half of mankind does not know what the other half does. In our country, this reproach might attach to the 230 millions of British Indian subject remaining partially ignorant of, and more or less completely indifferent to, the existence of 70 and odd millions of their fellow-beings living under their own princes. If we look for an instant at the political map of India, we may well be surprised at this state of affairs. Many of the native states are inextricably mixed up with portions of British territory, with no political boundaries except artificial ones. The transition from the realm of the King Emperor to that of the native princes is imperceptible in most cases. Even where natural landmarks exist, they do not count to-day. In the matter of life, social and religious, there is the same homogeneity. In a word, for the ordinary person, who lives near the border, there is no twofold division of British and Native India.

How did it arise, then? No doubt, the diplomatic language of the foreign department of the Indian Government has emphasised this political distinction; but then, politics hardly enters into the life of the ordinary man. To him, the accidents of history, resulting in the survival of separate "sovereign" entities, would not appeal. The Government, themselves, have not marked out a deep gulf. For it is their evident object to bring about a more perfect assimilation of the conditions of life on either side of the border line.

I believe the distinction has been worked out more or less by the educated sons of India. Once in the past, it might have been no reproach to them. A generation or two back, most of the native states might well have looked benighted by the side of British India. They took no part in the broader life, political and social and economic, outside their territory; their subjects contributed little to the great movements of the time, the rulers themselves were suspected of being reactionaries. Added to which, there was a general lack of information

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due partly to the causes enumarated above and partly to the unsatisfactory means of communication.

But times have changed, and conditions have changed far more. Many of the rulers are in the very forefront of modern enlightenment. Some are pioneers of reforms that have yet to be introduced into British India. They set examples themselves; and so far from being exclusive, they follow an open-door policy.

Apart from considerations of the sentimental sort, there are other reasons for a better study of the economic conditions prevalent in the native states. Even if it proved of no great use (which I deny), it might give the student of Indian Economics a wider range of phenomena to choose his illustrations from. But I believe it would do more than that. It might also open to him many unknown or partially-known problems.

In the first place, they afford him an opportunity to study the past history of Indian Economics. To be more clear, in many of the states, one might find survivals of a past regime, economic and industrial. And since a complete industrial history of India has yet to be written, here is scope for the application of the method of survivals, loved so much by the historian. And the sooner it is taken advantage of, the better. For the times are fast changing. Even the most backward and conservative of states might soon cast off its old garb. These states are, as it were, patches of virgin forest, preserved by the supreme Government for these specimens of the old-world Indian polity, which would otherwise die off in no time. Nowhere else in India are some of the old customs and habits so well kept up as in them. The economic importance of castes and sub-castes, the very manner in which they grew up, the influences on agriculture of the presence of a non-industrial landlord class, the bearings of religion on the relations of landlord and cultivation, the different systems of land tenure, state-dispensation of charity, the specimens of humanity known as "the untouchables", semi-feudalism, and the importance of the personal element:— in short, a brief epitome of all that transpired before the 'cash-nexus' came into existence. The most significant part of the enquiries, of course, would be to trace out the action of the personal element; for the rulers of native states do not, however, possess paternal autocrats, restrained only by their obligations to the supreme government. The student of Indian Economics, should he wish to study the mediaeval history of our industries cannot do better than examine the conditions surviving in these old world states.

There is also a second and more important reason. The native states are the best laboratories existing in India for trying experiments in economics. Every one of the advantages belonging to "water-tight' compartments, is present in them. It is easy to enlist the personal zeal of the rulers. The difficulty of invoking the almost impersonal British Government disappears. This statement is completely borne out by the economic activities of many princes. Technical schools, imparting the rudiments of technical education, are conducted in many of them, notably in Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin, while there is actually a polytechnic institute, Kala Bhavan, in the first named. Schools of art flourish at Jaipore, Baroda again, and Mysore. Experiments are also made to employ prison labor productively. In diverse ways, the personal interest of the princes in the economic regeneration of their states manifests itself.

And lastly, and not the least important in its direct bearings upon our industrial activity, is the hope that a better acquaintance with the economic conditions of native India might provide new and profitable openings to our capital. It is notoriously shy, but might yield to the prospect of high profits. To quote but two instances, the state of Travancore is said to possess large deposits of Mica and Manganese awaiting exploitation. Again, the same state and the sister state of Cochin contain some of the very finest sites in the world for rubber plantations. But unfortunately, the one is neglected, and the other is being tapped by European enterprise and capital. The Kolar mine are now a matter of history. Yet if some Tata had come forward at the time, we might have seen every bit of the huge profits going into Indian pockets. But it is a sad tale this—of neglected opportunities, not less than those that were ill-judged.

It may not be too presumptuous to hope that the leading teachers of Indian Economics will one day step forward with the necessary knowledge to teach us better.

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As it is, they pay but scant attention to the subject now. Prof. Kale rarely condescends to write about it, and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, to whom more and more of our young students look up, rarely even refers to the native states. He calls his book "Economics of *British India*," evidently to remove all false hopes. In this direction, Prof. Mukherjee is equally discouraging. And yet "Hope springs eternal in the human breast" and one day, we still hope, the long felt want will be satisfied.

S. RANGANATH.

AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDU POLITY.

V.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M. A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Character of the Hindu State.

IT would be evident from the above discussion of the Mimamsa, from the theory of taxation, the coronation oath and other points noticed above that *the State in the eyes of the Hindu was a trust*. The object of the trust is clearly stated in a Shruti text which had to be repeated at every Coronation.

इयं ते राट्। यन्तासि यमनः ध्रुवोसि धुरुणः।
कृषै ता क्षेमाय ता रय्यै ता पोषयै ता साधयेता॥

Shatapatha Br. V, 2, 1, 25.

"*This state to Thee* (*is given*)—Thou art the director, regulator, firm bearer (of this responsibility)—*for* (the good of) *agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for growth*, (of the people), (that is) *for success*."*

The Trust, the State thus created is for the prosperity of the people. It is this underlying principle which has been expressed in later literature in so many forms, culminating in the fixed maxim that the king is the servant of the people getting his wages. If the object of the trust is not fulfilled, the trustee is "to be shunned like a leaky ship."†

The *telos* of the Hindu state brings us to the great distinguishing feature of the Hindu state. The end of the state was to secure the peace and prosperity of the people.* By prosperity was meant, of course, the immediate material prosperity: the state was instituted for *land-culture*, *wealth*, etc. *The object was mainly economic.* Hence in levying taxes everywhere the economic consideration is prominent. Imports were to be taxed with reference to the profits, the employment of capital, labour and risks run by the merchant.† Taxes, it is enjoined, should not be such as to hamper production. They were not to be imposed "in a bad form" and they should be imposed "gradually, with mildness in proper time and in due forms."‡ Hence also, "in every kingdom the wealthy form an estate in the realm." They were to be adressed "Do you, with me, advance the interest of the people."§ Hence also, the economic enemies such as public women, gamblers, actors had "to be checked", beggars and burglars to be eradicated, ¶ monasteries in towns 'the destroyers of the state' to be suppressed,

* The *White Yajurveda*, IX. 22:
"This is thy Sovranty. Thou art the ruler, thou art controller, thou art firm and steadfast.
"Thee for land-culture, thee for peace and quiet, thee for wealth, thee for increase of our substance."
(R. T. H. Griffith's translation.)

† Maha-Bharata, Shanti P. LVII, 43.

* Sacerdotal duties were never imposed upon the king. He was never a priest even in the Vedic age.

† Manu, VII, 127; Maha-Bharata, 87, 13, 17, 89, 23.

‡ Maha-Bharata, 88, 12.

§ Ibid, 88, 29—30.

¶ Ibid, 88, 15, 21.

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* and harmful imports and luxuries to be discouraged by taxation. † Hence also mines were worked by the state, ‡ and the state owned and worked various factories and other economic concerns of its own, § for, says the Artha-Shastra, it is on trade and industry that the strength of the state depends (तया (वार्तया) स्वपक्षं परपक्षं च वशी करोति 1. 5). The principle is clearly laid down that *Trade and Industry is the upholder of community.* (वार्तया धार्यते सर्वम् M. Bh. Vana Parva. 150)

Again, the *Hindu state was essentially a civil state.* Standing armies appear as early as the 6th century B. C. and probably had existed before it for some centuries. At times very large armies, six to seven lakhs strong, were maintained. But the state never lapsed into a military polity. The governors of provinces were civil officers. All the known edicts and inscriptions are addressed to civil functionaries. The Commander-in-chief and all other military chiefs were appointed by the council of state where the Commander-in-chief had no place. We do not find the army making and unmaking kings. All the traditions of depositions —*e. g.*, that of *Naga-Darsaka*, *Palaka* or early *Vena* prove depositions brought about by the citizens of the Capital or the Brahmins.

The king amongst his several titles—*Narapati* ('Protector of the People'), *Bhupati* ('Protector of the country'), *Bhattaraka* (Lord), *great king* and others—has not got an epithet indicating an official military character, although his personal heroism is often extolled. He as the head of the executive was undoubtedly the head of the army, and in practice he at times led the army and fought, but that was a personal matter. There is no theory which emphasises or gives him a military halo. He was not the generalissimo of inherent right; that office was quite distinct from that of kingship. Likewise, war was to be avoided as far as it was possible, * and specially so for conquest. This was more or less a settled principle of Hindu politics. Militarism as a feature is everywhere absent.

On the other hand the most pronounced feature of the Hindu state is the domineering position of law. The king has his right and duty to maintain the administration, and for this he as a matter of right dispensed justice. In theory he always presided over the court although he was bound to follow the advice of his judge.† The decree given under the seal of the court was called a document given by the king. When a man was summoned to attend the court it was supposed that the king called him. The language of the *law-books* invariably employs the word "king" as doing all matters of legal execution, and the commentators explain that the 'king' there means only the officer. You would have noticed the prominent reference to law in the coronation-oath of the Maha-Bharata. The civil character of the Hindu state is reflected in the stress laid on law. The constitutional laws which conclude the laws of war and conquest are incorporated in Hindu Law as one of its limbs. So much so that the question of conquest was often discussed from the point of view of municipal law. The standard was the standard of the morality of law.

If a state was conquered its government was to be re-entrusted in the hands of the old ruling house. This was what the Manava Dharma Shastra laid down after an experience of a nearly all-India, one-king-empire extending up to the Hindu Kush. It was based on the analogy of the legal theory of 'legitimacy.' It was not a mere theory which was once preached as a pious opinion and then forgotten. It was largely followed from the 5th to the 10th century A. C. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of the great conqueror Samudragupta of the im-

8 Artha-Shastra, II. 4.

9. राष्ट्रपीडाकरं भाण्डमुज्झित्यादर्शनं च यत्। A. S. II. 21 "Articles which are injuriouus to the state and fruitless should be discouraged."

10 Artha-Shastra, pp. 83-85 and a provision regarding it in all the codes of law.

11 Ibid, II.

* Manu, VII, 199; Maha-Bharata, 69, 23: "Brihaspati has laid down that a wise king should always avoid war for acquisition of territory."

† "Attending to (the dictates of) the law-book and *adhering to the opinion of his chief judge* let him try causes." (Narada, I, 35, Prof. Jolly's trans.) The original is प्राड्विवाकमते स्थितः "firm in following the opinion of the Pradvivaka." That the opinion of the *Pradvivaka* was final I have discussed in the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, No. 36, 1913.

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perial Gupta dynasty we find the same principle acted upon. Kalidasa records the same practice. The earliest Mahomedan writer bears witness to it. * In the age of Hindu Rationalism which also formed the palmiest days of Hindu History,—although there was no such legalistic theory as far as home (Indian) politics was concerned, a legalistic theory existed in the form noticed by the Greek writers with regard to foreign politics. Arrian drawing upon Megasthenes records in his *Indika* (IX) "a sense of justice, they (Hindus) say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India." Only such a theory would explain the great fact that although Chandragupta's was "*the mightiest throne then existing in the world*" (Rhys Davids) and so it remained under his two successors and although the Mauryan emperors found their next-door neighbour the Seleucid empire weak and crumbling yet no inclination was exhibited to go beyond the Hindu Kush, the natural frontier of the India of those days.

To this civil and legal character of Hindu polity, the sociological historian, I venture to think, would mainly ascribe the extraordinary longevity of the Hindu State, the absence of deadly conflict between the people and the Crown, and also the absence of the development of a popular assembly system as against the Crown. No great conflict could and did arise between the people and the Crown on taxation or similar matters which could bring about the birth of an assembly of estates as despotic and mediæval Europe was forced to evolve.

CONCLUSION.

This is a brief story, in fact too brief a story of a polity which had a free career of about twenty-four centuries of history†—a career longer than that of all the polities known to history except one. Babylon lived a few centuries longer, but unfortunately Babylon is no more. Against this we have India still existing and in this respect China—another civil polity—is her only parallel.

The sociologist will have no hesitation in saying that the test of a polity is its capacity to live and develop, its contribution to the culture and happiness of humanity. Hindu polity judged by this test will come out, I hope, very successfully.

The constitutional progress made by the Hindu has probably not been equalled and much less surpassed by any polity of antiquity. But the great privilege of the Hindu is that he is not yet a fossil, he is still living with a tenacity which the great historian Duncker, the De Tocqueville of the history of antiquity, characterises as a tenacity which bends but does not break. The Golden Age of his polity lies not in the Past but in the Future. His modern history begins in the 16th century when Vaishnavism preached the equality of all men, when the Shudra—the helot of the ancient Hindu—preached shoulder to shoulder with the Brahmin who welcomed and encouraged it, when the God of the Hindu was for the first time worshipped with hymns composed by a Mohamedan, * when Ramadasa declared that *man is free and he cannot be subjected by force* 18 and when the Brahmin accepted the leadership of the Shudra in attempting to found a Hindu State. The Reformation of the Hindu has come. But a force which is greater still is also coming. This is the pagan thought, the European man-hood. What a coincidence that the race who evolved out the greatest constitutional principles in antiquity should be placed to-day in contact with the greatest cons-

* "The wars they wage with the neighbouring princes, are not usually undertaken with a view to possess themselves of the adjoining dominions. . . . When a prince makes himself master of some kingdom, he confers the Government upon some person of the royal family," (851 A. C.; account of the merchant Sulaiman recorded by Abu Zaid, trans. (1718) by the abbe Renandot).

† I count the period from the days when Hindu chronicles begin to give the years of each reign, viz., since the death of Parikshit the first emperor after the Maha-Bharata war (1400 B.C.). (Megasthenes records that the Hindus in his days counted 154 kings before Chandra Gupta's accession. This would take back their history to about 3000 B.C. But as a part of it would be what is called 'legendary,' I follow the later chronicles in reckoning the historical period from the war of the Maha-Bharata. Coins have been found which Sir Alexander Cunnigham has placed about 1000 B.C. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 43).

* Rasakhan's *savaiyas* have been chanted since then at the evening service in Vaishnava temples. Compare with this the view of Ghalib who would bury the Hindu at Kaba and cremate the Mohamedan at Manikarnika [Benares].

18 नरदेह हा स्वाधीन। सहसा न व्हे पराधीन॥ *Dasa-Bodha. 1. 10. 25.*

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titutional polity of modern times.* The contact is electrifying: it can either kill or rejuvenate the Race. Probabilities, however, are, as Duncker thought, for the latter, and a Hindu would naturally hope for the latter.†

Constitutional or social advancement is not a monopoly of any particular race. I am not a believer, and nobody ought to be one after the publication this month* of Mr. J. M. Robertson's *Evolution of State*, in the cheap wisdom which preaches that political greatness is inherent in some peoples. It is a superstition which has been created by the priest of modern politics and which is as baseless as the Spanish superstition of the Blue Blood. There is no such thing as Blue Blood in political and constitutional evolution. Political and constitutional progress is a creation of circumstances and human forces. And even if such Blue Blood be a reality it is certainly in the veins of the Hindus.

* There is much unthinking and unreasonable mortification witnessed at the thought of being "conquered." But conquest is only a mode of receiving new thoughts and new life. What great modern community was not conquered? The primitive state of England would have continued much longer but for the advent of the Danes and the Normans. Germany and Italy would have remained a European Rajputana or a Kathiawad but for the French and Austrian domination. India would have become another Siam, Ceylon or Korea but for the Mohamedan incoming.

† "With this (tenacity) they (the Hindus) have retained a costly possession, that inclination towards the highest intellectual attainments which runs through their whole history. This treasure is still vigorous in the hearts of the best Indians, and appears the more certainly to promise a brighter future."

* December, 1912, when the original of this paper was written. The Evolution of State, by J.M. Robertson, Watts and Co. This is a sociological study of history. It is the greatest work on the subject in English that I have come across. I would strongly recommend it to historical students for a rational view of history.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE: A REVIEW*

IN the controversy which has raged with regard to the building of the new Delhi the real issue has been lost sight of in a futile battle for styles. The question is not whether the new buildings at Delhi should be designed in this or that style but whether the traditions of Indian craftsmanship should be allowed to continue and develop on lines consistent with its history. Should the Indian builder, having a living architectural practice at his back dating back to several centuries, be given a free hand to evolve, "Out of a stock of still vital Indian ideas", a form of architecture which will symbolise, on the one hand, the spirit of India, as it is, to-day, and will stir, on the other hand, the potency of Indian art to new creative efforts. It is not an artistic question which can be safely left to the caprices of a departmental committee or the so-called archaeological experts, but a great and vital economical problem which is destined to shape the industrial future of India one way or the other. In whatever way the building problem at Delhi may be solved this larger question will persist for an answer. With the extermination of Indian art and craft the occupation of the Indian craftsman will be gone for ever. "Every good handicraftsman forced into menial labour or quill-driving is not only a loss to Indian revenues but a direct contribution to the elements of sedition and discontent". To degrade or stunt craftsmanship, to turn it into a mechanical operation, to divorce and cut it off from imaginative and creative activity, is to foster a spirit of recklessness, misery, and sullen discontent among the people at large. "It matters very little to a nation whether its buildings be in one style or another, or ugly or beautiful, but it does matter very much to it whether the labour of its people be a pride and a joy to them or a curse and a degradation."* The building of the new Delhi affords an unique opportunity for opening up artistic careers for Indians which have been closed for them unwittingly or otherwise by the methods of the Indian public works department. For some time past Mr. Havell has been pressing this important aspect of the question on the public mind both in India and in England. In the paper on "The Building of the New Delhi" which he read before the Indian Association, London, he endeavoured to disprove the fallacy of the case put forward by the Delhi experts backed up by Messrs. George Birdwood and Company and The Times. In the volume now published, Mr. Havell has ably proved his own case, and with the help of a number of interesting illustrations, has diagrammatically demonstrated the relation between Indian architectural history and the problem which the Delhi town-planning experts are labouring to solve. Al-

* "Indian Architecture: its psychology, structure and history from the first Muhammadan invasion to the present day." By E. B. Havell with 129 illustrations. John Murray. 1913. Price 30 Shillings net.

* The Morning Post, 28th June, 1913.

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though Mr. Havell's book is professedly designed to educate public opinion with regard to this topical question, in doing so, the author has been led to an investigation of the psychology and structure of Indian architecture which by itself is an unique and original contribution to the subject. He has presented the study of Indian architectural history in an altogether new light and has set himself to examine the essentially Indian character of the monuments of the Mahomedan period. The views which he has put forward as to the origin and character of these monuments are destined to open up a new field of investigation in the same way as his able monograph on "Indian Painting Sculpture (1909)" has indicated the proper study of Indian fine arts. The present volume is however a more unbiased and a straightforward presentation of his subject and almost free from that provocative vein which unhappily marred the utility of his former publication.

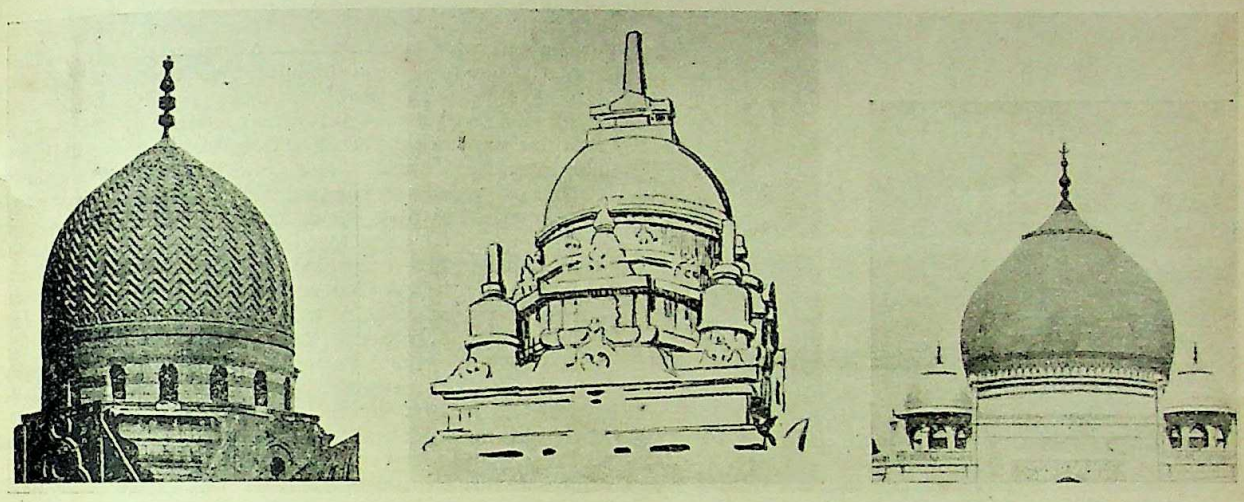
His statements in the present volume so utterly contradict our preconceived ideas on the subject mainly based on the conclusions of Fergusson, that it is necessary to examine them at some length and to invite discussion on the merits of his arguments.

In his interesting book on "Agra the Taj"†, Mr. Havell has controverted the traditional myth about the Taj having been designed by a Florentine. In the present work he goes further and states that the Taj and all the other important examples of Mahomedan architecture in India are essentially Indian in inspiration and design notwithstanding the fact that now and then Persian or Arab craftsmen were invited to India by the Mogul Princes. Indian architecture of this period is not a provincial form of the Saracenic School. On the other hand the Saracenic element in it is its least important feature, and has hardly to do anything with the creative force which has made Indo-Mahomedan architecture what it is. The effect of the Mahomedan influence on Indian craftsmanship was not to destroy or supplant the existing building traditions as it has unhappily done in the nineteenth century,—but to widen the scope and potentiality of the rich stock of Indian artistic consciousness and to stir it into new and interesting experiments which culminated in the master-pieces of the 14th and 15th centuries. The practices and methods of Persian and Arabic art, which the Mussalman conquerors now and then introduced, were welded to the traditions of the Hindu-Buddhist builders and were for all practical purposes Indianised and that Mahomedan art in India became great not because of what the Mahomedans taught but what they learned from the Hindu civilization. From a detailed study of the form and evolution of Mahomedan architecture in North India from its inception, Mr. Havell has very skilfully shewn how the methods of the Hindu-Buddhist temple-builders were adapted to the requirements and rituals of an antagonistic creed. In India, Islam instead of creating a form of architecture wholly after its own ideals, as it did in Granada in Spain, preferred to employ the local craftsmen who were already practised masters in their profession. From a very close and searching analysis to which he subjects the details and the constructive peculiarities of the Indo-Mahomedan buildings of the different periods, Mr. Havell deduces with great clearness the fact that the qualities which distinguish Mahomedan architecture in India from those in Egypt, Persia, Arabia and Spain are wholly Indian. The bulbous dome and the pointed arch ("Les arcs aigus" of the Continental scholars) which are said to be the characteristic pecularities of Mussalman architecture were of Indian Origin and were common in Hindu and Buddhist art. In fact the arrangement of niches in Mahomedan houses and palaces was a secular adaptation of the conical shrines of the numerous Bhuddhist monastaries in Western Asia—"the psychological germ of the pointed style of architecture Saracenic and Gothic". The temples of the Buddhists of Western Asia, which were called "Bhut-Khanas" by the Islamites, were often converted into mosques with the conical empty niches from which the images of Buddha were removed. "The hallowed association of generations of Buddhist worshippers still clung to these desecrated shrines, and the doctors of Islam found it necessary to explain them in a Mahomedan sense. Hence the *Mihrab*—the niche of the principal image of Buddha—came to indicate the direction of the Holy City of Mecca; it was traced in the sand or woven in the prayer-mat as a symbol of the faith" (p 5). Afterwards when the pointed-arch, now a symbol of Islam, came back to India across the Indus along with the Mahomedan conquerors, the Indian Craftsman recognized in its foreign disguise the same form with which he was already familiar. There is no doubt that the arched niche was a very common feature in Hindu and Buddhist shrines and is found at the ancient ruins of the Nalanda Monastaries (Plate XXX) and also at Ajanta. The form of these arches in Indian art is derived from the louts-leaf and as such occurs continuously as a back-screen and an aureole in Buddhist and Hindu images. In the Buddhist sculpture of the Gupta period which we meet with in Behar and in the stone statues of Vishnu of later times in Bengal, the pointed arch occurs in a form very similar to the *Mihrab*. (Vide Plate XL and figure 130, Vincent Smith, *A History of Indian Fine Art*). The fact that it has been used so freely by Hindu image-makers would go to support Mr. Havell's proposition that it was an original Indian device and existed in India quite independent of Mahomedan influence. Simliarly, Mr. Havell argues, the dome, which is the chief insignia of Mahomedan architecture is not a form unfamiliar to old Indian art traditions. "The Mussalman dome in construction did not differ materially from the Hindu dome. All varieties of it had their Buddhist or Hindu prototypes and were classified in the Silpasastras.....The "Bulbous" or the so-called Tartar-dome was common in Indian, Buddhist and Hindu buildings, centuries before it appears in Persia, in Saracenic buildings, and that the most typical feature of Mogul architecture was certainly not first introduced into India by Mahomedan builders" (p. 16). It will be impossible to deny that at Ajanta and other Buddhist shrines (vide plate VII figure B) which date many centuries before the Mussalman invasion of India the bulbous form of the dome very much resembling those at the Taj occurs in Indian art. On the other hand the form of the dome which is characteristic of Mussalman architecture outside India is not the bulbous one, but the stilted Arab form as will appear from an illustration of the tombs of the Mameluks at Cairo (Fig. A Plate V) which we reproduce here from Mr. Havell's book (Illustration A). The upper cone of the central dome of the Taj on which the pinnacle is planted is an Indian accretion, and Mr. Havell shews, corresponds to the Maha-padma band of the Indian architect, on which he erected his sacred "Kalasha". The curve and the decoration which run round the base of the dome certainly resemble the dome at Ajanta (Illustration B). The resemblance is even greater when we

† Longman Green & Co. 1904.

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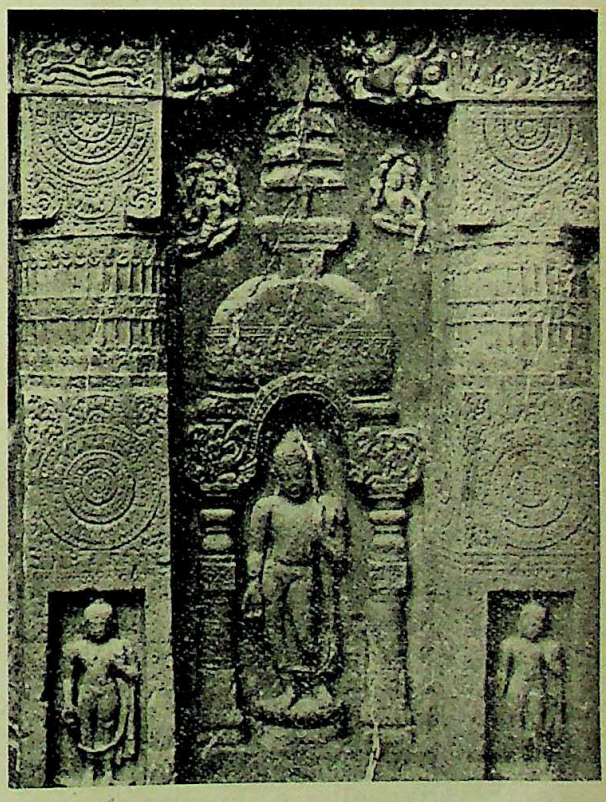
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SARACENIC AND HINDU DOMES.

[Illustration A.]

compare it with the dome of the Hindu temple of Chandi Sewa (Illstration A) erected about 1098 in Java. The similarity of the Taj with the latter temple is much more significant particularly with regard to grouping of the four small cenatophe clustered round the central dome—a structural arrangement which Mr. Havell claims to be essentially symbolising, as it does, the *Pancha Ratna*, the shrine of five jewels or the five-headed lingam of Siva, representing the five elements. "The planning and roofing of the Taj mausoleum were therefore based on old Indian masonic symbolism" (p. 23). Mr. Havell could have supported his plea by referring to the relative height of the four minarets at the Taj with reference to the central dome. This is one of the peculiarities of the composition of the Taj which lends such beatry to the balance and symmetry of the structure distinguishes it from all other forms of Mahomedan architecture outside India. It is a common feature of all Arab and Persian architecture that the accompanying minarets always outstrip in their height the central mausoleum. This will be evident from the examples of various mosques and tombs in Constantinople and other places (vide figures 119, 129, 384 & 371 in M. H. Saladin's Manuel d' art Musulman vol I ' L'Architecture, Paris, 1907). In the Taj, the four minarets,—"the tall court ladies tending their Princess" fall far short of the central dome: in fact if we omit the caps of the four minarets, we find they attain a height which just touches the inlaid decorative string which runs round the neck of the dome. Now those familiar with the canons of Indian image-maker know that the uplifted arms of an image are forbidden to outstrip the *griba*, the neck of the image suggested by the horizontal line, "*Hicca—sutra*", as will be apparent from illustration C. The implements which the hands hold must not likewise overstep the top of the ear. If we take the four minarets of the Taj as the four arms of an image of which the central dome is the head, we can fancy that the Indian craftsman when framing the composition of the Taj was only unconsciously following the canon of his idolatrous art. This would seem to strengthen Mr. Havell's contention that in the guise of the special forms which the Mahomedan patrons imposed on the Hindu architect, the latter satisfied his passion for anthropomorphic



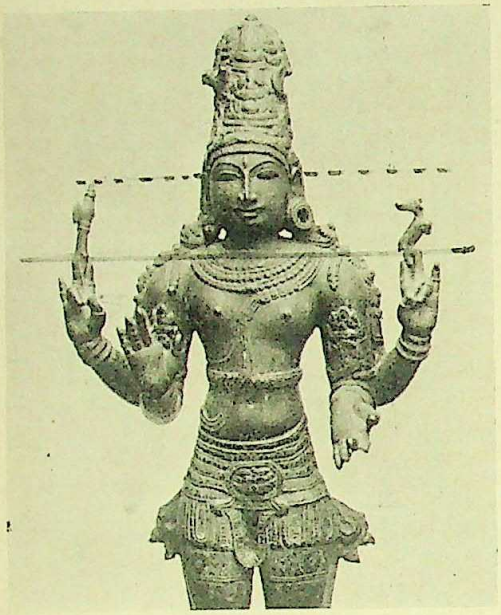
A DOME IN THE AJANTA CAVES.

[Illustration B.]

idealism which is so characteristic a part of his own art-traditions. "The religious prejudices of Islam,"

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CANONS OF INDIAN IMAGE MAKING.
[Illustration C.]

says Mr. Havell, "prevented the Hindu master-builders from exercising their skill in the usual form of sculpture; but this tomb of Mumtaj Mahall, whose personal qualities had endeared her to Hindu and Mussalman alike gave them an unique opportunity. If they could not carve her statue, they could satisfy Shah Jahan's desire for a monument which should be one of the world's wonders by creating *an architectonic symbol of her loveliness*" (p. 28). This sculpturesque anthropomorphic suggestion was essentially Indian and therefore foreign and antagonistic to the ideals of Mussalman artists brought up as they were in a dry geometric tradition. So, Mr. Havell argues, the Taj belongs to India, not to Islam.

There is a good deal of force in Mr. Havell's contentions which he puts forward with scholarly eloquence, and although we may be slow in accepting his conclusions we cannot but appreciate the new and original standpoint from which he has presented the subject which is worthy of further investigations. One of the obvious questions which suggest themselves is that the use of the dome, is not so frequent in earlier Hindu or Buddhist buildings and whenever it has been used it is never a predominating feature of the design as it is in Mussalman art. The domes which we find in the Tanjore, the Chandi Sewa and Kuruvatti temples are rather exceptions to the general rule. The *Pancharatna* arrangement is also more frequently met with in the temples erected subsequent rather than previous to the Mahomedan conquest. This peculiar arrangement also occurs in Mahomedan architecture outside India, both before and after the date of the Taj (vide figure 392, H. Saladin, *D'Art Mussalman* Part I), a fact which would go to weaken the theory that it is a peculiarly Indian device. Few persons, however, will dissent from Mr. Havell's main proposition that it is the Indian rather than the Mahomedan element which is responsible for the noble qualities which have made Indo-Mahomedan architecture one of classics of the world. The history of Indian architecture has to be re-written, and Mr. Havell's fascinating study of the psychology of Indian craftsmanship has amply indicated the lines upon which this work should be undertaken. To some sceptics Mr. Havell's hypothesis may appear fanciful and his estimates of Indian architecture, exaggerated. Nevertheless his book will compel every reader to think about them seriously; and if our Indian readers who have characteristically shewn their lack of interest in the matter are led to think about the economic problem which Mr. Havell's monograph raises, the author's labours will be amply compensated. Apart from the question of the preservation of Indian craftsmanship as one of the artistic heritage of the world, the practical aspect of the matter in its relation to the bread-and-butter problem in India ought to appeal to our councillors and political agitators who have educated themselves into a collosal ignorance of the arts and crafts of their own country.

Of the illustrations which have made Mr. Havell's work so attractive, special interest attaches to the examples of the works of the modern Indian master builders illustrated in plate CXIV to CXXIX, the last of which was first published in these columns (March 1912, p. 304). Plate CV has been wrongly described as "Tirumalai Nayak's Choul-try".

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

"WHAT shall we do then?" is the question very frequently asked by an earnest and aspiring youth who would rather see his life devoted to an unselfish and noble cause than to the gratification of purely animal instincts. The following few lines are written to give an answer to the question.

Now that the Mohammedans of India have joined hands with the Hindus in the demand for self-government, it can be safely said that the people of India are un

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animous in the recognition of their political ideal. There is another party interested in India, which declares that the Indians are not fit for self-government. The triangular struggle is thus reduced to a simple struggle between two parties.

There can be no doubt that many strong arguments are put forward by the Anglo-Indian party showing the utter unfitness of the Indians to govern themselves. These arguments are so well known to us that they need not be repeated here. In opposition to all those facts and the logic in support of them, there is one argument on the other side which is as irresistible as ever; that is, that fitness comes only after the enjoyment of the privilege of self-government. No one can ever learn swimming without entering the water. We learn swimming by the very efforts to swim just as a child learns walking by trying to walk.

Then comes the great objection based on our history. Before the English entered the field of conquest in India, we had time, though not long enough, to try the experiment of self-government. Moghul rule had come to an end. The Marhattas and the Sikhs had established Swaraja over the larger part of India. Why could they not keep it? It may be true that the British had superior guns and could easily defeat our armies and conquer the country from us. But this is not the whole truth. The fate of peoples is not entirely decided by the issues of battles. How they want to be governed, rests with them, even after the battles are won or lost. If they are not attached to any existing form of government, they make no effort to preserve it and so it gives place to the new conquerors. It is clear beyond any doubt that our old governments were not free from fault. It was rather curious in the Panjab wars, that although many battles ended unfavourably to the English, they gained the fruits of the victory. Again, while describing the battles between the Marhattas and the English, an English historian has most significantly remarked that the Hindus since the days of Prithvi Raj and Jaichand had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

Another century has passed by and I do not think, it has left us much wiser. Are we any fitter for self-government? Do we understand what it means? I have great doubts. Let us take the National Congress for illustration. Self-government on colonial lines is the ultimate goal of the Congress. Naturally their demands ought to be mere transitional steps leading to that goal. Is that the case? Is the demand for higher employments, for instance, under the government even consistent with the ideal? Certainly not. On the contrary it is equivalent to a demand that some of our most intellectual men should be trained as autocratic officers. British rule in India is based on the principle of personal government, which is nearly the opposite of popular self-government. Although it seems paradoxical, yet it is true that the larger our share in the emoluments of that system, the more inconsistent would our conduct be with the principle of self-government. I may just add that I am here not discussing the pros or cons of the question of the employment of Indians in higher positions.

But the Congress is in no way to blame for this state of affairs. The Congress is essentially a middle class movement and its programme represents the needs, aspirations and ambitions of that particular class. We should however recognise that the political and material interests of this small and limited class, newly created by our education, are not coincident with the interests of the country. They are even incompatible with each other. Higher civil appointments do not constitute the beginning nor the middle nor the end of self-government. They are utterly irrelevant to the movement for the acquisition of self-government.

What would have been the first demand of the Congress if that body had been composed of the mass of the people of the country? We hurriedly turn over the pages of English history. We meet with three great charters of liberty, Magna Charta, the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights. I cannot find there any demand for higher offices. The demands that are repeated once and again, are for personal liberty, free trial and no taxation without the consent of the people. I think the Anglo-Saxon barons who placed their demands before King John, had far more common sense than our leaders in the matter of judging of the real needs of the people of the country. Trial by jury was one of the three main conditions of the Great Charter and it is the seed of the political institutions of England.

The most common grievance of the people is not that they are not given high

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offices, but that the already existing civil officials are too many for them. The country-people alone can realise what they suffer from the visits or visitations of a Tahsildar, a Thanedar or even a small peon in their service. Why do the village people tremble like slaves at the sight of an officer like a Tahsildar? Because he, the petty despotic ruler, has the sole control of all disputes about life or property. Trial by jury sets him on the level of a common man. It kills the conceit of despotism. This simple institution is one of the most beneficial products of human wisdom in history. It existed among us in a modified form in our Panchayats. It is now universal in all civilised countries, where every man feels sure of liberty, being conscious that he can be adjudged guilty only if 12 honest men of his own community agree to find him so, and not because one despot is pleased to regard him as such. Where the people are given a share in the administration of justice, there exists real self-government and the high and small offices are reduced to the minimum. Persons who can only turn to the high offices with longing eyes for themselves or their children), are attracted towards them by the charm and display of despotic power over their fellowmen and they are never in a position to look at them from the people's stand-point.

Any movement that starts with the aim of self-government however distant it may be, should begin with this most elementary and fundamental principle of self-government. It is always best to make a correct and safe start. Had we thoroughly understood the principle of self-government, our line of work would have been entirely different and so much energy that has been spent to very little purpose, would have been utilised in some constructive work. The most proper field for constructive work in this line, can be found in our States. A complete internal autonomy is preserved to us in these places and it should be our sacred task to reform their administration according to the modern ideas of government. We all know the extent of corruption in the administration of most of our States. State-craft has become somewhat proverbial. The people are also very backward in the reception of new thoughts. We should not however blame them and dispose of the matter by saying that their condition is beyond all remedy. A short time ago, before we were awakened to a new sense of duty, we were in a similar and even worse condition. The same thing that has worked this miracle in us, would produce the same effect there. I was very much amused when I sometimes heard sincere men declaiming against the States and saying in the end that the sooner the States were formed a part of British India, the better for the country. I never wondered at this, because to me it was simply an additional proof of a complete lack of historical and political sense in us.

The political instinct of the Mohammedan world as shown in the expression of sympathy in the present crisis of the Turkish Empire is sound and natural. Let that serve as a lesson to us. Our States are still the great memories of our past, the great monuments of the part, the Rajputs, the Marhattas and the Sikhs had played in our history. They are an ever present refutation of the argument that we could not govern ourselves. They will be the most important factors in the future development of our country. We should entirely free our minds from the artificial lines of demarcation drawn between us and the States. We should always remember that they have been preserved for our great and common good. What the Congress demands from the British Government, already exists for us in the States. Why do not our leaders display their constructive genius there?

I cannot lay too much emphasis on the view that in the path of learning self-government we shall have to follow the lead of our States. Else we should perhaps never learn. We should not act like the man who leaves the bird in his hands and runs after the one in the bush. It is in that field that we have to prove our fitness for self-government. We can understand the point more clearly if we just try to answer the question in our minds. How shall we proceed if today we had complete self-government? Self-government is simply a means to an end. What is the end in view for which we would utilise this means? Self-government means in a way the power to adopt measures which are essential for the physical, intellectual and moral growth of a people in order to secure the greatest amount of prosperity and happiness for them. If we tried to generalise those measures, we should find that as far as the population of the States was concerned, they were in our complete control. It

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would indeed be a great pity if we would not help ourselves to work for them.

I will briefly outline those measures under the following heads :—

1. Our great grievance is our extreme poverty followed by famines and starvation. This is said to be due to the economic drain, the destruction of industries and the need of further agricultural improvements. Now the drain does not exist in the States, to the extent that it does in British India but the people there are perhaps as poor and miserable. We are not able to protect our industries, but the States are. Why do they not encourage their bankers to invest capital in big industrial enterprises or even start State Banks and directly help to found industries? Agricultural improvements are the greatest need of many of our States. Why do they not try modern deep-well digging methods and the steam-engine irrigation system ?

2. The establishment of free political institutions is another great need of ours. Why cannot the princes be persuaded to introduce jury-trial, popular election of the members of the councils and the collection of taxes with the consent of the representatives of their people ? Many of them are enlightened enough to adopt these measures if they had the right men to help them. The Gaekwar is looked up to here as the ruler who should lead in such a progressive cause. The ruler of Bikaneer got recently an acknowledgment of admiration for what he has done, from the distinguished professors of the California State University.

3. Free elementary and suitable high education is another of our demands. It is a matter of satisfaction to note that some States like Patiala (in the Punjab) are already following the lead of Baroda in taking steps towards free compulsory education. The rest are sure to follow. As for high education, it is extremely necessary for each State to have a small university of its own, teaching all sciences, medicine and engineering through their own language.

I lay so much stress upon language being the characteristic feature, because it is the only normal course and also because in addition to saving nearly half the expense and money spent on a purely English teaching staff, it will save to the students more than half their time and brain-energy to learn various sciences and make researches in them, instead of loading their brain with a difficult language.

4. Lastly, the most important concern of a State ought to be to devise means to improve the health and to prolong the life of its people. The average of life in India is far lower and the uncertainty of life is far greater than anywhere in the civilised world, not for any differences inherent in the peoples but owing to the great sanitary measures that have been adopted and are every day being adopted everywhere in the world. Each State should have a regular department of public health to ensure supply of pure water in all the villages and towns, to keep streets everywhere clean, to make arrangements for the proper disposal of human refuse, to provide public games and parks for children, and lastly to protect the public from quack advertisers, particularly those whose advertisements lower the standard of public morality and inevitably do more harm than good to the people.

The above and similar other points make the difference between a State in India and one in America. In U. S. A. all these measures are independently adopted by the individual States, each State being quite free in its internal administration.

It is time for our princes to realise that their future greatness depends upon what they do for the happiness and prosperity of their people. The great need is to get men to carry out these designs. The States have to produce these men. Our duty is to help them to establish at least an institution of the type of a university in each State to manufacture men for the purpose. They have power and scope. Brain alone is needed to guide. If it made a beginning today, in ten years' time such a State would become a source of light to the whole country. That is the new ideal, the new mission that I want to place before young men who are more interested in their country's future than in their own personal aggrandisement.

B. P.

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GLEANINGS

The International Movement Among Students.

The Universities have remained for a long time nearly indifferent to the diverse international movements. It is only for some twenty years that the new international spirit has commenced to be known in the various universities.

The oldest international organisation of students is the Universal Union of the Christian Students, founded in 1895 at Wadstena, in Sweden, and that has already organised ten international conferences, of which the most recent took place at the Robert College on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, in which delegates from some thirty different countries came and assembled together. The next conference will take place at Lake-Mohonk in the State of New York, just at the time when this number [June, 1913] of the *Documents du Progres* will appear.

Much more important by the number of its members and the amplitude of its programme is the *Corda Fratres* (Brotherly Union), founded in Italy in 1898. Its object is to establish and to develop among the students of the whole world some amicable relations and to bring them to understand one another; but it neither upholds nor favours nor combats any religious political or economical ideas. The *Corda Fratres* unites a good portion of the organisations of students which work for an *entente cordiale* among the peoples; we will name here two of the principal ones : the *Federacion Universitaria* of Buenos-Ayres, strong with four thousand members, and the *Federacion Universitaria* of Rio-Janeiro, which counts more than three thousand students for its members. The major portion of the Italian students belongs to the *Corda Fratres*.

It is in America, in England and in Germany that the international movement among the students is actually the most intense. Since 1903, there have been founded in North America some thirty international societies of students, which have two thousand members. These groupings are in the first rank among the associations of students of great universities. They enjoy a very high consideration, often possessing for their reunions immovable properties, and receive frequently as invited or as presidents the most eminent personalities. They publish in common a monthly review and organise some international congress of which the character is, however, limited up to this time to the purely American interest.

In England exists since 1906, at the University of Oxford, an international association, *the Oxford Cosmopolitan Club*, and other English Universities possess equally some flourishing East and West Clubs, not to speak of the International Polity Clubs, of the War and Peace Societies, of the Anglo-German, Anglo-American, Anglo-Chinese Societies, etc.

This movement has even penetrated into Turkey, where the Cosmopolitan Club of Robert College of Constantinople counts fifty members pertaining to fifteen different nations.

In Germany, the movement has commenced at Berlin in 1910. It has soon extended itself to the Universities of Munich, Bonn, Heidelberg and Gottingen, and also upto Austria (Innsbruck), and there has been founded in July 1912, one Federation of the international associations of students of the German Universities.

It is a movement one cannot adequately praise : it responds perfectly to the essential character of the science which does not know any frontiers.—Dr. John Mez, in *Les Documents du Progres*, June, 1913. *Translation* made for THE MODERN REVIEW.

Greatest Surgeon in Human Annals.

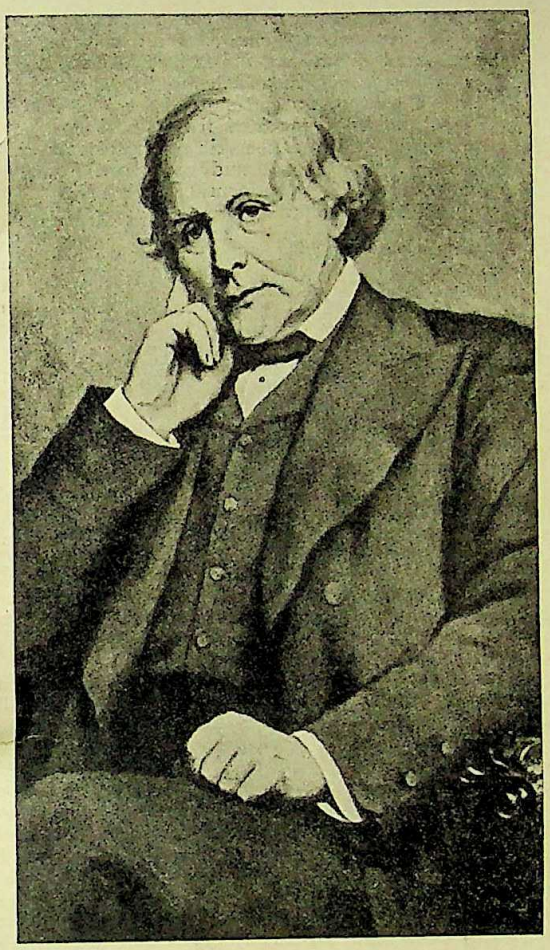
SURGERY has two periods—the pre-Listerian and the post-Listerian. They are as sharply demarcated, according to the London *Lancet*, as are the eras separated in history by the discovery of America or the ages sundered in the old world through the invention of printing. Lister, the greatest surgeon in human annals, according to *The British Medical Journal*, saved more lives by the introduction of his system than all the wars of the nineteenth century together had sacrificed. Yet the revolution he wrought is so simple as to be susceptible of statement in terms comprehensible by a child. "He discovered the principles and established the practice of scientific cleanliness and applied them to surgery." Thus stated, as one authority concedes, Lister's work does not sound much. "Indeed, the whole thing is now so self-evident, so simple and complete, that we have considerable difficulty in realizing the state of ignorance which prevailed when he began his researches." The tributes of the medical academies of the whole civilized world, honoring the memory of Lord Lister, who passed away at eighty-five, atone, the London *Lancet* observes, for the fierceness of the opposition with which his great principle was at first received.

When Lister commenced his systematic study of the inflammation which once commonly appeared as a consequence of wounds or injuries, the mortality attendant upon surgery was such as to bring operative procedures into almost complete discredit. That much is admitted by the British organ of medicine already quoted. The footsteps of the surgeon were haunted by a succession of deaths which would now be attributed to blood poison. They were then set down to "gangrene." The introduction of chloroform, by removing the pain of operations, had greatly removed the dread of submitting to them. Hundreds of patients who in earlier days would have accepted death as inevitable were eager, when surgery was rendered painless, to seize whatever chance of recoverey or cure the knife might open up to them. Operations increased enormously. The mortality consequent upon them increased in even greater proportion than before chloroform was available.

Practically every operation was followed by agony and fever, with some formation of matter in the wound. The fever tended to increase and to end

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LORD LISTER.

fatally. The late Sir James Simpson, a great surgeon in his time, arrived at the conclusion that the very walls and furniture of hospitals became poisoned by emanations from the sick.

From the researches of Pasteur on fermentation, Lister, then in his prime, derived two fruitful ideas. The first was that decomposition in organic tissues is due to the intrusion of living germs of low forms of vegetable life. The next idea was that these forms spring always, like the higher ones, from parents like themselves. That is, they could not arise spontaneously in the human body. Lister had long suspected that the chief cause of the formation of matter in a wound was the decomposition of the effused blood. The work of Pasteur suggested that the complete exclusion of germs would prevent the putrefaction of wounds and would incidentally prevent the formation of matter. The first cautious experiments in this direction were made by the application of carbolic acid to the open wounds produced in compound fractures, in fractures, that is, where fragments of bone protrude through the skin and allow the external air and any germs which it may convey to obtain access to the deeper structures. Carbolic acid is a powerful "germicide," to use the simplest word of laymen, instead of the more technical term of "antiseptic." Lister hoped that carbolic acid would not only destroy any germs which had found entrance before its application, but that it would form with the blood a protective crust calculated to exclude others.

To quote the words of a distinguished surgeon in the London *Telegraph* :

"Whence the poison ? The answer was: It was produced by bacteria.

"This was an epoch-making discovery. As in every other great advance, the world had been in part prepared for it. Kepler, Galileo, Descartes cleared the ground for Newton ; Schwann and Fuchs opened the way for Pasteur, and the brilliant Frenchman laid the foundation for Lister. He had shown that the disease of the silkworm, which had cost France thirty millions sterling, was caused by parasitic organisms, and had the honor of being censured by the French Academy of Sciences 'for his presumption as a chemist, in venturing into the realm of biology, and giving utterance to opinions that were contrary to accepted doctrines.' What right, indeed, had any chemist to invade the biologists' territory, and make discoveries oppozed to orthodox views ? But genius cannot be controlled by academies. Pasteur, as everybody knows, proved his theory, and then went on to scandalize the graybeards by demonstrating that fermentation was due to vegetable germs. By so doing he was not merely upsetting the theories of Liebig, and defying the Academy, but was, without knowing it at the moment, founding the germ theory of disease—the highest pathological discovery of any age. Lister, who always acknowledged his indebtedness to his great contemporary, at once set himself to put in practice the doctrine we have quoted. Its outcome was the dictum : 'Exclude bacteria from wounds.' With scarcely an exception these bacteria are vegetable organisms—plants of a low order, devoid of the chlorophyl, or green coloring matter—the germs of which finding a suitable soil in the blood and lymph of an open wound there grow and develop, poisoning the fluids of the body, and bringing on fever, inflammation, and putrescence. Fortunately the chemist has found in Nature, or has abstracted by art, a long list of substances that will destroy bacteria, such as the carbolic, sulphurous, boracic, salicylic, and osmic acids, perchloride and other salts of mercury, chlorine, permanganate of potash, bromine, lysol, thymol, eucalyptus oil, idoform, and many others. Lister selected carbolic acid, and, what is perhaps rare in such procedure, began by being careful to excess. A single match will fire a magazine as thoroly as a thousand, and it needs sometimes very few microbes in an open wound to kill a patient. It is calculated that a single bacterium, comfortably lodged in a nourishing medium, will produce 16,500,000 descendants in twenty-four hours, and at the end of the third day will have a family of 47,000,000,000,000, or, in words, forty-seven millions of millions."

The results in the case treated proved brilliantly successful. Compound fractures were rendered scarcely more serious or more fatal than those in which the skin remained intact. The same method was not applicable to surgical wounds, for which the carbolic acid would have been too active an irritant. Many years of patient labor were devoted to the practical study of the many sources from which germs or bacteria were introduced and of the methods by which they might be excluded. These methods were modified from time to time in many directions. The occasional abandonment of some precaution which had once been

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insisted upon and afterwards found to be insufficient or superfluous, was often seized upon by LordLister's many adversaries as a ground for the declaration that he had abandoned the central principle which governed his action from the first.

The truth is that the original method proved from experience unnecessarily complicated. In Germany, where it was taken up with enthusiasm, the spray method of administering the carbolic acid was done away with! Koch recommended perchloride of mercury in place of the carbolic. Lister always retained his first faith in the carbolic acid as one of the safest as well as the most effective of substances at the surgeon's disposal for purifying the skin around a wound. Yet he by no means shut his eyes to the worth of other germicides. Sir Watson Cheyne observes on this point :

"The key-notes to all his later work on wound treatment were the effort to get rid of all irritating antiseptics, to avoid contact of antiseptics with the wound as far as possible, and to find antiseptics which, if they do come in contact, shall not irritate. When corrosive sublimate was demonstrated to be a good antiseptic, he experimented very largely on its uses in surgery, and introduced a variety of gauzes, wools, etc., till he ultimately produced the dressing which is still largely used by many—namely, gauze impregnated with the double cyanide of mercury and zink. He also steadily diminished the introduction of antiseptics into the wounds themselves, and from the time that weak solutions of corrosive sublimate were introduced he ceased to bring carbolic acid in contact with the wounds, reserving it for the disinfection of the instruments and skin."

Experience demonstrated that wounds are rarely infected by the entry of microbes from the surrounding air and that under ordinary circumstances the fluids and tissues of the body are free from bacteria. The blood in fact, contains white particles, phagocytes as they are called, which are antiseptic scavengers. It came, therefore, in the end to be realized that no need exists to disinfect a fresh wound. The application of strong irritants like diluted carbolic acid corrosive sublimate could be dispensed with safely. Lister himself stated this idea years ago, but it was long before he felt perfectly convinced of what he called "the harmlessness of atmospheric dust, as compared with the grosser forms of septic poison." In other words, the one thing to see to was that no infection was conveyed in the operation. Surgery became not antiseptic, germ killing, but aseptic, germ-preventing. From the date when the knife was first used on human flesh until, say 1867, when Lister's antiseptic surgery was finally vindicated, the practitioner's instruments and apparatus, lancet, probe, dressings, bandages, and even the water he employed, had been the means of conveying to the patient the death-dealing microbe. It was by their minuteness that the microbes escaped notice. One can see the bacteria after they have been cultivated and developed. Not even the microscope would have shown them on the lancet or on the dressing. The most tremendous moment of Lister's life he says, was when he first put his theories on this point to the test :

"When Pasteur had shown that putrefaction was fermentation caused by the growth of microbes, the problem assumed a more hopeful aspect. If the wound could be treated with some substance which, without doing too serious mischief to the human tissues, would kill the microbes already contained in it, and prevent further access of others to the living state, putrefaction might, be prevented however fully the air with its oxygen might enter. I had heard of carbolic acid having remarkable deodorizing effects upon sewage, and having obtaind from my colleag, Dr. Anderson, a sample of this product, then little more than a chemical curiosity in Scotland, I determined to try it in compound fractures (a compound fracture being one in which there is a wound of the skin communicating with broken bones). Applying it undiluted to the wound, I had the joy of seeing these formidable injuries follow the same safe and tranquil course of healing as simple fractures, in which the skin remained unbroken. At the same time we had the intense interest of observing in open wounds that had previously been hidden from human vision—the manner in which subcutaneous injuries are repaired."

Lister's achievement means, according to the renowned student of antiseptic and antisepsis, Sir Victor Horsley, that for the hundredth time the discovery in the laboratory of a true principle in physical science has proved to be an unexpected and untold source of strength and comfort to the body politic. To quote his words from the London *News* :

"Let me furnish one simple example of this civic assistance to the State, an example which cannot be too often quoted as a demonstration of a national benefit. I refer to the operation of amputation: an operation which from being one of the commonest is becoming the rarest in modern surgery. In the Franco-German War amputation was common because the leaving a shattered bone or injured joint to recover, even when treated in the best manner known, involved the patient in terrible risks of fatal blood poisoning. The amputation means mutilation, the great surgeon Syme had a few years before declared it to be a safer procedure in civil life and practice than leaving the healing to the natural powers of resistance of the patient."

An instance of the Rule of Law in Classical India.

It has been pointed out in the pages of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* by Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal that law was considered as supreme, as even above the sovereign, in Hindu India. The conception of law in Hindu jurisprudence is borrowed from the unswerving laws of the physical world. *Dharma* literally means 'that which holds', that is, that which holds the universe, the basic principles of the universe. Hence, in the eyes of Hindu lawyers even the gods were subject to law.

Such was the theory. How far was this theory observed in practice? This would be a very important enquiry to the legal historian of this country particularly, and of the world generally. *A priori* a student of the procedure of Hindu administration of justice would say that the theory must have been put into practice, for the administrators of law came from the estate which was independent of the crown: they were Brahmins. And the Brahmins counter-balanced the executive estate of the Kshatriyas.

Fortunately we are in possession of a recorded case which is ever so much more valuable to us than all *a priori* reasonings on the subject. This single case is not the individual picture of the administrator of law in a particular case, but affords a typical spectacle. The case is recorded in one of the most authentic documents of India, which on the evidence of the inscriptions of Asoka goes back at least to the 3rd century B. C., in its present shape, and which is

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generally based on traditions as early as the death of the Buddha.

In the Vinaya Pitaka, Chullavagga, VI, 4. 9., the case of the Anatha-Pindika and the Prince Royal Jeta, which was decided by the Court of Shravasti, the then capital of Oudh, is related to show the great devotion of the Anatha Pindika to the Sakya Teacher and not to record any extraordinary judicial decision. Sudatta, who was generally called the Anatha-Pindika ('Orphans' co-parcener'), on account of his kindness to orphans, was an ordinary citizen—a *grihapati*—the owner of his household; Jeta was one of the princes of the blood. The latter had a garden "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming . . . . . well fitted for a retired life." The liberal Anatha-Pindika thought of buying this garden for the use of the Buddha whom he had invited from Rajagriha. He went to the Prince Jeta and said to him, "Your Highness, let me have your garden to make an Arama on it." "It is not, O gentleman, for sale, unless it is laid over with crores." "I take, Your Highness, the garden (at this price)."

"No, gentleman, the garden has not been taken." "Then they asked the lords of justice whether the garden was bought (lit. taken) or not. And the the lords decided thus: your highness fixed the price and the garden has been taken."1

On obtaining the decree the Anatha Pindika had a part of the garden covered with gold coins and rest was relinquished by the Prince without further payment.

Here we have a prince and a private citizen submitting their case to the law court and the court deciding against a Royal prince, and the prince accepting that decision,—all as a matter of course. The case attracted the attention, not for the principle of offer and acceptance, not as illustrating the independence of the judges, but as observed above, on account of the devotion of the charitable citizen to the Teacher. The legal procedure is described as a mere occurrence of ordinary life. Hence the names of the Hindu Gascoignes have not been mentioned; they, in the eyes of their contemporaries, did nothing extraordinary in giving that decision.

Advocates in Hindu India.

The history of legal procedure in Hindu India has yet to be written. But before that history has been written we might accept the predication that the procedure-law of the Hindu differed radically from that of ancient Europe. Despite that difference there is a point of striking similarity in the institution of the advocate. It seems that in Hindu India, as in ancient Rome, counsel was not supposed to receive any remuneration, yet there seem to have been Hindu Ciceros, who lived by, what the layman calls, "fleecing their clients."

The position of our Hindu predecessors-in-profession with regard to their remuneration is illustrated by a recorded case. As late as about the 7th century of the Christian era, they were, probably, not supposed to accept any fee. The case is reported by Asahaya* the famous commentator of the Narada-Smriti. According to the general principle of Hindu Law the obligation of descendants to discharge the debts of forefathers ceases in the fourth generation; one is liable for the debts of one's deceased father and grandfather only† The Narada-Smriti lays down this law, in clear terms, in ch. I. 4. But a little below another verse—the verse 6th—finds its way in the text, extending the liability to the great-grandson. Asahaya commenting on this verse (I. 6) cites a decided case, apparently to support the provision of the verse. A suit was brought at the Court of Pataliputra by one *Shridhara* against *Mahidhara*, an infant, *and his guardians* for the recovery of 10,000 *drammas* (drachmas —rupees) as principal and 200 dr. as interest. The principal was advanced to Devadhara, a merchant and the great-grandfather of the defendant Mahidhara, at an interest of 2 P.C. per mensem. After paying the interest for the first month, Devadhara died of high fever; his son died of cholera, "Devadhara's great-grandson Mahidhara who was a minor alone surviving." Mahidhara who had taken to bad ways, was caught hold of by his maternal uncles and their sons. Mahidhara's guardians were told by Lawyer-Durdhara [*Smarta*-Durdhara], a Brahmin, not to pay 'a single rupee' to Shridhara, Durdhara promising to "defend them in Court." The guardians promised to pay the lawyer 1,000 drammas 'as present' (*lanch*). When at the close of the second month Shridhara called upon the guardians to pay the interest (200 dr.), he was told, on the authority of Lawyer-Durdhara, that Mahidhara being the fourth in descent was not liable to pay even the principal. Shridhara, consequently, sued Mahidhara and his guardians. The defendants "appointed" (*nijuktah* engaged) Lawyer-Durdhara, and the plaintiff, "Mr. Lawyer-Shekhara" [*Bhatta Smarta Shekhara*]. Lawyer-Durdhara appeared for the defendants 'for the sake of friendship coming down for generations.' He argued his case on the authority of Narada I. 4, contending that no claim could lie against Mahidhara. "Mr. Lawyer-Shekhara ridiculed the arguments of Lawyer-Durdhara, quoted opinions of great men, placed (before the Court) the real spirit of the whole law (on the subject), and (finally) said: 'Sir, Durdhara, you are not unversed in the letter and the spirit of legal lore . . . . seduced by the temptation of a present (fee, *lanch*), you want to ruin Shridhara. Are you not ashamed of it ?' (The accusation resulted in) total discomfiture of Lawyer-Durdhara."

Apparently the case was decided against the defendants on the ground of the illegal agreement between the client and the lawyer to give and receive 'present' of 1000 dr. on the conclusion of the case in favour of the defendants. The agreement savours of champerty. It is possible that only champerty was condemned, while a fee was allowed at the time. But the significant passage about Counsel Durdhara's appearing for the sake of an old friendship goes to show that at the time when the Narada-Bhashya was written no fees were allowed. The profession seems to have been honorary. This would have naturally led to a practice of receiving surreptitious fees as in republican Rome.

1. The above has been translated in the Sacred Books of the ... XX, p. 187-88 by Messrs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg as ...ows :—"He went to Jeta the Kumara, and said to him, 'Sir let me have your garden to make an Arama on it.' 'It is not, sir, for sale, even for (a sum so great that the pieces of money would be sufficient to cover it if they were) laid side by side.' 'I take, sir, the garden at the price.' 'No, O householder, there was no bargain meant?' Then they asked the lords of justice whether a bargain of sale had been made or not. And the lords decided thus: The Arama is taken, sir, at the price which you fixed."

(1) The Narada-Bhashya of Asahaya could not be later than the 7th century, for about the middle of that century Pataliputra was found deserted, and Asahaya speaks of Pataliputra as a living town. The date of the Narada-Smriti itself would be about the 5th century.

(2) Yajnavalkya, II, 50; Vishnu VI, 27, 28; Narada, I, 4; Mitak-

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There is evidence that as early as the 1st century B. C. professional lawyers in India were a class by themselves and that they formed a characteristic feature of large towns. For, in the *Milinda Panho*, Bk. V., where the chief features of a typical Hindu city have been described in detail, advocates also figure. But they figure under a nickname which is indicative of the uncharitable lay-view taken of the profession at the time. Lawyers were called "Sellers-of-Law" or "Traders-in-Law." [Dharmapanikah]. * Before them there come in the description the "*Keepers-of-law*" [Dharma-rakshas] who seem to have been a class of lawyers known and referred to for their knowledge of correct texts and then criminal judges [*Rupa-dakshas*], —'Skilled in judging appearances'] who were 'skilled in detecting the source of offences, skilled in deciding whether any act is offence or not, whether an offence is grievous or slight . . . . . skilled in deciding questions as to the rise, the acknowledgment, the absolution, or the confession of an offence, to . . . . the defence of an offender". † After sellers of different luxuries and the police (*nagaragoptas*), the writer describes his 'SELLERS-OF-LAWS,' "*who according to the spirit and according to the letter, according to justice* (nyayatah) *and according to reason* (karanatah), *according to logic and by illustrations*, EXPLAIN AND RE-EXPLAIN ARGUE AND RE-ARGUE."‡

Hindu advocates were known for repeating themselves as early as about the 1st century B. C. Virtue is often hereditary !

It appears that about the 8th century fees for advocates were legalised. The Hindu Law borrowed and adopted by Burma at about that time provides for such fees to be calculated at a percentage of the value of the suit or according to the gravity of the offence. The *Dharmathats* or "the Laws of Menoo" dictates :

"Any good pleader, though the statement of his case may not have been taken down, if he has only just sat down, or puts up the sleeve of his jacket, shall have a right to his pay."§

This is not the only provision of the *Dharmathats* which would call forth the full approval of our present-day Bar. We have a further provision that having engaged one legal adviser 'the client shall not call another pleader,' unless the client be prepared to fee both fully. Fees, however, could not be recovered after 7 months.

In the Burmese Code the lawyer in several places has been regarded on the same footing as the physician. It is interesting to note that in classical India, a patient suffering from a dangerous disease and despairing of his life, would promise, as a matter of form, to become a slave to the physician on recovery. On recovery he would buy himself back, so to say, by making a handsome present (8). The same principle has been extended with regard to the lawyer's remuneration when he defended the prisoner "in matters of life and death" he "has a right to a fee of thirty tickals of silver," "the price of his client's body."

Two functions which are distinct and different under Hindu Procedure have been combined in the office of the advocate in the Dharmathats. Under our procedure, both parties at law had to give sureties (*pratibhu*) for prosecution and defence of the case. A class of men hovered about the COURT-HOUSE to stand surety. They were distinct from lawyers. But under the Burmese Code of Manu, an advocate is also a surety to his client.

One wonders whether any punishment was prescribed in India (if fees were allowed here in later days) or in Burma for the conduct of the advocate who took the fee and would not appear at the hearing. In Burma probably the contingency was avoided by making the fee payable on the conclusion of the case. (9)

The employment of Hindu advocates was not based on the principle of agency. The class of agents-at-law (*pratinidhi*, 'representatives') was altogether different. Their acts were binding on the litigant principals. (10) But apparently the acts of the advocate could not be binding on the client, if prejudicial to him. (11) The governing principle was that one learned in law could come in, as such, and assist the Court. The *Shukra-niti* preserves the doctrine : "*appointed or un-appointed a lawyer* (lit. 'knower-of-law') *is entitled to speak* [*before the Court*]. One who follows the law utters divine voice." (12). As the "appointed" ones came and formed the jury (of 7, 5, or 3) to help the Court in dispensing justice (13), so could an un-appointed knower of law come in and address the Court. And the advocate alone had this privilege, he alone could speak, unasked, before the Court. Any one else attempting to speak 'un-appointed' [अनियुक्तप्रभाषी च] would have been guilty of one of the 'contempts of Court.' (14).

Mr. KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL, in the

Calcutta Law Journal.

* Trenckner's "Milinda Panho," p. 344. The work was commented upon in the 5th century A. C. It seems to have been written in the Punjab, before the rise of the Northern Buddhism. Its hero Menander was a Greek adventurer who was defeated by Pushyamitra, Generalissimo of Magadha, about 180 B. C. When the work was composde the nationality and obscure place of birth of Menander were distinctly remembered by the writer.

† Translation by Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the East, XXXVI, 236.

‡ "Vachenti anuvachanti bhasanti anubhasanti."—Trenckner, p. 345. Cf. S. B. E. XXXVI, 238.

§ Richardson, Laws of Menoo, p. 50.

(8) Cf. "All that I possess, shall be yours, doctor, and I will be your slave." Vinaya Pitaka, Mahavagga, VIII.I. 20.

(9) Cf. Richardson, p. 50.

(10) Shukra-Niti, IV, 5, (10, 13).

(11) Cf. Richardson, Laws of Menoo, p. 50. "If pleader be had. . . . the cause he is employed in shall not suffer."

(12) अनियुक्तो नियुक्तो वा धर्मज्ञोवक्तुमर्हसि । देवीं वाचं स वदति यः शास्त्रमनुजीवति IV, 5, 23. Obviously the Shukra-Niti is the work of a lawyer. He would very naturally claim for his profession the position of the oracle of Divine Voice !

(13) Shukra-Niti, IV, 5, 26.

(14) Shukra-Niti, IV. 80-82.

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NOTES

Centralisation of Education.

So long the educational system in India was not centralised. But the establishment of the Educational Bureau is meant to do so. The present educational policy of the Government of India is causing great anxiety. How far the centralisation of education is beneficial or otherwise to a country will be gathered from the following extracts from Professor John Adams' *Evolution of Educational Theory* recently published by Messrs Macmillan & Co.

"How far is it desirable that the whole educational system of a country should be centralised, and placed under the control of the State? There are really two problems involved. First we have the purely educational question of the advisability of a uniform system throughout a whole country. Next we have the problem of the use to be made of the enormous power that is implicit in this centralised system.

"In many of the continental nations, and particularly in France and Germany, the whole educational system of the country, secondary as well as elementary, is completely under the control of the State. As a consequence in these two countries we find a uniformity of teaching method and of educational administration that startles an Englishman or an American.

"Our own England has and values a system in which there is a great deal of room for individuality. Our elementary system has certainly crystallised into rigidity, but it is freer than it was. The Board of Education is slowly taking a grip of the Secondary System, but it is full of protestations that one of its chief aims in taking over Secondary Schools is to favour their individuality and to encourage the initiative of the teachers. Unfortunately it is of the essence of a machine to be mechanical, and there are many who look with misgivings at the increasing centralisation." Pp. 374-377.

"Under the increasingly centralised system that we have foreshadowed we find little promise in the future of a diminution in the number of institutionalised children. The tendency is clearly towards increasing the number, and intensifying the type. The children that are being educated under public control are being more and more reduced to a common pattern.

"Take such a subject as History. Consider what an influence school text-books exercise here. If a Government cares to have a special set of books prepared, and prescribes them for use in school, it can bring up generations to its way of thinking. In particular, if it can secure a writer of some individuality with a taking style, it will gain its purpose even though the teachers are lukewarm on the subject, though the same could hardly be said if they are actively hostile.

"* * There have been of recent years certain incidents that at least suggest an attempt at the use of the schools as a political instrument. * * * * Had the present organised school system existed at a time when it was not subject to the public scrutiny that is inevitable under our modern conditions with regard to the press, it would have been an irresistible force in the hands of an unscrupulous government." Pp: 388-390.

In a footnote, the author adds :—

"There can be no doubt that Napoleon, when he founded the centralised University of France, intended through its Grand Master, who of course owed his appointment to him, to mould the very minds of the new generation to suit his imperial policy. Had the empire lasted we should have had an educational experiment of the most interesting and important kind." P: 390.

The European Defence Association and Civil Surgeons.

The European Defence Association has made representations to the Government of India, that medical officers of pure Indian birth should not be appointed Civil Surgeons in this country. In the letter the association has addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, it is stated that the tendency to remove European Civil Surgeons has caused alarm and dissatisfaction among the Europeans residing in country districts, and the Association prays that steps be taken to remedy the evil.

Should not the Government of India take steps to proscribe the letter of the Association on the ground of its fomenting racial hatred?

If Europeans in the mofussil do not like to be treated by Indian doctors, they have the remedy in their own hands. Why, they can bring a medical man of their own nationality to their locality and get themselves treated by him at their own cost. They are rich enough to do that.

The demand that the interests of the hundreds of millions of people inhabiting this country should be sacrificed to the race prejudice of a few birds of passage is as absurd as it is brazenfaced.

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Government Servants and Politics.

The Indian Government do not allow pure Indian public servants to take part in politics. They will not allow even law-professors to do so. But is it not passing strange that European Judges of the highest provincial courts are allowed to do so without any let or hindrance? When Mr. Beaman of the Bombay High Court wrote in an English magazine an article on Indian politics, the public are not aware that any notice was taken of his conduct. Mr. Rattigan of the Panjab Chief Court was appointed President of the provincial European Association—a body more political than anything else. Government did not take any notice of his conduct, although a question on the subject was asked in the Legislative Council.

Is the Government rule meant to be enforced in the case of Indian public servants only?

Democracy and International Diplomacy.

India does not take any active part in international diplomacy, though her existence shapes the policy of many nations. As she does not count as an active factor in world politics, our interest in world politics is more or less academic. But though it is academic it cannot fail to give us pleasure when we find that the better mind of the people in the West is feeling the absence of any high ethical standard in the conduct of the men who make peace and war. Thus Mr. Nevinson writes:—

"This assasination of freedom at its birth was but another instance of the lust for conquest which, since about the date of the first Peace Conference at the Hague (1899), has possessed diplomatic circles with renewed ferocity. It chiefly urges them to assault isolated and helpless communities where no serious resistance need be feared, and it seeks to destroy that spirit of nationality which the nobler statesmanship of the last century sought to establish or confirm . . . Seldom in modern history has the game of grab been played with so shameless a voracity as in 1911, and it is evident that the Foreign Offices now regard the most solemn international treaties, pledges and obligations as no longer worth more than three or four years' purchase.

"A serious weakness in to-day's democracy is here exposed. The general will has little or no effect on Foreign Secretaries or diplomatists. Probably the majority of people in most countries have no predisposition to bad faith, to the violation of pledges, the subjugation of the weak, or the slaughter of working-men in other lands. But their will is not consulted or considered until the expression of it is negligible. Crimes that would appear abhorrent in private life are secretly prepared by international diplomacy, the people remaining ignorant until the fact is accomplished, or stands upon the verge. The general mind is then easily deluded by such words and phrases as "inevitable," "self-defence," "prestige," "teaching a lesson," "the true humanity that requires cruelty," "the survival of the fittest," or "the extension of Christianity, civilisation, and markets." These persuasive catchwords are propagated by financiers with loans to run, by capitalists with an interest in armaments, company-promoters with an eye on exploitation, manufacturers watching the closed or open door, and the landowning or professional gentry with sons to launch in life. It is difficult for newspapers to resist the clamour of wealth for war or aggrandisement, since their existence depends upon circulation and advertisement among the well-to-do. They now tend to colour, not only their comment, but their news according to demand, or in support of ministers from whom favours of various kinds may be expected. The hungry populace, occupied with their daily interests, and untrained to imagine foreign life or distant events, look up and are fed with deception.

"Similar to the removal of foreign relations from the control of a people thus kept in ignorance is another constitutional danger that threatens our approach to democracy. That is the despotism of Cabinets. Owing to "Party loyalty," and the increased pressure of local and imperial business in the House of Commons, the Cabinet escapes control and almost escapes criticism. The private member counts as a vote, but hardly as a voice."—*The Growth of Freedom*: by H. W. Nevinson (*The People's Books Series*).

The Bane of Bureaucracy.

The same author writes thus on the bane of bureaucracy;—

"It is perhaps the official, rather than the Crown, the aristocracy, or even the plutocrat, who now most endangers liberty. Bureaucratic interference with personal life, long the plague of most European capitals from Lisbon to St. Petersburg, threatens to infest the world. We are called upon to accept "the expert" as our controlling guide, and "efficiency" as the final test of Government. Bees and ants are efficient, but their progress appears to have stopped—stopped dead, as we say; or if you want expert government, watch the law and order of sheep before a dog. Officials usually govern badly, because they naturally magnify their office and routine above life, regarding the intrusion of reality as an unwarrantable disturbance to their habitual toil or leisure. But that is not the worst of it. Even under the most efficient officialdom, the governed suffer a degrading loss of personality. It is disastrous to maintain order, however mechanically perfect, or to organise virtue and comfort, however judiciously proportionate, if personality and variety are gone. "Self-government is better than good government," and self-government implies the right to go wrong. It is nobler for a nation, as for a man, to struggle towards excellence with its own natural force and vitality, however blindly and vainly, than to live in irreproachable Lecency under expert guidance,...Better free than sober, said Bishop Magee, my country, and we may well imagine that it will be more tolerable for Sodom and

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Gomorrha in the day of trial than for a blameless city, cautiously regulated to virtue by the best mechanical appliances of the clerks on Boards and the Heads of Government Departments."—*The Growth of Freedom*, by Ditto.

Are all the Professions Overcrowded ?

An anonymous writer, who may be an official of the Butler-Sharp-Nathan school, contributes to the *Bengal Educational Journal* an article on "The University of the Future," in which he says, "We have a surplus of professional men which is growing larger every year." He is of opinion that the Universities of Dacca and Patna "will produce better professional men than those at present existing. However good the material, they will add to a superfluity. It is to everyone's advantage that that superfluity should be improved. But a superfluity it remains."

By professional men the writer means lawyers, doctors, engineers and administrators. We should add teachers also. It is generally believed that there is a superfluity of lawyers in India. We cannot express any opinion from personal knowledge. Perhaps, the superfluity, if any, is not greater than that in other civilised countries. As regards administrators, so long as Englishmen continue to monopolise all the higher offices, it cannot be said that the supply of Indian administrators is greater than the demand. If there be a superfluity, it is an artificial superfluity, as a much larger number of our men can be employed as administrators than is the case now. As for doctors, anybody who knows anything of the country knows that the supply of qualified medical men (including sanitary officials) may be increased a hundredfold without there being a superfluity. Millions of people die every year in India without any medical help worth the name. Hence he who speaks of a superfluity in the medical profession must be a great ignoramus. So, too, in the case of the engineering profession, we require a far greater number of engineers than we have. Sanitary engineers, agricultural engineers, school engineers,—engineers of all sorts are required.

As for teachers, there may very well be ten times as many schools and colleges in India as there are at present without any superfluity being felt.

"The University of the Future."

The writer asks "What then will be the future?" and answers:—

"In our opinion it will be a University which is to Commerce, what Dacca and Patna will be to Law, Medicine, and Administration. It will be a University which will make out of Agriculture and Commerce and Manufacture, an Art and a Science as self-expressive of a man as Law and Medicine are at the present day."

We are as eager as anybody that India should make progress in Agriculture and Commerce and Manufacture, but we think that, as Dr. Rashbehary Ghose says, in the same magazine, "Mental culture should be the chief end of University training." Dr. Ghose goes on:—

I do not say that the University should not teach law or medicine or engineering, but this ought not to be the principal aim of a University course. A liberal education does not indeed teach a man the peculiar business of any calling but it fits him, in the words of a distinguished writer, "to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public, of peace and war." As Cardinal Newman says, a cultivated intellect brings with it a power and a grace to every occupation which it undertakes, and enables us to be more useful citizens. There is a duty we owe to human society as such, to the state to which we belong, to the sphere in which we move, to the individuals towards whom we are variously related, and whom we successively encounter in life; and a liberal education, which is the proper function of a University, if it refuses the foremost place to professional interests, does but postpone them to the formation of the citizen.

I should therefore make a course of general culture absolutely compulsory on all the students of the University. I attach the greatest importance to it, because I hold that such culture would be the soundest introduction to a professional training; and I strongly deprecate the modern tendency of converting a University into a place where people should be taught only how to earn their bread.

There are other reasons, too, why we should regard with suspicion the advice of a man who tells us to go in for commercial, agricultural and industrial education *in lieu of* liberal education. It is just like the Anglo-Indian advice to give up politics and attend to religious education or social reform. The thing is, India of the Indians cannot make any great progress in commerce or industry unless we have political power in our hands. The railways have differential rates which go against indigenous manufactures. Then there are the excise duties, and there may be various other imposts in future which British manufacturers may force the Government to levy to protect themselves against their Indian rivals. Mining and other concessions are more easily obtained in India by Europeans than by Indians. The industrial advance that we have to make is against heavy odds. The difficulties will be less when we have more, and more effective political power in our hands. And the possession of political power would

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be impossible if the country remained largely illiterate. Illiteracy, again, can be killed only by employing a very large army of teachers. These must come from Universities which give a liberal education.

Confining our attention only to industrial progrsss, it should not also be forgotten that one chief reason why Japan is making rapid strides in manufacturing industries is that 90 per cent. of her population are literate, against a miserable 5 or 6 per cent. in India.

We have some sort of careers in the professions. We cannot sacrifice them to follow the *ignis fatuus* of commerce *as exhibited by interested preachers*. Commerce, manufacture, &c., we do not discard, but let us find out our own way to them.

Dr. J. C. Bose on the Future of Research.

In the article contributed by him to the *Bengal Educational Journal*, Prof. J.C. Bose rightly says:

"I do not think there is necessarily any antagonism between teaching and research. The object of an University being the advancement of knowledge this must include the complementary functions of the discovery of truth and diffusion of knowledge. It may be said generally that teaching degenerates unless it be kept in touch with research; since the constant repetition of second or third-hand knowledge leads to mere mimicry in pupils: the living touch of reality is lost. Hence the importance of the encouragement of originality and research in an University, even from the point of view of the teacher."

Dr. Bose also raises the question whether Indian Universities are for ever to serve as feeders to foreign Universities. Says he:

And the power of an University to encourage research will depend on the world-status which that University has created for itself. What is the worth of its degrees and what is the value of the honours conferred by it in the estimation of the world? This estimation and this world-status can by no manner of means be created artificially.

For the question will be asked what advancement in any branch of knowledge has been made by you? What discoveries and investigations have been brought about under your fostering care? Is your University always to be a preparatory school for the foreign Universities which have a high world-status? Will you never be able to make your work so distinguished that instead of there being a constant export of your students to other Universities there should be an interchange and that you should receive an import of foreign students attracted by the special contribution which your University has made to the general stock of knowledge? This is not to be regarded as an unrealisable dream. It has been accomplished before. The fame of Nalanda and Taxila did attract students from other lands who made long pilgrimages to the Indian shrines of learning.

If any Indian University succeeds in attracting foreign students it will be by the achievements of men like Dr. Bose.

Regarding facilities for research, there is the generally received opinion that no original work in science can be done without elaborately equipped laboratories. But Dr. Bose says:—

"It has to be remembered that there are two factors for successful investigation—one, external, demanding lavish expenditure of money—the other, internal, which requires intense mental application. Perhaps, in this power of concentration, Indians possess an asset of no mean value. In spite of difficulties, work has been done here which has found recognition in the great intellectual centres in the West. It is obvious that with better facilities much more can be done; it is a matter which should not present insuperable difficulties to our Universities."

Yes, only if the official dictators of these Universities could be convinced that it is not huge and costly buildings which make a university, but scholarship. Then more money can be spent on research fellowships than on brick and mortar.

In Dr. Bose's experience, "there is a genuine desire among a fair number of students to undertake research work." But as regards success in such work, he tells us to bear in mind that there are at least ten thousand workers all over the world engaged in original investigation, but comparatively few successful results are heard of. "You cannot command results by merely opening classes. There must be favourable combination of circumstances for success in research." "It must be remembered that even out of a number of earnest students there can only be a few who can succeed in striking out a new path."

Regarding the future of research in India, Dr. Bose's words fill our minds with hope.

I think there is a great future for such work. First, on account of favourable conditions in the tropics, we have a wealth of biological material unavailable to the Northern laboratories. The Indian mind is again characteristically synthetic; it refuses to recognise artificial divisions. The greatest work for the future lies undoubtedly in the border lands, which at present divide one department of science from another, and in such work alone do we look for scientific generalisation of supreme importance. Work of this description would require unremitting toil, great patience and indomitable persistence. In these qualifications some of our students will not be found wanting. At present they find little scope for the satisfaction of the nobler aspirations—not the mere gratification of personal ambition—but the service which they can render by bringing their contribution to the store of the world's

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Are Indian Students languid and apathetic ?

Rev. W. H. G. Holmes says "no" in the *Bengal Educational Journal.*

No one could live with Indian students for even a few days without discovering that so far from being languid they are as lively and animated youths as can be found anywhere on earth, that there is nothing in the wide world which does not interest them, that they take a vivid delight in knowing about all the varied occupations of mankind.

India may be a very old country and its civilization so hoary with age that it counts not by centuries but by millenia, but as represented by its student class it is one of the youngest countries in the world. The West may be blase, but to the East all things are ever becoming new.

The undergraduate population is very much alive, and whatever criticisms may be passed on Indian students of the present day, they cannot be charged with apathy and indifference. It is an exceedingly vigorous and alert crowd of young men who pour into Calcutta year by year to get admission into the colleges of the great city.

Dr. Rashbehary Ghose's Endowment.

No Indian can think of Dr. Rashbehary Ghose's munificent donation of ten lakhs to the Calcutta University without admiring his openhandedness and patriotism. The endowment is meant "for the promotion of scientific and technical education and for the cultivation, and advancement of science, pure and applied, amongst my countrymen by and through indigenous agency."

The condition "that the chairs mentioned be always filled by Indians (that is, persons born of Indian parents as contradistinguished from persons who are called Statutory Natives of India)," is patriotic in no narrow sense. It is absolutely necessary for gaining the object which the donor has in view. It was also needed as a measure of protection. For our educated men are practically excluded from the higher educational service.

According to the condition laid down by the donor, the professors will always be Indians; and so long as the present Vice-Chancellor, who deserves to be congratulated upon having succeeded in obtaining for the University two big endowments of Rs. 15 and 10 lakhs, holds office, the controlling authority will also be practically indigenous. But it is probable that he will soon be succeeded by a different sort of man, and there is a strong tendency, almost a determination, to officialise the universities entirely. So that in future the controlling authority will be anything but indigenous. For this reason, if for no other, we should have been better pleased if the donor could have seen reasons to have sufficient confidence in the National Council of Education to make it the beneficiary. Some people say, indeed, that the National Council of Education has not been much of a success,—a point that we do not propose here to discuss; but has the officially controlled magnificent Tata Endowment any better record to show ?

We have not the least doubt that Dr. Ghose's endowment will provide considerable facilities for the study of pure science, and that it will place the Professors and their students in a position "to extend the bounds of knowledge", but how it will promote technical education or enable them "to improve ..... the arts, industries, manufactures and agriculture of this country," we do not yet clearly see. In the first place, somehow technical education does not seem to flourish in the cold bureaucratic shade (at least that is what the Tata Endowment shows), and the Universities are going to be entirely bureaucratised. In the second place, the courses of study at present prescribed by the Calcutta University do not include any branch or department of technology or of agriculture; but they may be included in the near future. In the third place, we may be permitted to observe that teaching work in the class-room or research work in the laboratory, though an indispensable preliminary, cannot alone enable anybody "to improve, by the application of his researches, the arts, industries, manufactures and agriculture of this country." Of course we are not so unreasonable or ungrateful as to find fault with an educational benefactor for not being an industrial bank or a captain of industry as well. But the reason why we make these observations is that we find that European factories, conducted according to Western methods, succeed in this country; but many of our young men who have learned these methods in the West do not find sufficient capital or other facilities to make a successful application of their knowledge. We, therefore, think that if Dr. Ghose could supplement his present endowment with another of 10 or 20 lakhs, out of the interest of which approved students of his foundation might be helped to start small industries, there would be a better prospect of his

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wishes being fulfilled in their entirety. We have ventured to make this suggestion as he is a large shareholder of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works and financed a match factory, and has thereby given practical proof of his ardent desire to promote Indian industries.

No doubt there are politico-economic difficulties in the way of our industrial advancement and our land-tenure and revenue system has not a little to do with the ruin of Indian agriculture (as ably shown in our last number by Prof. Dvijadas Datta) ; but with these questions Dr. Ghose the educationist cannot deal. He may be expected to tackle them in a different capacity.

There are one or two other points in Dr. Ghose's letter to Sir Ashutosh on which we may be permitted to comment. The fourth condition he has laid down is—

> That the salary of each Professor be, as nearly as possible, a sum of six thousand rupees annually to be paid out of the income of the fund; but that it be open to the Senate to supplement such sum from the University or other funds at their disposal from time to time.

We suppose every one understands that if a University professor be not honorary or if he be not in receipt of a mere subsistence allowance, but if, on the contrary, a salary is paid to him, it should be adequate to his needs and also should be such as would give him an equal position in the eyes of the lay public with other University professors. It may be at once conceded that a University professor of pure Indian descent may be expected so to moderate his worldly ambition as to find Rs. 500 a month sufficient for his expenses. But there are other University professors, particularly European professors, who are paid much higher salaries. The University ought not to expect to take advantage of the patriotic feelings of our best Indian professors to pay them about half the salaries of European professors. Whatever the qualifications, whatever the patriotic self-sacrifice of these Indian professors may be, they are for this very reason sure to be rated by all but the few most thoughtful members of the public as inferior to European professors. That may be a very unreasonable way of thinking ; but that is human nature as it stands. Therefore we say, either the University should pay the European and other Indian professors also Rs. 500 per mensem, or, if it be beyond the power of the University to get them to work on this salary, it should pay Dr. Ghose's science Professors on the scale of the European Professors. And the latter part of the fourth condition leaves it open to the Senate to do so.

In India one thing that has tended to humiliate and depresss the best Indian intellect and thus to rob it of its prestige and usefulness, is the payment to it of half or one-third the salary of third rate Europeans. Our own leaders ought not to be a party to any such thing.

We do not propose that Dr. Ghose's chairs should carry the lavish salaries enjoyed by the Indian Educational Service men in the highest grades. We only suggest that they should be paid the same salary as the University pays to its European professors. For another reason, too, the scale of salary laid down in Dr. Ghose's letter is inadvisable. Not to speak of Indian Educational Service men, the Provincial Service men of the highest grades enjoy a higher salary than Rs. 500 a month. We suppose Dr. Ghose wants whole time men, unlike the gentlemen who at present do *thika* work. In that case, would he be satisfied with men of inferior calibre to those senior men who are in the Provincial Service ? To begin with we may be so fortunate as to get on the proposed salary the services of some of our best professors, who may agree to serve from patriotic motives. But it would not be reasonable to depend on good luck or patriotic ardour for a regular succession of very able professors.

The last consideration that we would urge is that the fixing of the salaries at Rs. 500 a month, indirectly strengthens the Government policy of paying Indian professors half or less than half of what is paid to European professors. The Government can very well say, "You propose to pay your best men, men whom you expect to do research work, even less than what we pay our senior provincial service men; and still you object to our having different scales of pay for Europeans and Indians."

"The Board" is to consist, among others, of three nominees of the Founder, namely, (a) The Hon. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, K. T., &c., (b) Prof. Prafulla Chandra Ray, D. Sc., &c., and (c) The Hon. Babu Mahendranath Ray, M.A., B.L. The donor is certainly entitled to nominate whomsoever he likes. But as it is a public matter, we may, without offence offer a few

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DR. RASHBEHARY GHOSE.

remarks. Each of these three persons is highly qualified in his own way. But Babu Mahendranath Ray in his professorial days professed mathematics, a subject which Sir Asutosh is fully qualified to advise upon. At the same time, we find neither physics nor botany represented. As regards Sir Asutosh which must have appeared to every one conspicuous by its absence from Dr. Ghose's Board, we need not hesitate to say that Prof. J. C. Bose ought to have been in the Board. No better scientist can be found to represent both Physics and Botany. We do not know whether he

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declined to serve or he was not asked to; but whatever or whoever may be responsible for his absence from the Board, the fact cannot but be regretted. Scientific education has made so little progress in India, that we are unable to appraise each piece of scientific research at its proper value. The account of Prof. Bose's researches, in not one but many branches of science, published in this Review in December, 1912, may help one to form some idea of their extent and worth. They do not compare unfavorably with those of some of the greatest names in science. No wonder that with regard to some of them Lord Kelvin declared himself 'literally filled with wonder and admiration for so much success in these difficult and novel experimental problems.' The honour of being twice invited to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, rendered illustrious by the labours of Davy and Faraday, of Rayleigh and Dewar, does not fall to the lot of every eminent scientist. It fell to him. His work in connection with Physiological Botany has been unique and path-breaking. Just as his electrical researches have helped to improve the manufacture of wireless telegraphic apparatus, so his researches in Plant Physiology have been of practical use in agriculture in the United States, which has the largest agricultural department in the world. We extract below a few sentences from the letter of Prof. R. Harper of the Department of Plant Physiology in the University of Wisconsin which we published in December, 1912 :—

"I wish to urge again the very great importance for all the University and Agricultural Colleges in which plant physiology is taught, of having your instrument put in the market so that they will be available for all laboratories.....Plant Physiology is a subject of such fundamental significance from the standpoint of agriculture, and the courses in it are being so rapidly developed in the Western [American] Universities, that I am sure that there would be a good demand for such apparatus. It is certainly of first importance for agriculture, that such studies as yours on the seasonal variation of condition in plants, rate and factor of growth and so on, should be developed in our departments of Plant Physiology to the fullest extent and for this purpose apparatus for quantitative studies is quite indispensable."

Independence of the Philippine Islands.

In our last March number we gave an ethnological and educational description of the Filipinos and summarised the opinions of some leading American papers and publicists as to when the Philippines might expect to be independent. Last week Reuter has telegraphed that President Wilson states that he expects the new Governor of the Philippines to make it clear that the Government's policy is the ultimate freedom of the Philippines. Simultaneously the Secretary of the Interior in the Philippines reports that peonage and chattel slavery are widespread and that an effective legislation against these systems is prevented by the members of the Philippine Assembly who are interested in them. He is unable to devise a remedy. A lively controversy is expected, Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, U. S. A., favours immediate independence.

The Havoc caused by the Damodar Flood.

This has been a year of disastrous floods in India. There have been devastating inundations in the Provinces of Bombay, Bengal and Bihar causing destruction of property and of the lives of human beings and cattle. So far as Bengal is concerned, no approximate estimate of the devastation caused by the Damodar and other rivers is yet available. Officials are inclined to minimise the effect of the floods. We think it is the duty of the Government to publish a full report on the loss of lives and of houses and other property by instituting a village to village enquiry. Such an enquiry is also indispensably necessary for giving relief. Private charity, in some places co-operating with the Government, is doing all it can to allay the pangs of hunger and prevent deaths from starvation. But though this gives immediate relief, it does not go far, nor has private charity yet reached all the affected villages. As thousands of families have been rendered utterly destitute and homeless, they must be given relief for months and helped to build their houses. Crops having been entirely or partly destroyed in hundreds of villages and cattle having perished, the agricultural classes should be helped to buy cattle and furnished with seeds or seedlings. As epidemics are sure to break out in many of the villages, medical help should be made available to the villagers. In the Sonamukhi Thana of the Bankura district and elsewhere, rice fields have been covered with a deposit of sand several feet deep. If it be impracticable to

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remove the sand or if the cost of such an operation be forbidding, the poor farmers should be provided with arable land elsewhere. Let the poorer middle class families in distress be specially sought out and helped as secretly as practicable. They would rather suffer than seek charity.

The resources of private charity in men and money are not sufficient to cope with the disaster. Government has the organisation, the men and the money. It exists for the protection of the lives of the people and for promoting their happiness and prosperity. Let it do its duty. Let it co-operate with the people. Let it be true co-operation, that is to say, let not the officials demand subordination and subservience from the organisers of private relief.

In addition to the forms of relief mentioned above, there should be remissions of rent, and the estates of the Zemindars of the affected areas should not be sold this year according to "the sunset law," if they fail to pay land-revenue on the due date.

In addition to collecting funds, giving subscriptions, and sending out parties for giving relief, the local leaders have a duty to perform which has not yet been done thoroughly, systematically and methodically. It is the giving of accurate information to enable the organisations in Calcutta to afford relief quickly. The district and village leaders should publish information in the papers and send it to the central relief organisation office in College Square on the following points, for instance:— Names of the villages affected, the nearest Railway Station from which they can be reached, the conveyances, such as boats, hackney carriages, bullock carts, &c., available, whether food stuffs can be had for money locally or provisions must be carried by the relief parties, whether *dhotis* (old and new) are required, what are the prevailing diseases if any, whether local volunteers are available, whether volunteers sent from Calcutta can find shelter in any private residence in any village and make it the relief centre, &c. Arrangements should also be made for inspecting the relief centres.

Atheism Disappearing.

In the mid-June number of *La Revue* M. Jean Finot discourses on Atheism, which in the original definition of the term, he says, is fast dying out. *The Review of Reviews* thus summarises some of his observations:—

> No man to-day is an atheist as that term was originally understood. A man cannot exist without some sort of faith, a certain religiosity in the wider sense of that word. Faith has even invaded the domain of science. The Infinite has come into all our calculations; it fills and animates our visions and our hopes. Moreover, our notion of the infinite has in every sense deepened and broadened. Nature presents to us myriads of elements. What would be the number of possible combinations of them? Infinite is the only possible reply. By whatever name we call the Infinite —Jupiter, Jehovah, Providence, Nature, God the Father, Mystery, Force—some sort of faith is indispensable and inevitable. Thus the atheism of other days is expiring on the threshold of belief in the Infinite. At the same time, religious fanaticism is disappearing, and these two facts together form the prelude to that triumphal symphony of the human faith of to-morrow which will be called the Infinite. Sincere faith, however, does not exist without sincere doubt. The salvation of religious faith lies in the reciprocal tendencies which these two contradictions have to contend with.
>
> Our ideas of immortality have greatly changed, and while true believers are being more and more affected by reason, the sceptics and the atheists are being more and more influenced by the spiritual sides of our aspirations and of our life....Agnosticism itself, which believes in nothing, admits the Unknown which presses so heavily on our destinies. Atheism becomes more and more negative. The believer and the professed atheist, each in his way, is tending towards justice and happiness.

Some sort of faith is implied in all kinds of human activity. Whatever a man's work, whether it be for his own pleasure or good, or for the good of others, he *believes*, consciously or sub-consciously, that certain results will follow his acts. Why does he believe? What or who ensures the sequence of cause and effect?

Whoever has moral enthusiasm for an ideal, whoever believes in the possibility of human progress as the result of certain lines of action, has a religious faith, though it be not called by any orthodox name.

Hindu-Muslim Co-operation.

At the great Mayo Hall meeting in Allahabad to consider the scandalous treatment of our sisters and brethren in South Africa and other matters, the President, Pandit Motilal Nehru, made a very appropriate reference to Hindu-Muslim co-operation. He said:—

> After many a long year we have the good fortune to witness to-day the gratifying spectacle of the representatives of the two great communities assembled on a common political platform. This is the happiest augury for the future and the surest sign that strong unifying forces are at work to mould an Indian nationality which recognises no distinctions of class or creed. We have met to consider certain

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reforms which are urgently called for; but to my mind no reform however urgent can compare in importance to that great reform of reforms the complete union of Hindus and Mahomedans. For my part I would not in the least mind our most reasonable demand being persistently denied provided we can time after time bring together an ever-increasing number of the representatives of the two communities to agitate their common grievances from a common platform. There is no obstacle in the way of progress which the collective will of the people cannot surmount, no opposition to their just and reasonable demand which their combined effort on constitutional lines cannot overcome. Necessary reforms, however long they may be delayed, will come as surely as day follows night....I therefore heartily congratulate you, as I do myself, on the happy beginning we have made to-day and I hope and trust that the beginning so made will be vigorously followed up and that no amount of petty differences will be allowed to interfere with the great work before us. If we differ on certain points—and differences of opinion must occasionally arise as long as human nature is what it is—let us earnestly try to reduce the points of difference to a minimum and advance shoulder to shoulder in the onward march.

River Embankments.

It was rightly suggested at the Town Hall meeting for the collection of subscriptions in aid of the sufferers from the floods, that an enquiry should be held to ascertain whether the Damodar and other river embankments were kept in good condition or not. As safeguards against the destructive effects of floods overflowing the embankments, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* makes some suggestions.

Talking of relief-works, a suggestion occurs to us Let these works consist not merely in repairing the breached embankments and damaged roads and culverts, but digging out outlets for the overflowing water in case of any future floods. Let there be a regular system of such channels all around the villages and let the earth dug up be heaped up and made into a highland or artificial table-land. Let there be at least one such artificial table-land (say 10 to 15 feet high) in every village or group of villages so as to afford protection to the villagers when confronted by a similar disaster in the future. Operations like these, while affording, for the present, the needed relief to the labourers at a minimum of cost to the Government, has the additional recommendation of being protective works against any prospective floods.

Engineers should be able to say whether these channels or canals could be provided with locks.

Mr. Montagu's Budget Speech.

Mr. Montagu's last Budget Speech in the House of Commons, which was remarkable for the number of topics dealt with or referred to and the quantity of platitudes that he uttered, seems to have been like the Ramayan *minus* Ram; for there was little in it about finance. We shall refer to only a few points in his speech. Adverting to the Native States he said:

However marked is the influence of Western education and travel in India generally, nowhere is it more marked than in the Native States where the rulers more and more watch International and Imperial politics and vie with one another in improving the condition of their administration and their reputation for efficient government. Consequently the last twenty years have witnessed striking progress and developments in the Native States. This advance entails more advanced methods in our treatment of those of their affairs with which we are concerned.

POLITICAL SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

The Foreign Secretary is already over burdened with the ever-widening and increasingly difficult, complicated and delicate sphere of operations in foreign affairs on all borders of India; and it is quite impossible for any one man simultaneously to cope satisfactorily with all problems of the administration of the Native States. The Government of India, therefore, had now proposed and Lord Crewe was considering the proposal that separate Secretaries should be appointed for the affairs of the Native States with the title of Political Secretary to Government and having for his Department that branch of the Foreign Office which deals with internal affairs.

The change can be effected at little cost, and will, I am sure, be acceptable to the Chiefs as tending to a quicker discharge of business and a more thorough and personal representation of their problems to the Viceroy. It will also help to lighten the burdens of the Residents and Political Officers which have become arrear with the advance of the States in getting from them a readier response to their references to headquarters. Moreover, conferences, to be held from time to time in Delhi and Simla, to which the Ruling Princes will be invited, will give them opportunities for meeting one another and discussing alterations in custom, practice and rule.

We hope, in spite of the good intentions of the Government, the Political Secretaries would not prove like spokes in the wheels of the progressive States.

Speaking of the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans, Mr. Montagu observed that "*Divide et impera*, one of the most dangerous of all maxims, is not written in our text-books of statesmanship." We are thankful for this information, and shall not fail to judge of the conduct of all our governors accordingly. But as sometimes even the highest servants of the Crown in India, like Lord Dufferin, Lord Curzon and Lord Minto, have followed this maxim, we are curious to know whence they learnt it. Perhaps they got it from books not prescribed as text-books of statesmanship. They may have thought that for graduation in statesmanship, they would be required to know "unseen" passages as much as, if not better than, their text-

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books, and so they may have learnt this "most dangerous of all maxims" as one of the most important "unseens." But we are quite sure if Mr. Montagu had been their examiner, they would certainly have been plucked.

In the course of his remarks on the unlawful practice of some policemen of torturing under-trial prisoners, he said: "However we cannot see our way to abolish the record of confessions before trial." In that case it would be impossible to stamp out this horrible practice entirely.

Here is another extract.

"The Civil Service is suffering from three grievances demanding redress. Firstly, pay, which is a question of the utmost importance; and the Commission has got a worthy task in a thorough investigation of this question and the determination to recommend, if it consider it necessary, a pay adequate to the altered conditions and pensions adequate to services rendered."

To talk of the Indian Civil Service being inadequately paid is an utter absurdity. The Service itself is an anachronism and ought to be done away with. Its members are paid much more lavishly than any other class of men in the world doing the same kind of work. The members of the Ceylon Civil Service, who have to pass the same tests as they and work in a similar climate, get less pay than they.

We wrote in our last September (1912) number: "We shall be glad if the present [Public Services] commission do not increase the salaries and emoluments of the existing European services," &c. (P. 329). Again, in our last October number we wrote: "It is now clear that an all-round attempt is now being made to take advantage of Lord Islington's commission to increase the salaries of Anglo-Indian officials. In his article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* on the constitution and working of the High Courts, Sir Henry Prinsep mentions two factors which have tended to lessen the attraction of Indian judgeships. The first is the decreased value of Judges' salaries..... The implication underlying the first factor is that the Judges' salaries should be increased..... "D. R.", evidently an Aglo-Indian official, writes in the *Spectator* of London on the Rise of Prices in India.....It [his letter] plainly suggests that Anglo-Indian officials' salaries should be increased by at least thirty per cent." What we feared about a year ago may now be taken to be sure to come to pass.

Mr. Montagu says: "The old era of hard and fast division between the governors and the governed on racial lines has disappeared for ever." He is mistaken, and does not know his facts. Partitions have been erected where they did not exist before: *e.g.*, is not the higher educational service practically closed to Indians? Some half a dozen high posts in the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils and the Secretary of State's Council cannot obliterate the practically racial distinction between the Imperial and Provincial services in almost all departments of public service. So much for the civil services. In the army Indians are totally and absolutely debarred from the Commissioned ranks. So Mr. Montagu's assertion is grievously incorrect.

We can contemplate with some satisfaction the following sentences in his speech, assuming that they are meant to be given effect to, and that the voluntary indigenous agencies referred to therein would be used not as mere subservient tools but would be given some initiative and discretionary powers:

We must find indigenous voluntary agencies to conduct a large amount of our detailed work.

Even if there is some loss of efficiency—even if the District Board is worse run than the Municipal body and less capable, we ought to find an indigenous agency in India which will alone ensure our progress being real and complete.

Educational suggestions.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika asks why the Education Department does not start a number of open air schools and sanatoriums for the students as is done in Germany and other advanced countries. In support of its suggestion it states the very well-known fact, that, what with the hard struggle for life in these days, and especially in India,—as well as the crushing labours exacted by the University examinations, most of our student-folk are crippled at the very threshold of their life, and either grow up confirmed invalids, unable to fight life's battle, or swell the number of premature deaths. It suggests that students with a rickety constitution or suffering from malaria, dyspepsia or incipient lung affections—the three great scourges affecting the younger generation,—may be sorted out by periodical medical examination and facilities granted to them and their guardians for their education in special schools

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in a salubrious climate with provision for plenty of open and fresh air. Special sanatoriums also may be started exclusively for student-folk where they may, at each vacation, go up for recruiting their health, either on payment of no fees or on nominal fees, and with facilities for their being accompanied by a guardian. These suggestions are worthy of whole-hearted support.

The I. M. S. Examination.

This year out of the 12 successful I. M. S. candidates 5 are Indians, the first three places being occupied by them. The first man hails from the Panjab and the next two from Bengal. We are afraid of this good luck.

A Humiliating Demand.

The Mahratta says :—

"It is believed that the Deccan Education Society of Poona is face to face with what may be described as a critical situation in the history of the institution. The crisis is supposed to arise out of a demand made by Government upon the Members and the Servants of the Society to subscribe to an oath and a declaration that they will, on no account, take any part in any movement, political or semi-political, which may have for its object the subversion of the Government, or criticism of any of its measures. What attitude the Society has taken towards this demand is not definitely known. But it is believed that the Society has unanimously protested against the gag which is sought to be applied to its mouth, and that in this matter the Society has been strongly supported by its President Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. The support of such an eminent educationist may be regarded as of great value, It has also great significance in that it means the deliberate judgment, upon the question, of a friend of Government who may be, under any conditions, safely trusted to jealously watch the best interests of the administration. Those who have known Dr. Bhandarkar and his political opinions throughout his long and distinguished career as a Professor at College, as a Vice-Chancellor of the University and subsequently as a private citizen, need not be told that in any controversy or dispute arising between Government on the one hand and the public on the other, Sir Ramkrishna may always be expected to turn the balance however slightly in favour of Government. His faith in the virtues and the merits of the administration and the detachment of his scholarly mind have always rendered him a weighty ballast on the official side. When the Universities Bill was hotly debated in the Supreme Legislative Council, Government made no secret of the fact that they put much store by the opinion of Dr. Bhandarkar ; and we have hopes that Government may be persuaded, even in the present case, to attach to his judgment the same weight as ever before, notwithstanding the accident that he is now giving his assent to the views of the Deccan Education Society rather than those of the Government.

Nobody expects any government to be friendly to those who may seek to subvert it. But we cannot think of a more futile and childish method of nipping in the bud rebellious movements than to ask people to take an oath and make a declaration that they would not be a party to such movements. And why should teachers more than others be required to give such an undertaking? Are they naturally in every country more intriguing or inclined to rebellion than others? Or is it because Government wants to cast the minds of all future generations of our young men in an absolutely non-political mould that their teachers must be made utterly non-political? Else why this attempt to prevent the instructors of youth from taking part in any movement which may have for its object even *criticism* of any Government measures? Every one admits that man is fallible. But as soon as that man becomes an official does he become infallible and above criticism? Or does a man by becoming a teacher lose the rights of citizenship? Politics is to an Englishman like the very breath of his nostrils ; and nothing is so curious as the attempt of a Government composed of Englishmen to root out politics from the minds of the youth of a nation they govern. There is no doubt much in British politics that is utterly sordid. We do not want our young men to go in for such politics, but politics as a mode of spiritual endeavour ought certainly to be encouraged.

Bogus Medical Degrees.

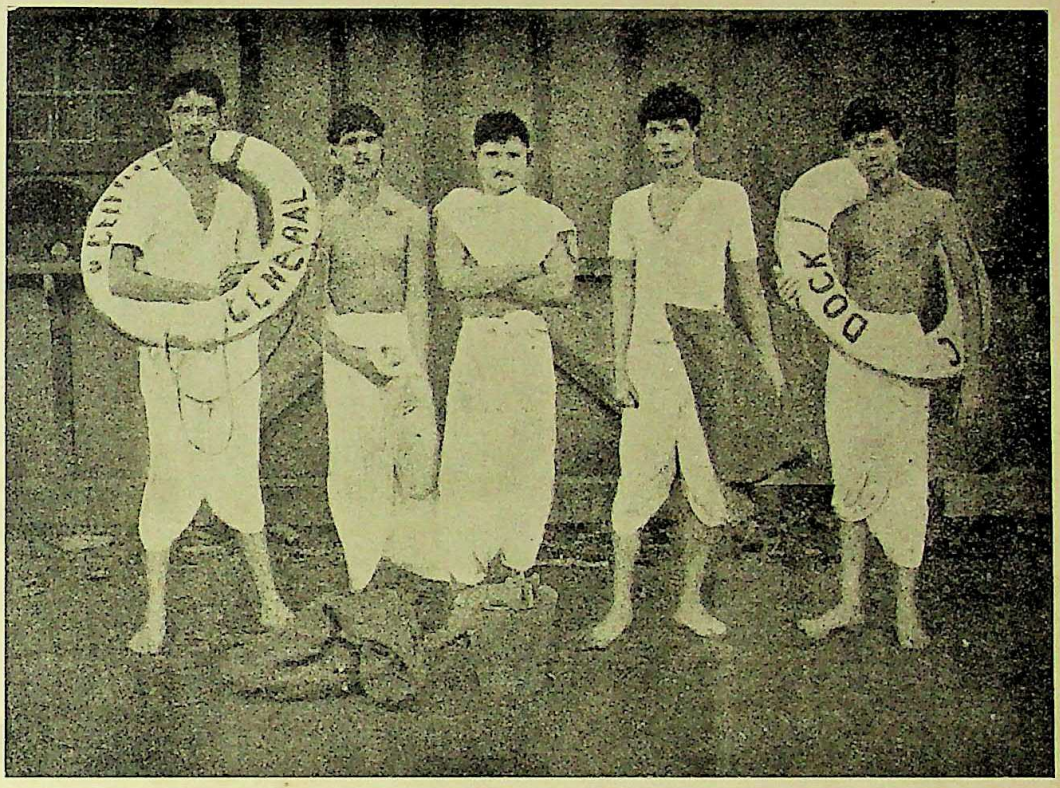
In their circular letter on bogus medical degrees the Government of India seek to remove certain possible misapprehensions.

In the first place they have no desire to discourage the growth of independent medical institutions. They would rather wish to see such institutions extended in Calcutta and probably elsewhere. The existing Government Medical Colleges are unable to meet the demands for instruction. Private institutions should provide valuable opportunities for professional and clerical work to private practitioners which cannot fail to raise the standard and promote the development of an independent medical profession ; and provided that a minimum standard of efficiency in equipment and training is insisted upon the Government of India desire that every possible encouragement be duly given to them.

In the second place the Government of India have at present no intention of legislating to prevent Ayurvedic Colleges and similar Institutions from conferring degrees nor to penalise Kabirajes, Hakims and such practitioners in the exercise of their profession. In

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THE CITY COLLEGE STUDENTS AT RELIEF WORK NEAR AMTA.

[With acknowledgements to the "Hindoo Patriot."]

their judgment it is hopeless to attempt to protect the credulous and uneducated from employing whomsoever they choose. On the other hand they consider that the public is clearly entitled to be protected against practitioners who profess to treat their patients according to the European systems of medicine under the cover of spurious qualifications, whether conferred by one of the corresponding colleges of America or by proprietary Institutions such as exist in Calcutta and Dacca.

As "Kabirajes, Hakims and such practitioners" do effect some cures, no legislation should be undertaken either "at present" or in future to penalise them in the exercise of their profession.

The Governor-General-in-Council considers that it is now possible to proceed by means of a "General Act to prohibit all Institutions,not affiliated to any University nor recognised by Government from granting any medical degrees or titles which bear colourable resemblance, to registerable qualifications" and further to prohibit individual practitioners from advertising that they hold such degrees. This the Government is entitled to do. But suppose there is a medical school called the Calcutta Medical Institution all whose teachers are medical graduates or licentiates of the Calcutta University or some well-known British University or medical association, and suppose it confers the title of G. C. M. I. (Graduate of the Calcutta Medical Institution), would that be penalised ?

If a Medical Board or Council be constituted for the purpose of dealing with such matters as the recognition of private medical institutions, we think the majority of its members should be private practitioners who are graduates of well-known Universities.

The Flood Relief Workers.

The Marwari community of Calcutta are entitled to our heartfelt thanks for the generosity, promptness, self-effacement and self-sacrifice with which they have rendered help in the stricken villages. They have not rested satisfied with mere contributions; they have personally gone to the affected parts to afford relief, many rich

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DISTRESSED PEOPLE AT BAMOOCHAR, A VILLAGE IN AMTA SUB-DIVISION. THEY HAVE ALL COME TO AN ADJACENT VILLAGE FOR HELP.

[With acknowledgements to the "Hindoo Parriot".]

men undergoing their full share of the hardships involved in such work. In many places they have been the first in the field. And they have not tried to advertise their charity, as, we regret to note, a few others have done.

The work of our young men has been beyond praise. They have at a moment's notice gone to the affected villages. They have gone without food and rest for days. They have often slept on country carts under the sky. They have swum to flooded villages with loads of food on their heads, wearing life-belts or furnished with life-buoys. They have waded through flooded fields, sometimes carrying bags of rice weighing a maund or more, up to their waists or necks in water. In the absence of oxen they have drawn cart-loads of provisions themselves, and when boats stuck in the mud in shallow water, they have got into the water and pushed and dragged the boats. When no boatmen ventured to cross the raging Damodar, some of them have had the skill, the daring and the ardent humanity to row the boat, loaded with provisions, across the foaming flood and back again after finishing their work of love. They have with their own hands dug pits and buried the putrifying carcasses of cattle, to save the villages from epidemics. They have run the risk of being bitten by poisonous snakes, which have taken shelter in the branches of trees or high land.

We and they are of the people and they have come to the rescue of the people when their need was the sorest. In better times let them band themselves together for improving the condition of the villages. Let them educate the villagers, let them attend to village sanitation, and let them show the way to agricultural and industrial advance by co-operative methods.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Diwan of Zeb-un-nissa, the first fifty ghazals rendered from the Persian by Magan Lal and Jessie Duncan Westbrook, with Introduction and Notes. "Wisdom of the East" Series. (J. Murray). 112 pp. Price 2s. net.

The English translation of Zeb-un-nissa's odes placed by Mr. Magan Lal before Mrs. Westbrook for versification must have been astoundingly incorrect in several passages. E.g., Ghazal II., second couplet, the Persian text reads.

Chun Khamir-i-tinat-i-ma ze ab-i-rahamat kardi,
Ham halutf-i-khwesh gardan aqibat-i-mahmud-i-ma.

Which literally means,

As Thou didst compound the leaven of my nature with the water of Thy Mercy,
Do Thou also, out of Thy grace, make *my* end praiseworthy.

But the passage has been thus rendered:

"Within us stirs the leaven of Thy love,
As streams of water of Thy mercy run.
Look from above
And *bless Mahmoud* and all that *he* hath done."

Evidently the translator mistook the adjective *mahmud* for a proper name!

In Ghazal V. the last two couplets run thus:

Musia! laf mazan taqat-i-didarat nist,
Partu-i-nur-i-tajalli chun tamamast inja.
Dar pai-e-masti-e-har sham khumar-i-sahar ast,
Mukhfia! bazam-i-farahnak kudamast inja?

The meaning is

O Moses, brag not; you are powerless to gaze (here),
As the divine light shines here with full brilliancy.
On the heels of every night's intoxication comes the crop-sickness of the next morn,
O Makhfi, what sort of exhilarating feast is here?

Mrs. Westbrook gives us the antithesis of the sense in her version;

"Here is the source of light, the heavenly fount,
Here is the vision of eternal grace;
Brighter than Moses thou, when from the Mount
He came, God's radiance shining on his face.
The wine at night unto the morning lends
Its exaltation, morning to the night
Its dream bequeathes in turn: so *never ends*
The sequence of the happy soul's *delight*."

So, too, in Ghazal VI., verse 2.,

Badast-i-khud zadam atish man atishkhanah-i-Kudrat,

has been translated as—"With mine own hands the altar-fire I lit", while the correct meaning is—'With my own hands I set fire to (i.e., destroyed) my fire-temple.'

In Ghazal XI., the last verse means,

"O Makhfi, the prayer constantly repeated in their hearts by idolators is *O Eternal God*," for which Mrs. Westbrook has

"But, Makhfi, think what secret joy is thine.
To bear thine idol ever in thy heart."

In Ghazal XIV., verse 8, meaning

"If the wind wafts towards you my letter," has been rendered as

"Come to me, O ye thirsty: this is my fate—
To know the giver of celestial wine"!

The biographical Introduction merely gives us the legends about Makhfi current in bazar gossip and seems to have been compiled from some worthless Urdu biography of Makhfi written by an imaginative modern Hindustani author equally ignorant of English and Persian. The contemporary Persian histories state that Zeb-un-nissa was born on 15 Feb. 1638, died at Delhi on 26 May 1702 and was buried in the garden of "Thirty Thousand Trees" outside the Kabul gate. But the book under review places her birth in 1639, her death in 1689, and her mortal remains "at Nawakot near Lahore"! If, as our authors say, "The record remains of how he [Mirza Farukh, son of Shah Abbas II. of Iran] came" to India to woo Zeb-un-nissa, the record must be mythical, as Shah Abbas II. had only two sons, Safi and Hamza, neither of whom visited India. No Akil Khan was Governor of Lahore under Aurangzib, and none, of the viziers of the reign had a son named Akil Khan. On p. 16 our authors tell a story about Zeb-un-nissa concealing her lover in a cooking-vessel, being evidently unaware of the fact that the anecdote is told by Bernier about *her aunt* Jahanara (Constable's ed. p. 12) and its falsity is exposed by Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, i. 217.)

We grieve to see that Mrs. Westbrook's labour has been so greatly wasted by reason of her having been supplied with a wrong translation of Makhfi's poems and a legendary account of her life.

But though the historian and the oriental scholar may take exception to the book, the general reader will find it very pleasant reading. Leaving out the considerations of historical truth and philosophical accuracy, the English verses flow with remarkable smoothness and vigour and they reproduce the true spirit of the Sufi devotee.

"But here before the garden door I wait;
Why should I deem myself unfortunate?
For by Thy holy threshold shall I stay,
And with my lashes sweep its dust away."

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"O, I have drunk my cup of cherished grief,
And love the torment of my wounded heart;
As the scars heal I tear their lips apart,
And in my pain find rapturous relief." (XXII)

"Whether it be in Mecca's holiest shrine,
Or in the Temple pilgrim feet have trod,
Still Thou art mine,
Wherever God is worshipped is my God." (II)

"O idle arms,
Never the lost Beloved have ye caressed:
Better that ye were broken than like this
Empty and cold eternally to rest." (p. 19).

This is genuine poetry, and when we remember that it has been done into English from a foreign original we must give a very high rank to Mrs. Westbrook as a poet.

J. SARKAR.

The Prithviraja Vijaya, by Har Bilas Sarda, (extract from J. R. A. S., Apr. 1913), 22 pp.

This essay contains a highly valuable critical account of a Sanskrit poem on Prithvi Raja, preserved in a birch-bark MS. of the Deccan College Library, Poona, and probably written by Jayanaka the Kashmiri poet during the life-time of its hero. Mr. Sarda learnedly compares six genealogical tables of Prithvi Raja's dynasty from six different sources, and gives, among other things, interesting descriptions of Ajmer city and the king's personal appearance. He takes *Sapadlaksh* (or Sawalakh) as another name for the kingdom of Ajmer; but Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds a different view. (See *Ind. Antiq.*, Jan. 1911).

J. S.

I. *Mrs. Besant and the Aleyone Case: by Veritas. Goodin & Co, Madras. 1913. Price Rs. 2.*

The book is nicely printed and got up and contains an abridged version of the recent litigation in the Madras High Court for the recovery of the two minor sons of M. G. Narayaniah from the custody of Mrs. Besant. Photographs of some of those who took an active part in the prosecution have been given. The plaintiff was ordered to pay the defendant's costs, and his sons have refused to return to his custody. So the immediate object of the suit has not been gained, but the trial has not been altogether void of result, inasmuch as the methods of the Theosophical society under the giudance of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Leadbeter have been made public.

II. *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas: Vijnaneswara's Mitaksara, Vol. III, the Prayaschitta Adhyaya (pp. 494). The Panini Office, Allahabad.*

The Law of Penance, contains, besides a record of the punishments appropriate to offences of all descriptions, digressions on anatomy, philosophy and the like. The nature of the sins discussed and the relative severity of the various penances ordained for them, afford food for thought to the student of comparative jurisprudence and of the progress of civilisation. The work is a masterly production, scholarly in the highest sense, and does credit to the erudition of the translator and the Editor.

III. *Cartoons from the Hindi Punch for 1912: Edited by Barjorjee Nowrosjee, "Hindi Punch" Office, Frere Road, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 1-4-0.*

This is the only serio-comic publication in India, and as in so many other walks of life, it is a Parsi who leads in this department of journalistic enterprise. The pictures are lively, animated, and often extremely suggestive. The reality behind the shifting panorama of current events is hit off with remarkable insight and sympathy, and consequently it is a very useful guide to the study of the political and social progress of the year. The 13th annual publicat on (1912) is naturally full of the Royal visit and the Durbar, and contains an useful record of the prominent incidents of those eventful times. One may do worse than spend a delightful half hour in the company of this volume. He will laugh no doubt, but will also gain a little wisdom by the way.

IV. *Rules and Orders relating to the conduct of Public Servants: by G. K. Roy. Rs. 2.*

A useful and laborious compilation, sure to be much appreciated by those for whom it is intended.

V. *English Translation of Lala Lajpat Rai's speech on the depressed classes.*

VI. *Social Problem by Maharaj-Kumar Sailendra Krishna Dev.*

VII. *The Education that India needs (a lecture) by P. K. Basu.*

VIII. *Weaving in Madras: by N. Subramania Aiyar, B. A.*

The brochure deals with the history of weaving in the Madras Presidency and gives an interesting account of the present position of the weaving industry in Southern India.

IX. *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800. Traced from the East India Company's records preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office, and from other sources. By Henry Davison Love. (Indian Records Series). In four volumes. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1913. Price 36 Shillings net.*

This encyclopœdic production is a monument of the genius for historical research which characterises the British race. Each of the three volumes before us consists on an average of 600 closely printed pages, and the index alone makes up a fourth volume of nearly 200 pages. Beautiful old maps and photographic reproductions of the paintings of ancient celebrities adorn the volumes. The get up is on a sumptuous and lavish scale, as befits a publication issued under the auspices of the Government of India. The East India Company first gained foothold in the Southern presidency, and there was much that was sure to be interesting in the mass of records dealing with that part of India and mouldering in the archives of Fort St. George and the India Office. Nothing but praise is due to the compiler who grappled with the herculean task and evolved order out of this chaotic mass. The result of his labours has been presented before us in what, considering the material at his disposal, must be considered as a condensed form, though very few readers in this busy age will have the patience to go through cover to cover of

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this by no means connected narrative. As an authoritative and exhaustive book of reference, however, the volumes will prove immensely useful, and the very ample index will enhance its utility. The book throws interesting sidelights on many a dark page of Indian history and the scholar who can wade through the massive volumes will find his labours amply rewarded. We await the publication of a similar record for Bengal, which to us on this side of India is likely to prove as interesting as the book under review is sure to do to our brethren of the South. A government publication is not perhaps the source which one would look to for the whole truth in regard to many of the happenings of those stirring and eventful times, but so far as it goes, the record appears to be faithful and accurate. It is perhaps needless to add that the entire subject has been treated, as might naturally be expected, more from the standpoint of the English settlers than from that of the people, their habits, customs, mode of life, how they thought and felt, and what part they took in shaping the course of events. Nevertheless, scattered through these volumes, the Indian historian will find materials on all these points if he enquires for them with sufficient diligence.

X. Folk-tales of Hindustan: by Shaikh Chilli. Second Edition. Illustrated by U. Ray & Sons. Panini Office, Bahadurgunj, Allahabad, 1913. Printed at the Brahmo Mission Press, Calcutta. Rs. 2.

The book is handsomely got up, and well printed. Its success is evinced by the fact that the first edition has already run out. Shaikh Chilli is of course a pseudonym, and the author is a wellknown Bengali scholar domiciled in the United Provinces. The stories are familiar to readers of the *Modern Review*, as they originally appeared in this magazine. They are full of verve and hold our attention riveted up to the end. How much of human interest there is in these stories dealing with the fortunes of princes, giants, fairies, and animals! As we read we feel that we are living once more among the friends of our childhood—friends with whom we were made familiar by the tales of the *Hitopadesha* and the *Panchatantra*, and the *Arabian Nights*—and one wonders that they continue to delight and edify us at an age when another generation is growing up around us and beginning to take an interest in the stories of Princess Schaherzadi. A simple world, so far anti-democratic that personality and not numbers alone counts, in which lessons of charity and good fellowship extend even to the animal kingdom, the pomp and circumstances of royalty intermingles with the joys and sorrows of the humble dwellers in the cottages, the complex problems of existence are solved by conjuring up the vision of another world where virtue is always rewarded and vice invariably punished and everything ends happily and well, and where shrewd observations and wise maxims offer a striking contrast to an environment which is frankly and charmingly impossible—this, in some of its aspects, is the picture called up in our minds by a perusal of these stories. India is the land where folklore, like so many other things, had its birth, and the Arabian Nights, the Fables of Æsop, and the Fairy Tales of the brothers Grimm have, we believe, all been traced to this source. The author is to be congratulated on the success with which he has rendered these stories into English. Nor must we forget the artists, Messrs. U. Ray and Sons. The pictures have been nicely conceived and beautifully executed, and are full of expression, which gives them an air of reality often wanting in similar pictures by Indian artists.

XI. Malayan Monochromes: by Sir Hugh Clifford. London, John Murray, 1913.

The author is a high official in the Straits Settlements, and has in this book given us an account of some aspects of the life led by the Moslems of the Malay islands, over whom he is set to rule. There are altogether twelve stories in the book, but they are hardly stories in the ordinary sense. What the author does is to take up an actual incident out of the many which have happened within his knowledge, clothe it with an appropriate body and surroundings out of the vast store-house of his experience, and endow it with a soul. All this requires a vivid and sympathetic imagination, and a powerful pen, and both these gifts the author possesses in a remarkable degree. A perusal of these stories, therefore, gives us more real insight into the mind and life of the people than laboured official reports. Though a bureaucrat brought up in the worst of schools—the government of a subject-race—it is refreshing to find that his long official connection has not dried up his native kindliness of heart. In 'Cholera in a Chinese Junk,' 'Mir Maluk, Sepoy,' 'The nature of an oath,' the author has shown considerable insight into the springs of human action. As an analysis of the feelings and motives which guide men under certain distressing circumstances, the first of them is a masterpiece.

XII. The Poetical Works of Chilkur C. S. Narsimha Row. Vol I. M. V. Press, Ellore. 1911.

This is a volume of poems of 480 pages. The waste of intellectual power here involved is sad to contemplate, for evidently the writer of these verses has a fairly good knowledge of English and some ideas in his brain which strive for expression. With the late poet-laureate, whose letter to the author he quotes, we may say that he has mistaken his vocation. As in his very first poem, addressed to his critics, the author instinctively assumes an attitude of hostility towards them, and holds out the threat "Censors I care(*sic*) a straw," we deem it prudent not to enter into a detailed review of his work.

Pol.

BENGALI.

1. Anupras (Alliteration): by Professor Lalit Kumar Banerji, M. A. Bhattacharyya & Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta, 1320 B.S. Price 0-8-0.

The learned professor continues his researches into the peculiarities of the Bengali language, and in this book he treats us to one aspect of it—the influence of alliteration and assonance in Bengali literature, personal names, proverbs, &c., The author has spared no pains to gather together everything that properly comes within the purview of his discourse and to point out how far the Bengali language has been enriched by 'alliteration's artful aid.' The book is a fascinating study of one of the important elements which go to make our mother tongue what it now is. The book is nicely printed, and is fairly big-sized, covering 137 pages.

P.

HINDI.

Shudhdha Ramayana by Pandit Santaram Ji Sharma Vedratna Vidyabhushan. Printed at the Bombay Machine Press, Lahore and published by the Nagri Pracharini Company Limited, Gumti Bazar, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 470. Price: paper cover, Rs. 1-12-0. Bound Edition Rs. 2.

In this Ramayana the author has laid under contri-

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Ramayana both in Hindi and Sanskrit and has tried to sift the materials and eliminate from them the improbable ones. In this attempt he has not merely relied on reason, but he has arrived at his conclusions by comparing the different texts to which he has referred in the footnote. The book will form a very nice prose reader for all sorts and grades of people and the poems quoted here and there have been appropriately chosen for the purpose of being got by heart by juvenile readers, if convenient. The narrative is a connected one and has been skilfully handled. The language is on the whole correct and the get-up and binding are nice. But it is to be regretted that a large number of printing errors have been left. We hope the author will remove them in the next edition. The publication is of a novel kind and should receive encouragement.

M. S.

URDU.

Bhartrihari Shatak by Lala Lalchand Saheb Folak. To be had of Vyas Pustakaloy, Lahore, or Babu Shiwadas, Bookseller, Lahore Darwaza, Lahore, Crown 8vo. pp. 138. Price: Paper cover, ans. 5. Bound Edition, ans. 6.

This is a translation in Urdu prose of the famous Sanskrit book "Bhartrihari Shatak." The language of the translation is idiomatic and correct and we could come across only very few printing errors. The preface contains a short notice of the life of Shree Bhartrihari and the circumstances under which he renounced the world. The publication will form an interesting reading to those unacquainted with either Sanskrit or Hindi.

Mahabharat by Mr. Lalchand Folak. Printed at the Hindustan Steam Press, Lahore and to be had of the Vyas Pustakalaya, Lahore. Royal 8vo. pp. 312. Price Rs. 1-4-0.

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America Path Pradarshak by Mr. Satya Deva. To be had of the Satya Granthamala office, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 72. Price ans. 5.

We are glad to find that this book has been published in Urdu as well. The contents of the book are the same as in the Hindi Edition, but the language has undergone a thorough change and pure Urdu has been used. The Mahomedan gentlemen and such of the Hindus who cannot read Hindi will find the publication useful and interesting. The book is a brief encyclopædia of the different novelties in America.

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The Sacred Books of the Hindus (No. 47-48) Vol. XI.—Parts ii & iii. Samkhya-Pravachana-Sutram. Translated by Babu Nandalal Sinha M.A., B.L., P.C.S., Deputy Magistrate Daltanganj. Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu, at the Panini Office. Bahadurganj. Allahabad. Pp. 71-230. Annual Subscription :—Inland Rs. 12-12. Foreign £1. Price of this copy Rs. 3.

The book contains.

(i) The Sanskrit Text in Devanagari character.
(ii) Padapatha with meanings of words in English.
(iii) Vritti in English.
(iv) An English Translation of the Bhashya by Vijnan Acharyya.

In this part, the remaining portion of the first chapter (I. 48 to I. 164) has been given.

This volume is being well edited and translated.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. (Nos 43&44) vol XIII—Parts I & II. Sukra-Niti Sara. Translated by Professor Benoykumar Sarkar M.A. Published by Sudhindranath Basu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad Pp. 200. Annual Subscription Inland Rs 12-12 ; Foreign £1. The price of this copy Rs. 3.

An English translation of Sukra-Niti or Sukracharyya 's System of morals has been given in this volume. The notes given by the translator are useful.

In this part the first three chapters and 386 verses of the Fourth chapter have been translated.

Mahes Chandra Ghosh.

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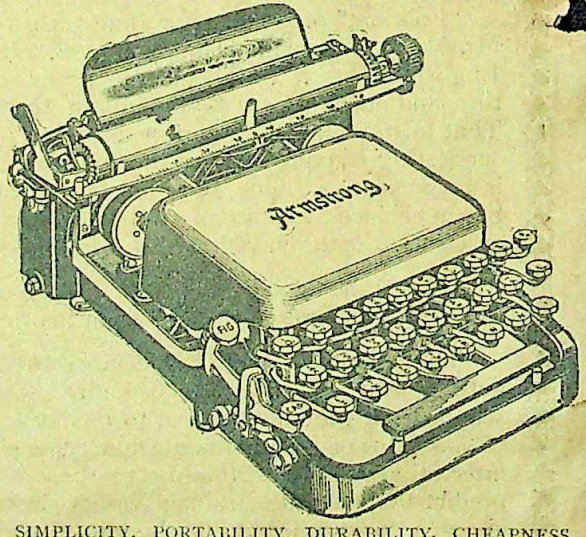
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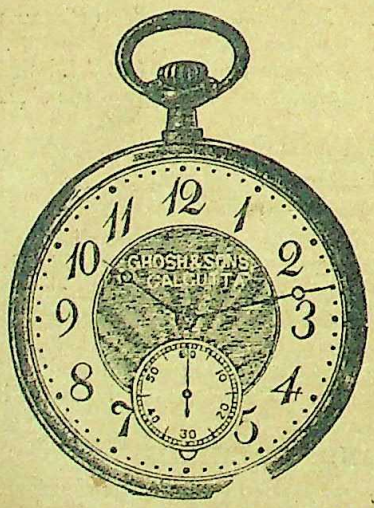
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1. Frontispiece Madonna (in colors)—from an old Mughal painting ... 231
2. Christian subject (unknown) by a—Mughal painter ... 251
3. Virgin Mary, Christ and the Saints—by a Mughal painter ... 252
4. Jesus Christ—by a Mughal painter 253
5. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar ... 263
6. Mr. N. G. Welinkar 263
7. Mr. Ratan Tata 264
8. Members of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Student's Brotherhood ... 265, 266, 267, 268
9. Non-Christian Oraon Youths ... 280
10. A Zamindar in the Oraon Country 280
11. Oraons collecting gravel ... 281
12. Handloom Weaving of the Oraons 581
13. Inside a Chota-Nagpur Village ... 282
14. A *Kumhar* (Potter) at his wheel making roofing Tiles ... 282
15. Huts of the Korwas 283
16. The Christian Oraon's House ... 284
17. Oraon Musical and household instruments, ornaments, etc. ... 285
18. Low Class Hindu women of Chota-Nagpur 286
19. Saracenic and Hindu Domes ... 293
20. A Dome in the Ajanta Cave ... 293
21. An image illustrating the Canons of Indian image-making ... 294
22. Lord Lister 299
23. Dr. Rashbehary Ghose 309
24. The City College students at Relief work near Amta 315
25. Distressed people at Bamoochar, a village in Amta Sub-division. They have all come to an adjacent village for help. 316

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Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

Contents :

	Page
Frontispiece—Siva as Paterfamilias (in colors)—FROM AN OLD PAINTING IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM	331
Automatic Record of speed of nervous impulse in Plants—PROFESSOR J. C. BOSE, D.SC. ...	331
Chautauqua : a system of Popular Education—RAFIDIN AHMED	342
The Student in London—R. N. AINGER, BARRISTER-AT-LAW	344
Kalidas, the moralist—RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., P.R.S. ...	347
Germany's Greatest Religious Poem—REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.	349
Can finite mind discover new Ideals?—WILFRED WELLOCK	357
The Bengali Passive—J. D. ANDERSON, I. C. S. (RETIRED), READER IN BENGALI, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY	365
Conservation and Reformation—DHIRENDRANATH CHOUDHURY, M. A.	368
Co-operation as a measure for the improvement of our Cottage Industries—PROF. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A.	374
The Body of Humanity—REV. C. F. ANDREWS, M.A.	379
The Date of Bhasa—P. CHOUDHURY, M. A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW	382
The Goddess Durga—ABINASHCHANDRA DAS, M.A., B.L....	387
Gleanings....	396
The Data of Ancient Indian Geography—PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.	405
Reviews and Notices of Books—M. C. GHOSH, B.A., PROF. J. C. RAY, M.A., REV. C. F. ANDREWS, M.A., K. M. JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B., ETC.	416
Chaitanya bidding farewell to his mother (in colors) —BY GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE	419
Notes. ... —...	421

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in 1911-12 Great Britain supplied 19 per cent of the grey, 98·2 per cent of the white, and 94 per cent of the coloured cotton cloth imported into India, and if Sir ROPER has any knowledge of Indian trade, which appears very doubtful, he must be aware of the absurdity of his contention. The Times in discussing this problem ignores the arguments which have been frequently urged in these columns. The benefit to be derived by England from preferential duties, as remarks, is not comparable with the profit to be derived by Great Britain. The Times has at last discovered that an Indian politician who is interested in fiscal affairs is generally a Protectionist, and not an advocate of Imperial Preference. It is refreshing to find the Times in dealing with fiscal policy in India our contemporary is at last taking account of facts which are notorious in this country. The speeches of Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. BONAR LAW on the same subject suggest either that they are wofully ignorant or that they are simply playing on the credulity of their audiences. We prefer to adopt the former supposition, and, judging by the space Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE will allow to Indian affairs in the Home Papers, the ignorance of Indian affairs which prevails among a section of the British public is so profound that it is possible still to place before them without fear of detection the wildest and most absurd statements respecting this country. To the Times, like the empiricist who dogmatizes on the habitants of Mars. They know nothing of the subject and do not care to study it with the consequent result that he is encouraged to fresh flights of fancy. But India, after all, is more accessible than Mars, and the narrator of tables relating to this country is ultimately tested and discredited.

as a pendulum will always hang perpendicularly and which, by its pressure upon suitable levers, maintains the planes in the position most desirable for stability. Practical tests are said to have proved the reliability of the device which promises to make the art of dropping bombs as easy as that of dropping a letter.

THE investigation which Major Clemesha and Dr. Pearse have conducted into the question of difficult but well-done [illegible] which has been looked upon for some years as one of the best water-supplies in the world, is of interest to those who have no knowledge of the working of septic tanks it will seem surprising to be told that the effluents from the septic tanks are much purer, as regards the number of bacilli, than the water of the Hooghly itself," but that may be regarded rather as a tribute to the contents of the septic tanks than as a reflection upon the Hooghly, and the fact remains that Major Clemesha has pronounced the filtered water at Pulta to be of excellent quality during eight months in the year during the rains the river, natural pollution, silt, solutions, and the water [illegible] ent the filter beds, is consequently less pure than at other times of the year. With a view to remedying this, various plans were considered by the sanitary engineer to the Corporation, and all of them were rejected by the latter. It is true that one or two of them were not put forward by Major Clemesha and Dr. Pearse with any degree of enthusiasm, but the factor which appears to have governed the decision of the Corporation generally was that of expense. Without entering upon any discussion between the different schemes we venture to question whether there is any vital question as that of water-supply, this is the [illegible] for the Corporation to [illegible] Calcutta is one of the largest and wealthiest cities in the world and ought to be able to find any sum that is necessary to bring the water-supply up to the maximum [illegible]

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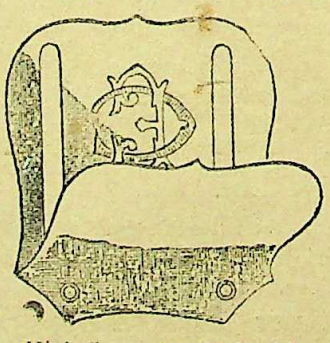


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SIVA AS PATERFAMILIAS.

(From an old painting in the Lahore Museum.)

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No. 82

AUTOMATIC RECORD OF SPEED OF NERVOUS IMPULSE IN PLANTS

By Professor J. C. Bose.

FEW things appear to stand out in such striking a contrast as the life activities in the animal and in the plant. Scientific inquirers have, indeed, been struck by the glaring differences between the two. Animals respond to a shock by movement, whereas, most plants maintain under a succession of blows an attitude of passivity. Certain tissues of the animal go on beating incessantly without any apparent cause; this spontaneous activity undergoes very characteristic modifications under the specific actions of different drugs. No corresponding phenomena had been suspected in the plant. Animal tissues give electric sign of irritation; ordinary plants, according to leading electro-physiologists, show no such signs of excitement. In the animal again there is an evolution of the wonderful nervous system, by which the organism is put into intimate communication with its different parts and with the enviroment. In the vegetal organism, on the other hand, all authorities are unanimous in declaring that there is no such thing as a nervous impulse even in a plant admittedly so sensitive as *Mimosa pudica*. The two streams of life, in plant and animal, would thus appear to flow side by side, under the guidance of laws which are altogether different.

Suppose now that the seemingly impossible had happened, and that it was proved that the life re-actions of the plant far from being different are in reality identical with those of the animal; that would undoubtedly constitute a scientific generalisation of very great importance. It would then follow that the complex mechanism of the animal machine, that baffled us so long, need not remain inscrutable for all time; for the intricate problems of the animal physiology would then naturally find their solution in the study of corresponding problems under simpler conditions of vegetable life. That would mean an advance of a revolutionary character in the science of Physiology, of Medicine and of Agriculture.

Turning now to actual results the author has shown in his previous works and in his "Researches on Irritability of Plants" recently published by Messrs Longmans,* that *all* plants are sensitive; that in certain plants there are tissues which beat spontaneously like the heart-beat of the animal; that these throbbings are affected by drugs precisely in the same manner as the pulsations of the animal heart are affected under similar circumstances. As regards the electric response, the author had in the year 1901 in his Friday Evening Discourse before the Royal Institution demonstrated the identical nature of reactions in the plant and in the animal. There remained only the question of the nervous impulse in plants, the discovery of

* Bose—*Plant Response*, Longmans, Calcutta, Bombay, London.
,, *Comparative Electro-physiology* ,,
,, *Researches on Irritability of Plants* ,,

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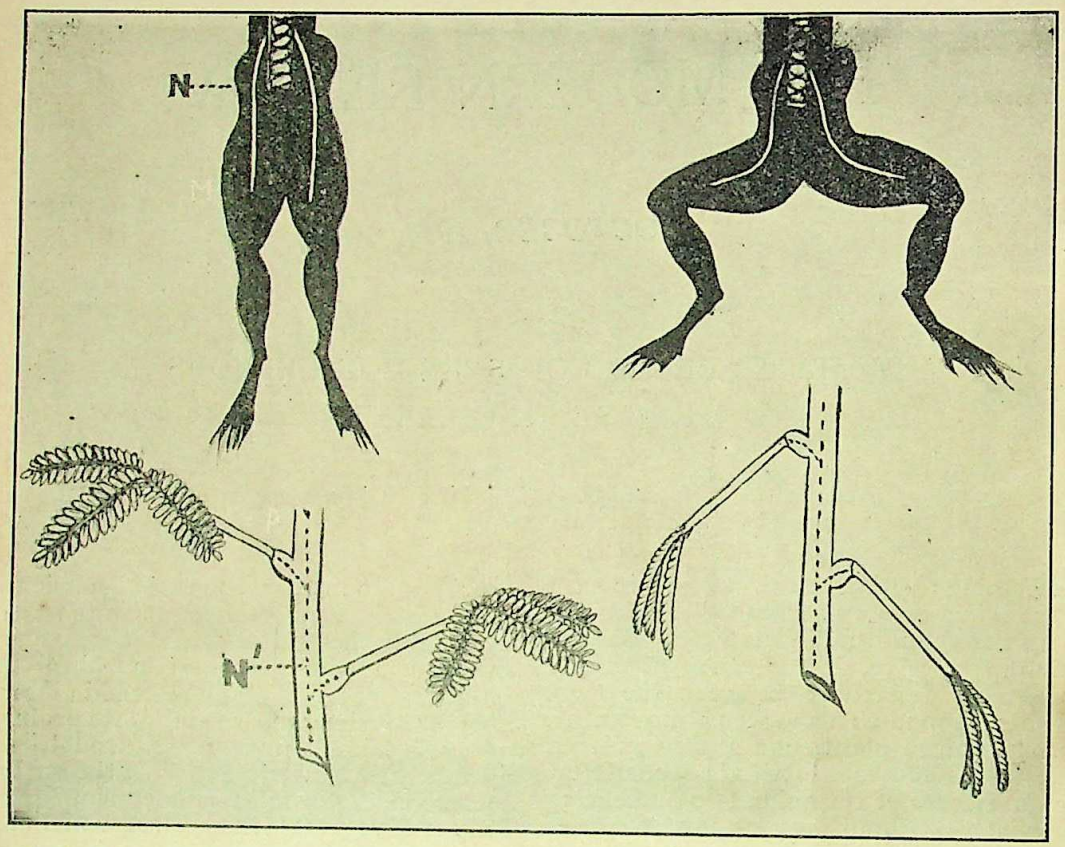


Fig 1. Excitations of frog's limb and leaf of *Mimosa* N, animal nerve. N' conducting tissue of plant. The cushion-like tissue or pulvinus at the leaf joint of *Mimosa* contracts under stimulation inducing fall of leaf.

which was announced by the writer ten years ago. It took however, all these years before his conclusions found full acceptance by the publication in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.*

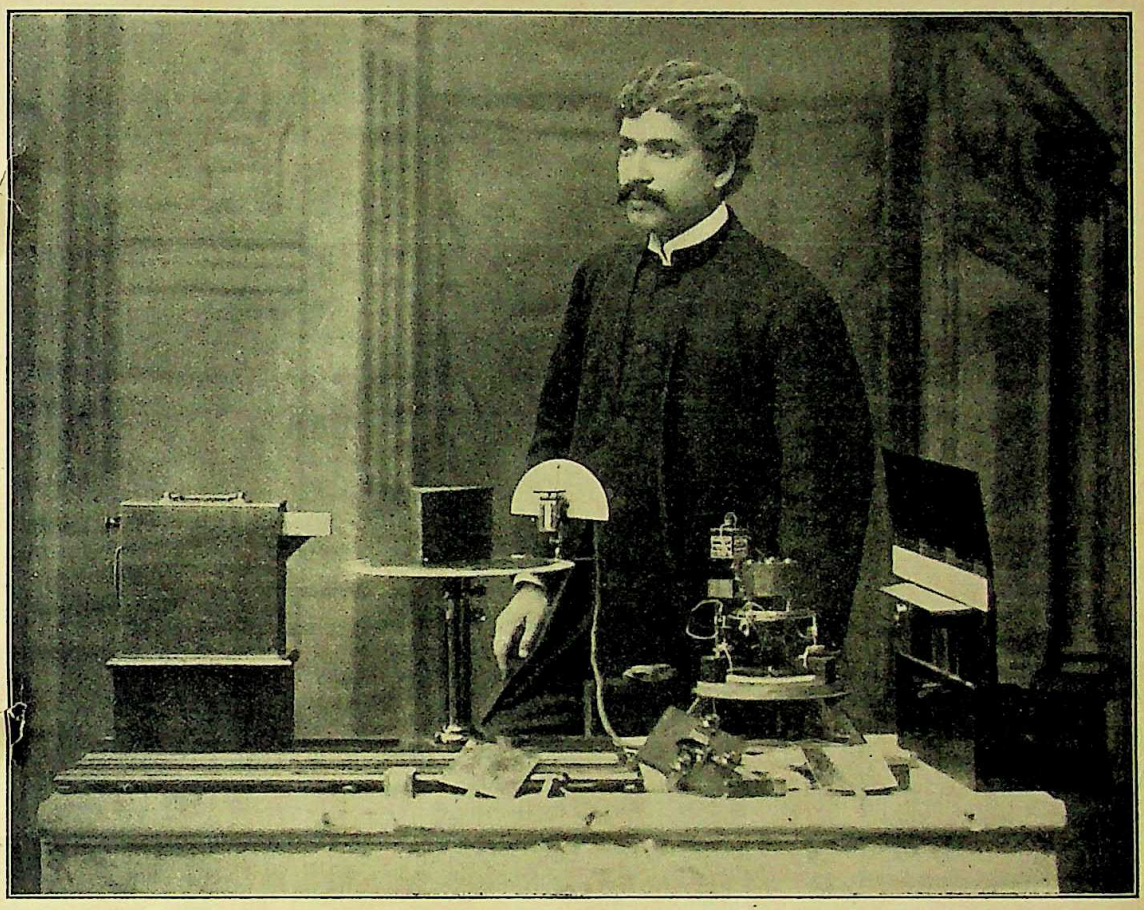
The subject of the present paper is: Do plants possess a nervous system? Before we attempt to answer this question we should form a clear idea of the function of a typical nerve. Of this it may be said that its principle function is the transmission of excitation from one point to another, more or less distant, by means of certain conducting fibres. By this process a living organism as a whole is brought into intimate relation with its environment. Thus stimulus from outside impinging on the retina gives rise to a nervous impulse which carried on to the brain by means of the optic nerve induces the response of luminous sensation. Instead of terminating in the brain the nerve may be led to a contractile muscle; the nervous impulse in such a case induces a twitch of the muscle.

Physiologists demonstrate the characteristics of nervous impulse by experimenting with a nerve-and-muscle preparation. For this the sciatic nerve of the frog with the attached muscle is dissected out. This isolated preparation can be maintained alive for several hours. If now a distant point of the nerve be stimulated by a mechanical blow or by an electric shock, an impulse will be transmitted along the nerve to the terminal muscle and induce there a sudden answering twitch. This

* Bose—*Transmission of Excitation in Mimosa* —Philosophical Transaction of the Royal Society of London. Saries B, Vol. 204

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Professor J. C. Bose lecturing on his discoveries at the Royal Institution rendered famous by the works of Davy and Faraday.

way of transmitting excitation, where the effect of a blow applied at a point is exhibited by motile effect at a distant point, would appear not unlike what occurs in the sensitive plant *Mimosa*. Here also the application of stimulus, say of a pinch, on the stem or stalk gives rise to a wave of disturbance which travelling onwards reaches the motile organ. In *Mimosa* this is situated at the leaf-joint where the pulvinus, like the animal muscle, contracts under excitation. Under the transmitted effect of stimulation, there occurs a twitch of the muscle of the frog, or a jerky fall of the leaf of *Mimosa* (Fig 1). The conducting tissue in *Mimosa* lies buried inside the stalk or stem, and it is difficult to isolate it. In the case of fern, however, it is quite easy to dissect out certain fibrous tissue which acts as a conductor of excitation.

Though the effects produced in the animal and plant are so similar, yet from the results of certain experiments carried out by the leading plant physiologist, Pfeffer, it had been definitely settled that in the plant there is nothing corresponding to the nervous impulse in the animal. The effect transmitted in the plant is supposed to be one of hydro-mechanical blow and not of true excitation.

Mechanical *versus* Nervous transmission.

According to the hydro-mechanical theory, the turgid plant tissue is imagined to be like an India-rubber tube filled with water. The application of mechanical

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stimulus is supposed to squeeze the tissue, in consequence of which the water forced out delivers a mechanical blow to the contractile organ of the plant (Fig 2.) The propagation of mechanical disturbance is thus occasioned by the bodily transfer of fluid material in a pipe. In strong contrast to this is the transmission of nervous impulse, which is a phenomenon of passage of molecular disturbance from point to point. The particles constituting the

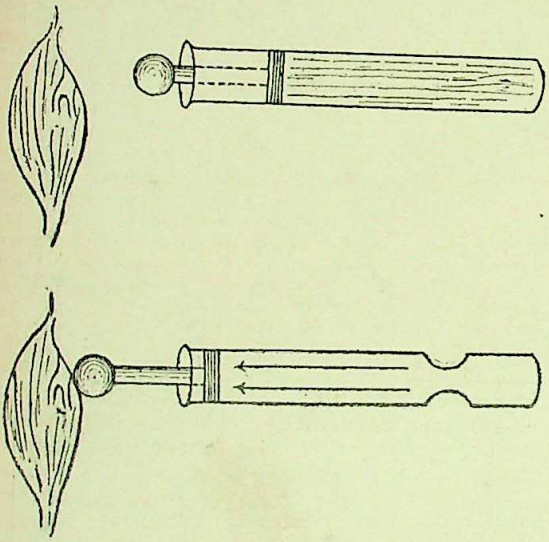


Fig 2. Model explaining hydro-mechanical transmission. Propulsion of water brought about by pinching of India-rubber tube makes the piston strike the contractile tissue to the left (lower figure).

living nerve may be regarded as possessing great molecular mobility. The incidence of stimulus induces a molecular upset in the nerve, and this condition of upset is known as excitation. When the nerve is very much alive, or in a very favourable physiological condition, then its molecular mobility is at its optimum. The impact of the feeblest stimulus then causes a great upset and therefore intense excitation. Physiological depression, however induced, will on the other hand give rise to a corresponding depression of excitability, culminating in its abolition at the death of the living tissue.

The molecular disturbance constituting excitation, passes along the conducting nerve, and this point-to-point propagation of molecular upset is known as the trans-

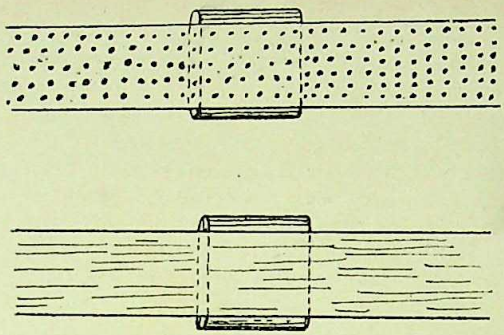


Fig 3. Transmission of excitatory molecular disturbance (upper figure) and of water movement (lower figure). Application of a depressing drug in an intermediate zone arrests nervous impulse, but has no effect on the mechanical movement of water.

mission of excitatory or nervous impulse. If by any means the physiological activity of a portion of the nerve be enhanced then excitation will pass through the particular portion with quickened speed. Such favourable condition is brought about by the application of moderate warmth. If a portion of nerve on the other hand, be rendered physiologically sluggish, then the speed of nervous impulse through that portion will be slowed down. There are certain agents which temporarily paralyse the nerve for the time being, causing a temporary arrest of the nervous impulse. Such agents are known as anaesthetics. There may again be poisonous drugs which destroy the conducting power. Under the action of such poisonous agents the nervous conduction is permanently abolished (fig 3).

We are now in a position to distinguish between mechanical and nervous transmission. The mechanical conduction of water through a pipe will in no way be affected by warmth or cold; the pipe will not lose consciousness and stop the flow of water, if it be made to inhale chloroform; nor will its conducting power be abolished by applying round it a bandage soaked in poison. These agents will, on the other hand, profoundly affect the transmission of excitation. The nature of an impulse may thus be discriminated by several crucial tests:

If physiological changes affect the rate of conduction, then the impulse must be of a nervous character; absence of such effect on the other hand proves the mechanical character of the impulse.

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Of the various physiological tests, the eminent German physiologist, Pfeffer, employed only one, namely that of the narcotic drug. Chloroform applied on the *surface* of the stem of *Mimosa* failed to arrest the impulse. This result at first sight appears most convincing and has been universally accepted as a disproof of the existence of nervous impulse in *Mimosa*. A little reflection convinced me, however, that under the particular conditions of the experiment, the conducting tissue in the interior could not have been affected by the external application of the narcotic, the task being in fact, as difficult as narcotising a nerve-trunk lying between muscles by the application of chloroform on the skin outside.

The question of nervous impulse in plants has thus to be attacked anew and I have employed for this purpose twelve different methods. They all prove conclusively that the impulse in the plant is identical in character with that in the animal. Of these I give below a short account of three different modes of investigation. It is obvious that the transmitted impulse in *Mimosa* must be of an excitatory or nervous sharacter:

(1) If it can be shown that physiological changes induce appropriate variation in the velocity of transmission of the impulse.

(2) If the impulse in the plant can be arrested by different physiological blocks by which nervous impulse in the animal is arrested.

(3) If excitation can be initiated and propagated without any physical disturbance. The central fact in the mechanical theory is the squeezing out of water for starting the hydraulic impulse: the hydro-mechanical theory must necessarily fall to the ground, if stimulation can be effected without any mechanical disturbance whatsoever.

The research ultimately resolves itself into the accurate measurement of the speed with which an impulse in the plant is transmitted and the variation of that speed under changed conditions. A portion of the tissue at C, may for example be subjected to the action of cold or of an anaesthetic. In order to find the speed of normal transmission we apply an instantaneous stimulus, say, of an electric shock, at B, near the pulvinus (fig. 4). A short interval

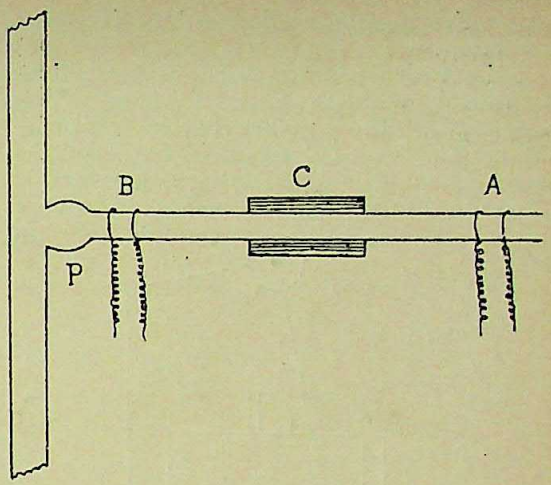


Fig 4. Experimental arrangement for determination of velocity of transmission and its variation. First record taken when stimulus is applied on the leaf-stalk at B (latent period) and then at a distant point A. Difference of two gives time for transmission from A to B. The band of cloth C is for local application of warmth, cold, anæsthetics and poison.

will be found to elapse between the application of stimulus and the beginning of responsive movement. There is a certain time lost to start the motile mechanism in action, and the time taken by the plant-organ to perceive and give an answer to the incident blow, is known as the *latent period*. After the determination of this latent period, we apply stimulus once more at A, and observe the time which elapses between the application of stimulus and the response. The difference between the two periods gives us the time required for the excitation to travel from the point of application of stimulus at A, to the responding organ at B; hence we obtain the speed of impulse in the plant. The experiment is repeated once more, after the application of a given agent at C. If the speed undergoes any variation, it must be due to the action of the given agent.

In making these measurements the results are vitiated by our personal limitations. The conditions of the experiment demand accurate meusurements of time-intervals shorter than a hundredth part of a second; but sluggishness of our perception makes such an attempt an impossibility. It is therefore absolutely necessary to invent a special device by which the plant itself should be compelled to write

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down the propagated speed of its own excitation.

A theoretical way of doing this would be to make the plant give a record from which the speed of the impulse in the plant is found. The leaf of *Mimosa* is attached to one arm of a lever V, by means of a thread. (fig. 5) A long wire W, bent at the tip, is

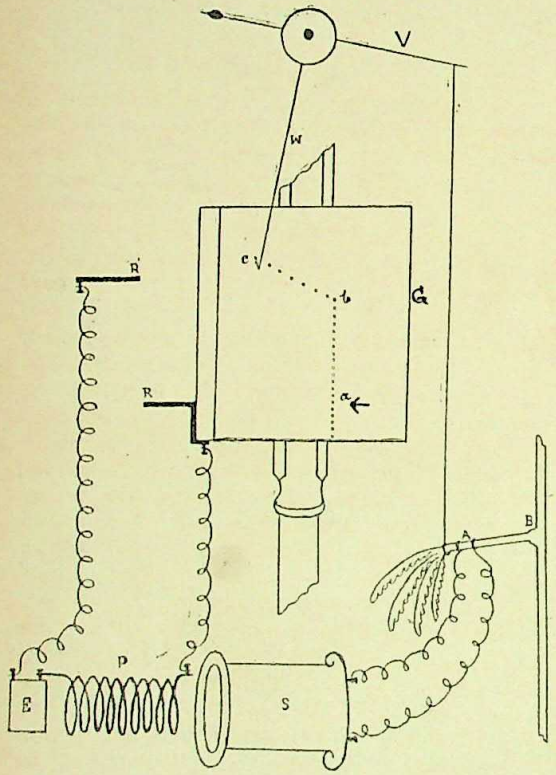


Fig. 5. Diagrammatic representation of Plant-Recorder. Responding leaf attached to one arm of lever V, at the fulcrum of which is attached W, the writer. G, sliding smoked glass plate for record. Recording plate is lifted and allowed to drop. At a definite position during fall, R. makes momentary electric contact with R', giving rise to instantaneous electric shock at A. Moment of application of stimulus marked on recording plate by arrow *a*; arrival of excitation at B causes fall of leaf, which pulls the writer to left discribing *bc*. For determination of latent period, stimulus is applied on the pulvinus at B.

placed at right angles to the lever. The tip of the writer touches a smoked glass plate G, which is allowed by means of a clock work, to fall at a definite rate. By some mechanism an electric shock is given to the leaf stalk at A, at the precise moment marked by the arrow. This is done by the rod R, attached to the glass plate G, making a short-lived electric contact with R', during the fall. After a definite period, the leaf is observed to fall. Up to this time the leaf remained unexcited, and an up-line *ab* is traced on the glass plate; the responsive fall of the leaf then pulls down the lever causing a sudden jerk of the writer to the left indicated in the record as *bc*. Thus the length *ab* in the record represents the interval between the application of stimulus and the beginning of responsive movement. Suppose the recording plate had been adjusted to fall at the rate of one tenth of an inch per second, and the distance *ab* was found to be three tenths of an inch; it is then clear that this represents an actual time-interval of three tenths of a second. This is the time occupied by the impulse to travel the distance between A and B in the leaf stalk, plus the *latent period* of the contracting pulvinus. Subtracting this from the total observed time, i. e., three tenths of a second, we get the actual time required by the impulse to travel through a given length of leaf stalk. Hence the actual speed of transmission in the plant can be found.

In carrying out this idea into practice, many serious difficulties are met with. The pull exerted by the falling leaf is very slight, and on account of friction the writer remains stuck for a time against the recording surface. Continuous contact of the writer thus introduces an error due to friction. It is true that by lifting the writer off the plate we may get rid of the friction, but in that case there would be no record. The only way out of the difficulty appeared in the compromise of making intermittent instead of continuous contact. The possibility of this lay in rendering the writer tremulous. Fresh difficulties arose which were finally overcome by an invention depending on the phenomenon of resonance.

The Resonant Recorder.

The principle of my Resonant Recorder depends on a certain phenomenon, known in music as resonance or sympathetic vibration. We may be so tuned as to thrill to certain notes and not to others. An artificial ear can be constructed to resonate to a sound of a definite pitch. The drum of the artificial ear is made of thin soap-film; a beam of light reflected from its surface forms characteristic pattern of colour on a screen. To various cries this ear remains deaf, but the apathy dis-

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appears as soon as the note to which the ear is tuned is sounded at a distance. On account of sympathetic vibration the artificial ear-film is thrown into wildest commotion and the hitherto quiescent colour pattern on the screen is now converted into a whirlpool of indescribably gorgeous colours of peacock green and molten gold.

In the same manner, if the strings of two different violins are exactly tuned, then a note sounded on one will cause the other to vibrate in sympathy. We may likewise tune the vibrating writer V, with a reed C, (fig. 6). Suppose the reed and

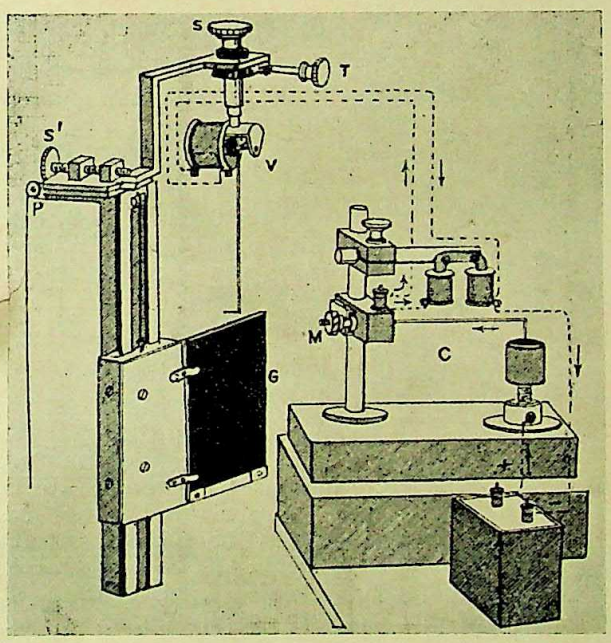


Fig. 6. Upper part of the Resonant Recorder.C, the reed and V, the vibrating writer, both tuned to, say, a hundred vibrations per second.

the writer had both been tuned to vibrate a hundred times in a second. When the reed is sounded the writer will also begin to vibrate in sympathy. In consequence of this the writer will no longer remain in continuous contact with the recording plate, but will deliver a succession of taps, a hundred times in a second. The record will therefore consist of series of dots, the distance between one dot and the next representing one hundredth part of a second. With other recorders it is possible to measure still shorter intervals. It will now be understood, how by the device of the Resonant Recorder we not only get rid of the error due to friction, but make the record itself measure time, as short as may be desired. The extraordinary delicacy of this instrument will be understood when by its means it is possible to record a time interval as short as the thousandth part of the duration of a single beat of the heart.

Perception period of the plant.

The instrument has been the means of discovering various characteristics of the plant hitherto unknown. How long, for example, does it take the plant to perceive a blow and give an answering signal ? As stated before the recording plate during its fall makes a short-lived electric contact at a certain part of its course causing instantaneous excitation of the pulvinus of *Mimosa*. The complete apparatus is seen in figure 6. The moment of application of stimulus is marked on the recording plate by a short line. The interval between this and the answering movement in the record gives the latent period. Two such records are given in figure 7, which gives identical results. The space between successive dots represents intervals of a hundredth part of a second, and there are in the present case 10·9 such spaces, between the application of stimulus and the resulting response. Hence the latent period of *Mimosa* is ·109 second. In more active specimens the latent period is as short as six one-hundredth parts of a second. This is only six times the value of the latent period of the muscle of an energetic frog. A second record (fig 8) is given where the successive dots are at intervals of ·005 second. As it is not difficult to estimate one fifth of the interval, it is evident that we have here a means of calculating time-intervals as short as a thousandth part of a second. A curious thing about the latent period is that while a stoutish plant gives an answer in a leisurely manner, that given by a thin one is almost hysterical in its abruptness. The perception time of the plant becomes very sluggish, under fatigue ; when excessively tired it temporarily loses for the time being all power of perception;

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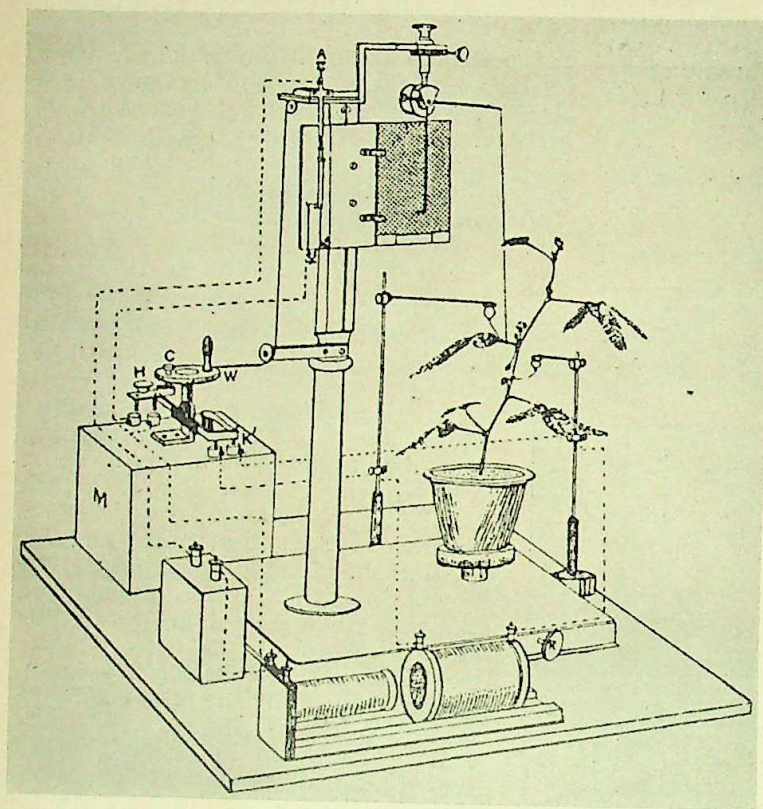


Fig. 6. The Resonant Recorder and its accessories.

in this condition the plant requires at least half an hour's absolute rest to regain its equanimity. It is no wonder that the rest-cure has become a prominent feature of the time, when frequent attendance at meetings and listening to long speeches leaves the victim in a condition akin to the dazed *Mimosa*! After describing the method of obtaining the latent period, I shall now proceed to measure the speed of the transmitted effect in the plant, which I shall in anticipation of what follows, call the excitatory or nervous impulse.

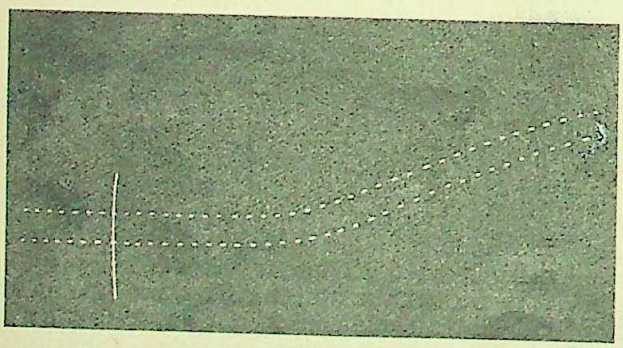


Fig. 7. Two successive records exhibiting identity of latent period. Recorder tuned to 100 vibrations per second. Distance between successive dots represents one hundredth part of a second. Vertical line indicates the application of the stimulus.

Determination of Speed of Nervous Impulse in Plants.

A stimulus is applied at a certain known distance, and the interval between the application of stimulus and response is found from the record. On subtracting from this the latent period of the pulvinus, we obtain the exact time taken by the nervous impulse to travel through the given distance. As relatively long intervals have to be measured, the recorder had its frequency adjusted to ten vibrations per second; hence the space between successive dots represents an interval of one-tenth of a second. In figure 10, is given a record for determining the velocity of transmission. The two lower figures give results of successive experiments when stimulus was applied at a distance of 30 mm. (25 mm. is equal to one inch). The uppermost is the record for direct stimulation. From these it is seen that the interval between stimulus and response is 1·6 second and that the latent period is ·1 second. Hence the true time for the excitation to travel through a distance of 30 mm. is 1·5 second, or a velocity of 20 mm. per second.

The velocity of nervous impulse in the plant is slower than those of

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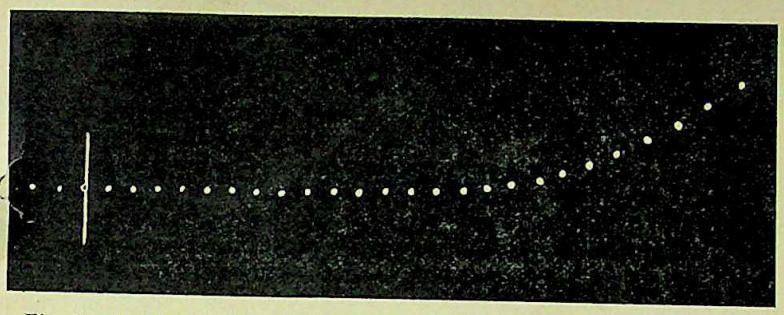


Fig. 9. Another record of the latent period of *Mimosa*. This recorder vibrates 200 times per second. The time-interval between successive dots is here ·005 sec

higher, but quicker than those of lower animals. The speed of the impulse is however subject to variation under different conditions. One significant result that came out was that while a plant carefully protected under glass from outside blows looked sleek and flourishing, yet as a complete and perfect organism it proved to be a failure. Its conducting power was found atrophied or paralysed. But when a succession of blows rained on this effete and bloated specimen, the internal condition of the plant improved. It became more alert and responsive, and was able to send out excitatory impulses with enhanced speed.

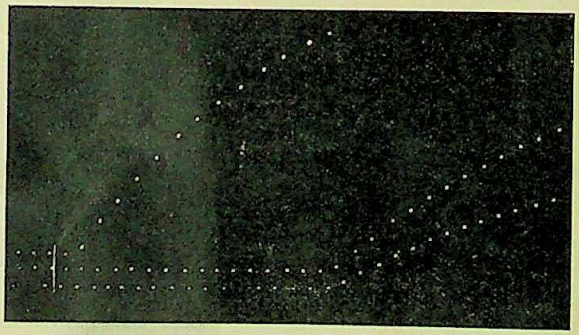


Fig. 10. Determination of velocity of transmission in *Mimosa*. The two lower records are in response to stimulus applied at a distance of 30 mm; the upper record exhibits latent period in response to direct stimulus applied on the pulvinus. Successive dots in this and following records are at intervals of one hundredth part of a second.

Influence of Temperature on Velocity.

As previously stated, a decisive experiment to discriminate between the theories of [illegible] under direct stimulation, mechanical and nervous transmission, consists in the determination of the effect of temperature on the speed of transmission. Temperature has no effect on mechanical propagation, whereas a moderate variation of it profoundly affects nervous transmission. The result given in figure 11 is quite conclusive as regards the excitatory character of the impulse in plants.

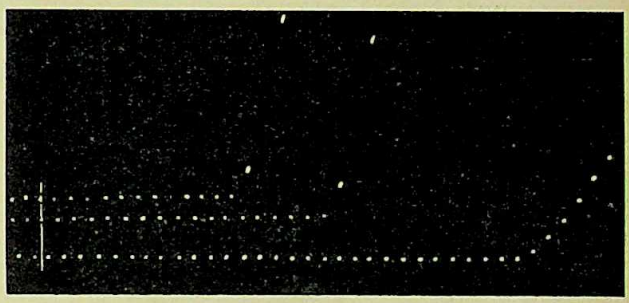


Fig 11 Effect of rising temperature in enhancing velocity of transmission. The three records from below upwards are for temperatures 22°C, 28°C and 31°C respectively.

It is seen that with rising temperature, the time required for transmission through the same distance is continuously reduced. In the present case the velocity is seen to be more than doubled by a rise of temperature through 9 degrees.

The converse of this experiment is still more interesting. Stimulus was in all cases applied on the leaf-stalk at a distance of 30 mm. from the pulvinus. The normal record (1) is first taken. After this a breadth of 10 mm. of stalk, midway between the point of stimulation and pulvinus, is slightly cooled by application of cold water. The transmission time (2) is seen to be prolonged under moderate cooling. The selected portion of the stalk was then further cooled by fragments of ice. The record (3) shows an abolition of response, transmission of the excitatory impulse being completely arrested by excessive cold. That the absence of response was due to the abolition of conducting power, and not of motile excitability of pulvinus is seen from the fact that it gave normal response (4)

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Induced paralysis and its cure by electric treatment.

As an after-effect of the application of intense cold, the conducting power remains paralysed for a considerable length of time. It is a very interesting and suggestive fact that I have been able to restore the conducting power by subjecting the paralysed portion of the plant to a measured and moderate dose of electric shock. The application of too strong an intensity is however very detrimental. This opens out an extensive field of investigation on the rational treatment for nerve-paralysis.

Arrest of nervous impulse by electric block.

A very striking proof of the identity of impulses in plant and animal is furnished by the arrest of excitatory impulse under electric block. It is known that if a constant electric current be kept flowing in the nerve in an intervening tract between the point of application of stimulus and the responding muscle, then the current acts as a block to the passage of excitation. The block is instantly removed by the stoppage of the electric current. I have been able to produce precisely similar results in the plant, in which excitation could be transmitted

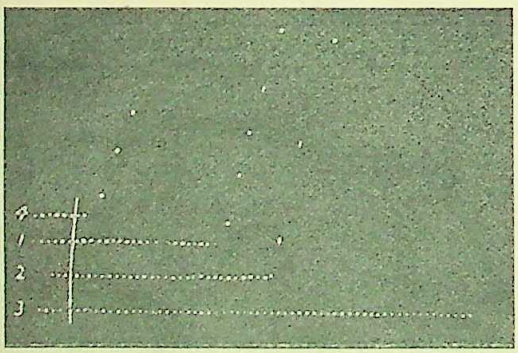


Fig 12. Effect of cold in inducing retardation and arrest of transmission. (1) Normal record (2) Retardation due to slight cooling (3) Arrest of conduction by application of ice (4) Record of direct stimulation of pulvinus.

or arrested at will. In fig. 12 is seen a record where the impulse is seen arrested under electric block at BB; but on the removal of the block, excitatory impulse is found to be transmitted causing responsive fall of the leaf.

Block of Conduction by the action of poison.

I have also succeeded in arresting conduction of excitation in plants by local application of poisonous drugs. The defect of Pfeffer's experiment lay in his attempt to arrest the impulse by the application of a volatile anaesthetic like chloroform

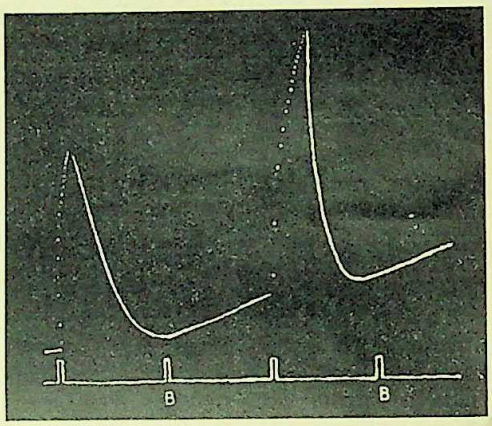


Fig 13. Records of transmitted excitation with the electric block 'off' and 'on' alternately. Arrest of transmitted excitation under electric block at BB.

on the surface of a thick stem. The chloroform escapes in the form of vapour; the access of the solution under these conditions to the interior of the tissue by absorption, can only be slight, and therefore ineffective in arresting the excitatory impulse. It occurred to me that the physiological block induced by a drug could be rendered more effective in two different ways. First by the selection for the purpose of the experiment a thin leaf-stalk instead of a thick stem, so that the access of the solution to the interior became less difficult. In the second place by the employment of strong non-volatile toxic agents like solutions of copper sulphate or of potassium cyanide. The choice of a strong poison was deemed advisable, because the absorption of even a small quantity might in such a case prove effective in abolishing the conducting power. My anticipations were fully justified. By the application of copper sulphate, the conducting power was found arrested in the course of twenty minutes. But the more deadly cyanide solution abolished the conducting power in a period as short as five minutes.

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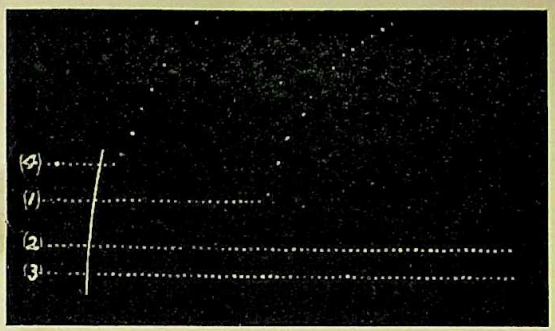


Fig 14 Abolition of conduction of excitation by the action of potassium cyanide. (1) Normal record. (2) Arrest of conduction ofter application of poison for 5 minutes. Persistence of arrest even when stimulus intensity was raised fifteenfold. (4) Record of direct stimulation.

That the local application of the poison on the leaf-stalk had only arrested the conducting power without abolishing the contractility of the distant pulvinus, is seen from the fact that the leaf gave the normal response to direct stimulation.

Excitation in the Absence of Mechanical Shock.

The hydro-mechanical theory of Pfeffer is based, as we have seen, on the idea of mechanical propulsion of water brought about by pinching of turgid tissue. This theory is completely demolished by the discovery of a method for the initiation and transmission of excitation without mechanical disturbance. This I have been able to accomplish by the polar action of an electric current. If we cut off the head of the Indian *Koi* fish, its body will remain quiescent, though the muscle retains its vitality for nearly an hour. Two wires, one of zinc and the other of copper are attached to the body; if the free ends of the wires are now brought into contact, the headless fish exhibits vigorous movement. The convulsive movement is repeated at the moment of each contact. We have here an instance of excitation in the complete absence of any mechanical blow. The explanation of this curious fact is that an electric current is generated by the contact of two dissimilar metals, which gives rise to physiological excitation. There are certain peculiarities which characterise excitation by electric current. Thus a nerve is excited at the sudden starting of a current, only at the point where it leaves the tissue. No excitation is produced during the continuation of the current. The excitation caused by an electric current is thus polar and discriminative, unlike the indiscriminative action of a mechanical blow. I find that the electric excitation of the plant has similar characteristics. This is demonstrated by first sending an electrical current so that it enters the plant-tissue near the responding pulvinus at A, leaving it at a distant point K. This produces no effect. If however the electric current be sent in an opposite direction so that the point of exit of current K is near the pulvinus, then effective excitation is initiated at the moment of starting the current, the leaf undergoing an excitatory fall (fig. 15). This experiment demonstrates the identical character of excitatory transmission in the plant and in the animal.

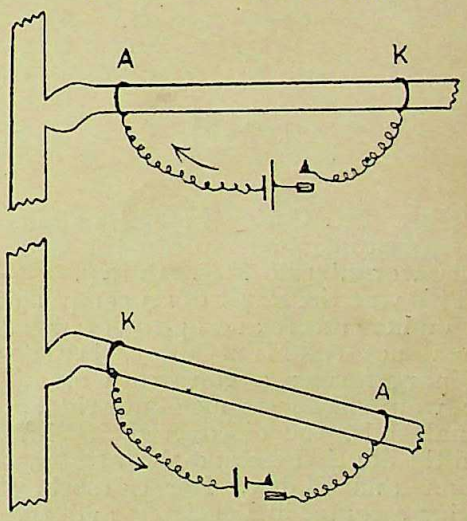


Fig. 15. Excitation in absence of mechanical distur bance. No excitation when curtent enters at A (upper figure). Excitation is however induced when the current leaves by the same point (lower figure).

I have now given accounts of experiments by which the nervous impulse is discriminated from the mechanical impulse. It has been shown that excitation may be initiated and transmitted in the plant in the complete absence of any mechanical disturbance. It has been shown that the various conditions which accelerate, retard or arrest the nervous impulse in the animal, also

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enhance, retard or block the impulse in the plant in a manner which is identical.

THE PLANT—A COMPLEX UNITY.

The plant has thus been made to exhibit many of the activities which we have been accustomed to associate only with animal life. In the one case, as in the other, stimulus of any kind will induce a responsive thrill. There are rhythmic tissues in the plant which like those in the animal go on throbbing ceaselessly. These spontaneous pulsations in the one case as in the other, are affected by various drugs in an identical manner. And in the one case as in the other, the tremor of excitation is transmitted with a definite and measured speed from point to point along fibre-like channels. We have now before our mind's eye the whole organism of the moving, perceiving and responding plant—a complex unity and not a congeries of unrelated parts. The barriers which separated kindred phenomena are thus thrown down, and the animal and the plant are seen to be a multiform unity in a single ocean of being.

In this view, is our sense of final mystery of things deepened or lessened? Is our sense of wonder diminished when we realise in the infinite expanse of life that is silent and voiceless, the beginnings of consciousness? Is it not rather that science evokes in us a deeper sense of awe? Does not each of its new advances gain for us a step in that stairway of rock which all must climb who desire to look from the mountain tops of the spirit upon the promised land of truth?

CHAUTAUQUA: A SYSTEM OF POPULAR EDUCATION.

"But, Mr. Curley and I are students in the largest institution for higher education in the world," said Mrs. Curley.

This was the result of my complimenting her on her culture and up-to-dateness. You would not call Mrs. Curley, the wife of an ordinary farmer, a cultured woman. Yet she was talking to me about the Panama Canal tolls, the discoveries in Palestine and the South Pole and the latest events in China and Thibet. Her eldest boy was taking a course in Dentistry and the girls were taking classical courses in the University. Evidently she thought that this was a good occasion to emphasize the fact that she and her husband were on education bent, as well as the children.

"What school do you attend?" I asked, with just a passing sign of incredulity.

"You need not smile," answered Mrs. Curley. "We are going to College at home, —a school for out-of-school people, as the Prexy says."

My curiosity was thoroughly aroused. What kind of an institution was this which could make mature men and women fill out examination blanks—I most vividly recalled a personal horror of examination papers. This led me to enquire about this "school for out-of-school people-"

The Chautauqua system of popular education was founded by Lewis Miller and John H. Vincent in 1874. Originally it began as an outdoor convention for Sunday School teachers, but it was not slow in broadening its plans and including almost all branches of learning. The Chautauqua idea is something like this: Education is not finished when one leaves school. Even in the home we can, during our leisure, pursue wisely-directed home-reading and thus broaden our intellectual horizon. In hundreds of thousands of homes in the United States, new and higher themes of discussion have come up owing to the influence of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle's course of home reading. The Chautauqua is not a stock-company. It pays no dividends. Its officers receive only nominal salaries. Income from tuition and gate fees are utilized for the building up of the institution, under the management of trustees. There

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are two main divisions of the work:—(1) Home-reading, and (2) Summer school and Recreation at Chautauqua, N. Y. (Summer school six weeks; Lectures and Entertainment eight weeks, in July and August).

The scramble for the almighty dollar these days absorbs the energies of all people in America. They swallow three meals a day and if they read at all, they skim the daily papers with its news from everywhere and nowhere, and if they read magazines, they would prefer a popular monthly of fiction. But one thing which must be said to the credit of the average American, is the fact he utilizes his time to the fullest extent. To thousands the Chautauqua sentiment—"Education ends only with life," has a deeper meaning. Therefore it is not surprising, that about 300,000 have enrolled for the Chautauqua Home-study courses, and at the same day all over America study some particular chapter from the same book. Old people who cannot go to school, and young people who could not owing to circumstances take advantage of the public school system of the state, all study home-study courses and get a sort of "college outlook" and immeasurably broaden their horizon. All the correction of papers, books needed and the Chautauqua monthly are only for Rs. 15 a year. A four years course in the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle entitles one to a diploma. Most people join and graduate at home, through correspondence with the permanent offices.

Owing to the influence of the graduates and the travelling Faculty of the Chautauqua, who travel through the country, lecturing on subjects of literary and popular interest, Circles have been established in remote parts of the United States. There some twenty or thirty people gather together, perhaps once a week, and arrange profitable lecture courses. Here is a copy of one of the programs:—

1. Roll-call: Answered by quotations from Iliad and Odyssey.
2. Summary of chief points in "Rivalry of Nations" Chapter 14.
3. Reading from the "Shrinking Earth" (from December Chautauquan).
4. Singing: "Recessional"—Kipling.
5. Map-Review: Each Greek state assigned to some one member, who takes the rest of the Circle on a brief imaginary trip, pointing out the location of cities, mountains, oracles, temples etc.
6. Debate: Resolved that England was justified in allowing Greece to be beaten iu 1897.

The Summer Chautauquas have evolved out of the original Chautauquas only during recent years. During the steaming days of July and August when business lags and crops take care of themselves, the farmers take their lunch basket and speed away to the nearest town for mental stimulation and refreshment. These Chautauqua assemblies in summer and lyceum courses in winter are among the mightiest forces of popular education that operate to-day. Millions of people derive from them their knowledge of things above their common ruck of life.

Let us visit one of these Chautauquas. An advance agent comes to Olin and placards the town announcing that the Chautauqua will come to town July 15 and stay until July 22. Flags and banners are hung about the streets, dray horses are covered with dusters bearing "Chautauqua" in big type, boys wear caps and buttons bearing the same legend. A balloon is sent up and when high in the air releases a fluttering medley of advertising matter and some season tickets. Tickets are sold for the course of seven days, three sessions a day for Rs. 7 only.

Promptly on the morning of the 15th a special train side-tracks at Olin and a big circus tent goes up, a stage is erected and seats are set for 2000 people. A lighting plant is installed and the place is bedecked with flags. By noon the crowd has come in from miles around, in automobiles and wagons—the whole family, mother, father and children, for the Chautauqua has always something to please all ages with. Lively music attracts the people to the grounds. The side-shows and other evils of the circus are conspicuously absent.

By 2-30 in the afternoon the audience has been seated by the uniformed attendants, announcements are made and the Chautauqua is under way with a concert by College Girls' Orchestra. Then Hon. Jennings Bryan mounts the platform and speaks for two hours. In the evening there is a humorous lecture and Senator Bristow gives a talk on "Problems of American Citizenship." Next day perhaps, we would find Mr. Mahomed Ali, better known as the Happy Hindoo, giving a talk on "India's Millions." In the evenings, magic, pictures, and music.

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Thus at a trifling cost millions of people all over the United States get clean high-grade amusement, education and inspiration. The program of these summer Chautauquas are run off with the precision of theatrical performances. For example, just as soon as William Jennings Bryan finishes his talk he takes the next train out of Olin for the nearest other tent of the circuit, probably arriving just in time to make his appearance in the scheduled program, a hundred miles away.

And when the days grow shorter and the evenings lengthen the Lyceum courses are opened and other greater millions attend them. The Lyceum is run pretty much like the summer Chautauqua, and they both are animated by the same ideals. the Lyceum was founded by Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Ward Beecher. A typical Lyceum season course is much like a typical day's program of a Chautauqua. Thus a course of six numbers usually includes an inspirational lecture, an address by a public man, an evening of magic, a humorous lecture and three musical evenings.

The idea of Chautauqua and the Lyceum is to hold up high ideals before the people, and make the masses understand their responsibility. It is to make better towns, better homes and to inspire young people for higher things and to give the old sinner new hope. Altogether it is a tremendous movement, urging the masses toward a higher vision of their destiny; and as such, we of India, cannot but take serious notice of this. It is a curiously American development, "the most American thing in America"—and one that we in India need not be ashamed to emulate.

Iowa city, U. S. A. RAFIDIN AHMED.

THE STUDENT IN LONDON

BY R. N. AINGER, BARISTER-AT-LAW.

IN the hurry and bustle of Modern City Life, we have little or no time to look about ourselves, to see with understanding eyes the towns we live in. For most of us indeed, the names of towns like Madras, Bombay or Calcutta connote places marked in black spots on a red and yellow map, places where we go to study at a College, from where we bring home to our villages new and interesting toys and fashions or where we earn a precarious living or if more fortunate where we live in luxury and enjoy the giddy pleasures of life.

Take London. According to the true view of the Londoner, born within the sound of Big Ben, England may be divided into two parts (*a*) London and (*b*) what-is-not-London, country,—the country to which people go for a holiday and the country from which people bring cream, shells and a ruddy complexion. Remember the story of the London boy on his first visit to a farm, who, seeing the maid milking the cow, ran back to his mother crying excitedly "Mummy, Mummy, look Mary is getting milk from the *Cow*" (not from bottles as he was used to in London).

But the country of England is really glorious. "Other countries in Europe may easily surpass England in every other respect: France has nobler Churches, the Rhineland grander and more romantic Castles, the cities of Flanders have quainter streets and more exquisite Town Halls, Italy has painting, sculpture, architecture and minor arts in greater profusion. But what England has of distinctive and unapproachable, beyond cavil, is its country—its close cropped lawns, its immemorial rook-haunted elms, its hedges of Hawthorns, its garden-like meadows, its village steeples embroidered in trees, its Elizabethan manor houses, its sweet air of ancient peace, its clinging mantle of ivy. The very dampness of climate has lent a picturesqueness of scenery to its mediæval ruins; the wealth of its landed families has preserved to its fields a charming interspersal of august timber and a paternal care for rustic beauty hardly dreamt of elsewhere ..... It is this beautiful England of Oxford and Cambridge, of Lincoln and Shrewsbury, this beautiful England of broad parks and stately manor houses, of ruined abbeys,

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slow flowing rivers, smooth swarded farms and ivy-clad castles, it is this England that I love".

It may be observed, in passing, that this is to a large extent due to the existence in England of a wealthy and leisured class with inclination, time and opportunities for the pursuit and cultivation of Beauty in nature and in life.

London, the City of London, is small enough, only one square mile in extent and with a population by night of 25,000 but by day of 360,000. Round this City of London has grown what is called the Inner London—covering nearly 116 square miles and with a population of nearly five millions. In recent years this vast Inner London has attained a corporate existence of its own with a Soul—the London County Council. And round this Inner London has been formed Outer London extending over 693 square miles and with a population of about seven millions.

The City, the Inner London, the Outer London, all three together make up what is commonly called the Greater London. This London has grown and grown by throwing out its giant octopus-like arms embracing in a death embrace, the surrounding villages, destroying their corporate existence and converting them into the monotonous, jerry-built soul-killing suburbs. God made the Country, Man made the Town and surely the Devil made the Suburb.

Charing Cross for instance, now the busiest and the dirtiest and the smokiest part of London, was once the village of Charing—where Edward I erected a cross to mark the spot where the body of Queen Eleanor rested on its way to Westminster.

The River Thames crosses London from West to East. Of the many Bridges, thrown over it, the oldest and the most important is the London Bridge. It was built over 1,700 years ago. At a time when London was a small town on the river the ships along the river could only come as far up as the London Bridge. And London as we now know it, has grown round the London Bridge.

London has many and varied interests. To some it appeals as the seat of Royalty and the home of Society, with its Buckingham Palace and Rotten Row. To others as a place of amusement with its Theatres, its Music Halls, its Crystal Palace and the Oval. To still others as a play ground and mystery show, with its parks, its Zoo, its Madame Tussauds and Maskelyne-and-Devants. Yet others look upon London as a big shopping centre with its Regent Street and St. Paul's Churchyard. Others again are attracted to London for its art and curio collections with its Tate Gallery, its British Museum,—its South Kensington Museum and even its annual infliction—the Royal Academy at Burlington House. Many more look upon London as the place where they go early every morning and stay till late in the evening labouring and sweating to earn a miserable pittance and keep body and soul together.

"The one thing that makes London worth seeing is that here we stand in the largest centre of population on earth, the focus of universal business and finance, the capital of the world-wide British Empire. Architecturally and artistically London has done nothing in any way worthy of its commercial supremacy. It ought to be as fine as fifty Venices, it has not one St. Mark, not one Doge's Palace."

But a Village, a Town or a City is not merely a place in space but a Drama in time. We must picture to ourselves these cities as living and growing entities, each with a life of its own, a history of its own, a drama of its own—each a vast and glorious pageant in which we notice not merely individual actors, however illustrious they may be, like a Napoleon, a Bismarck or a Tolstoy, but study the march of events renewed, yet even transformed, generations and groups of generations—And these in their essential yet Protean types—both Temporal and Spiritual.

Auguste Comte, the great Positivist philosopher, regeneralised History as the Drama of Interaction of Temporal and Spiritual Powers. Thus Civic and Political History traces for us the history of the Directive and Executive Constituents of the Temporal Power, throughout their metamorphoses—the Barons in the Castle and the Serfs in the Town House in the Mediaeval Age; the Chiefs, now growing in power, in the Palace and the People now degenerating, in the Public House, during the Rennaissance Period; the Capitalist bloated with power and wealth and the Labourer struggling for consciousness of strength and unity, in the Modern Age.

Sacred or Culture History traces for us the processions and interactions of the Spiritual power with its chief constituents—

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the Intellectuals and Emotionals—the Regulars in the Abbey and the Seculars in the Cathedral during the Mediæval Age; the Cultured Gentry in their mansions and the people in their Chapels during the Renaissance Period; the Economists and the Orators in the Modern Age.

Looked at from this point of view London and the sights of London will have a new meaning and a new significance for the student. As with London so with other cities.

The most interesting and almost the only relic of antiquity in London is the Westminster Abbey. It was built originally by Edward III. Henry III pulled down his minister to do him honour and erected the existing Church over the glorious tomb-shrine of his sainted predecessor. Later on Henry VIII added his own exquisite Chapel, an architectural gem.

The Houses of Parliament close by typify for the student the present and future of Imperial London, a phase in which the absorbing topics are of administration and Bureaucracy, of armaments, Dreadnoughts and airships. So further on are the Governing offices; Foreign Office and India Office, Horse-guards, Admiralty and War College.

Passing up White Hall Strand is reached. Trafalgar Square with its Nelson's Column reminds one of how Britain has won her imperial position. So much for the temporal.

On the spiritual side, the modern Emotionals are surely the Orators, the Poets and the Artists. So in and about Trafalgar Square many an oration has been delivered and many a fight has been waged on behalf of the women and the working-men. When the Abbeys were destroyed, when nobles increased in power they dismantled the Abbeys and carried off its treasures to their own mansions and round this nucleus of ruined altar pieces they collected, grew the private gallery of the noble and later on in the Democratic Age the National Gallery—in reality 'a glorified altarpiece, as Prof. Patrick put it.

Further up Strand before one gets to the Law Courts and the Inns of Court, is the London School of Economics, which manufactures the Intellectuals of the present order of things—the Economists, the Political Theorists and System-Makers.

Past the spot which marks the City Boundary where the beautiful Temple Bar once stood, where now stands its modern equivalent the ugly and hideous Griffin, a monument to the artistic taste of the Londoner, along Fleet Street indicating what may be called the communicative phase of the Intellectual life of London, Ludgate Circus is reached.

Up Ludgate Circus round St. Paul's Cathedral a little way beyond Cheapside is the Guildhall. In Mediæval Towns the Hotel de Ville was the symbol of the Town life and its activities. The market place or the Grand place was the forumand the meeting place of the Soldier Citizens, whither they could be summoned by the ringing of the Great Bell, where the Royal proclamations would be read, where the people's manifestoes would be delivered. All round this Grand Place the various mediæval guilds and corporations had their places of Business—the Brewers, the Butchers, the Tailors, the Skippers, the Archers, etc.—as can be seen even today in a town like Brussels. So that in every way the Grand Place was the centre and visible embodiment of the town life.

But now the city has not that distinct civic consciousness or corporate unity. So the Guildhall is associated in the popular mind with fetes, banquets and speeches; and the Mansion House a little further on with charitable and philanthropic funds.

Corresponding to the present and future Imperial phase of Westminster, the city is mainly occupied with questions of finance and Banking—The Royal Exchange and the Bank of England are seen close to the Mansion House. The days of Guilds are over, it is the day of bears and bulls.

"The World Soul wants passion and emotion, love to good things, hate to evil things, courage and honesty and control and all sorts of gifts of every kind. For the World Soul has to subdue all nature, and it can only do that with wisdom. It wants the souls of engineers, builders, architects, farmers, every kind of knowledge, of men and women. It wants the souls of doers and seers. It doesn't mind your having made mistakes; every one does that, and very likely you couldn't help them. What the World Soul won't stand are souls that have refused to live, that have rejected the wine of life offered to them."

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KALIDAS, THE MORALIST.

(*From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore*).

IT is a popular notion with us that Kalidas is merely the poet of æsthetic enjoyment. Hence, his life has been sullied with scandal in our current tradition. But this fact only proves that the populace is no better than a blind guide in literature.

Behind the vast stir of action which makes the *Mahabharat* throb, there lurks a sedate but winkless and colossal detachment from the world. The *Mahabharat* does not regard action as the supreme end of action. All its chivalry and heroism, jealousy and conflict, hate and revenge, energizing and success, end in a final departure from the world, to the tune of Shiva's destroying horn. The *Ramayan* teaches the same lesson;—the fullest possible preparations result in failure, success slips out of the hero's grasp when almost caught, all things end in *renunciation*. And yet through all this renunciation, sorrow, and failure, the greatness of action. nobility and heroism towers above the clouds like a shining peak of silver.

So, too, amidst Kalidas's outburst of beauty, a sense of aversion to pleasure lurks hidden. He is at once the poet of the enjoyment of beauty and of abstinence from enjoyment,—even as the *Mahabharat* is at once the epic of action and of resignation. His poetry does not end in æsthetic delight, he stops only after transcending such delight. His poetic ideal will become evident when we contrast the final scenes of his romances with those of modern poets.

I am quite sure that in the hands of a European poet the drama of *Sakuntala* would have closed with the scene of king Dushyanta's vain remorse at the discovery of his folly when he beheld the lost ring recovered from the fishermen. The accidental reconciliation of Dushyanta and Sakuntala during the king's return from Olympus, is not a dramatic necessity according to the European canons of poetry, which regard the parting of the lovers as the ultimate fruit of the seed sown in the First Act. No episode in the play, no act on the part of either of the lovers, could have naturally led up to their second union.

Or, again, a European poet would have closed his *Kumar-sambhav* with the grief and shame of Parvati at the failure of her assault on Shiva's heart... The modern critic regards such a scene as a fitting denouement, beside which the marriage of the two effected by Kalidas pales into the commonplace.

Marriage is a prelude to humdrum daily life; it is an institution of regulated social system. Marriage points out a straight road which leads to a single end, a road on which our wild passions are as strongly held back from breaking out in lawless outrage. Hence, modern poets are loath to exalt marriage in their works. Their main theme is that kind of love whose unbridled force wrenches men and women free from their countless social and religious bonds, drags them out of the old customary orbits of social life,—that kind of love which makes a couple imagine that they are complete in themselves, and that they have nothing to fear, nothing to want for, if the whole world turns against them, —that kind of love whose impulse tears them away from their surroundings and makes them revolve round themselves like nebulæ till they are condensed and hardened in self.

Kalidas has not ignored the intoxicating beauty of such unreasoning love; he has painted it in all its morning brilliancy of hue. But his poems do not *end* with such brilliancy. The final message of his poems is that of the tranquil sober-coloured evening in which their actions mature and reach completion.

We cannot help comparing the *Kumar-sambhav* with the *Sakuntala*; their theme

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is essentially the same. In both of them the union which Cupid tried to effect was accursed of the gods; it failed, and in its failure perished amidst all its gorgeous artistic environment like a youth struck dead on his floral bridal couch. Thereafter came *another* union,—effected by bitter sorrow and severe penance; a union of quite a different character, stripped of all the external robes of *beauty* and circled with the pure white halo of *goodness*.

The union which presumptuous Cupid undertook to bring about, was preceded by abundant preparations. In the two hermitages of Kanva and Shiva, situated outside the limits of society, the poet has given the fullest opportunity to unreasoning and precipitate young Love, with no less grandeur of accessories than skill of contrivance.

Take the scene in the *Kumar-sambhav*: On a ledge of the Snowy Mountains is seated in religious abstraction the anchorite Shiva. The cool breeze, laden with the perfume of musk and the music of the divine Kinnars, was stirring the rows of *deodar* trees watered by the stream of the Ganges. At the sudden outburst of Spring out of its proper season there, the warm south wind sighed amidst the tender foliage of the newly flowering Asoka plant; the black bees in pairs began to drink honey out of the same flower-cups; the roe closed her eyes at the blissful touch as her mate stroked her body with his horn.

An outburst of Spring in a hermitage! A sudden revelation of Nature's true self within the rigid walls of ascetic rules and restrictions! Surely, Spring does not look so wonderfully joyous when it appears in a bower of bliss.

On all sides appeared the endless decorations of Spring out of its time, and amidst them all how ravishingly was the Himalaya's daughter decked! ..... Shiva, on the other hand, seated on a tiger skin spread over a *deodar* stump, with snakes coiling in his hair and a deer-skin strapped round his waist,—his eyes fixed in meditation,—was contemplating himself with self-centred gaze like a pacific ocean. At such an unsuitable place, amidst a Spring contrary to the course of the seasons, Cupid was trying to unite such an incongruous pair!

So, too, in Kanva's hermitage, the lover is the sole monarch of the sea-girt earth and his lass is a hermit's daughter clad in the bark of trees! Kalidas here shows the power of that blind archer who can in a moment overthrow the barriers of time, place and rank.

But Kalidas does not *stop* here. He does not render full homage to *this* type of love. Before his romances close he effects a truer, fuller, final union by means of *another* power. He shows Cupid vanquished and burnt to ashes, and in Cupid's place he makes triumphant a power that has no decoration, no helper,—a power, thin with austerities, darkened by sorrow.

Kalidas admits the force of that love which submits to no bond or rule,—which suddenly overpowers men and women and plants its standard on the breached ramparts of self-control. But he never surrenders to such love. He shows that the blind amour which makes us proud of our power, is dissolved by the husband's curse, arrested by the sage's curse, and burnt up by the anger of the God. When Sakuntala forgot her duty of tending guests, when her husband became all the world to her,—then her love ceased to be beneficent. The wild love which forgets everything except the loved one, succeeds in rousing against itself all the laws of the universe. Therefore, such love speedily becomes intolerable; it is borne down by its opposition to the rest of the world. The love that is self-controlled and friendly to general society, which does not ignore any one, great or small, kindred or stranger, around itself,—the love which, while placing the loved one in its centre, diffuses its sweet graciousness within the circle of the entire universe,—has a permanence unassailable by God or man. But the passion which asserts itself as the disturber of a hermit's meditations, as the enemy of a householder's social duties,—such a passion destroys others like the whirlwind, but it also carries the seeds of its own destruction within itself.

When Parvati went forth to conquer Shiva by means of her *beauty*, she for a moment shook the hermit's calm. But Shiva angrily repelled her, and then she could hardly manage to crawl back home abashed at this humbling of her youthful beauty.

So, too, Kanva's foster-daughter had one day to return in shame in spite of all the rich treasure of her youth and beauty. The curse of Durbasa is merely emblematic, it is an invention of the poet. A loose and secret union like that of Dushyanta and

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Sakuntala is accursed in all times. The bright flash of infatuation lasts for a moment,—then comes the darkness of despondency, shame and neglect. Such is the eternal law. In all ages and in all countries the discarded woman has been forced to realise that "physical charms are vain" and to "creep back homewards with a heart left lonely of its god." *Physical* charm is not the highest glory or supreme beauty in a woman.

Therefore did Parvati, after her rebuff by Siva, "inly despise physical charms" and "wish to make her beauty achieve success." How can beauty achieve success? Not by means of dress or decoration, as she had learnt from her recent failure,—but by means of "religious austerities in a life of meditative trance." She clad herself in coarse robes and wasted her body by hard ascetic devotions.

So, too, in the ethereal hermitage of Marichi, Sakuntala purged away the taint of sensual *passion* by repentance and sorrow, and, clad in the robe of a gracious nun, waited for the coming of *true* love.

Shiva had promptly repelled the advances of the youthful Parvati dressed as Flora in Spring. But he wholly yielded himself up to the same Parvati when attenuated by austerities and coarsely clad like a female anchorite. Submission to *spiritual* beauty is no defeat, it is a voluntary offering of self.

Where two hearts are made one by Virtue, there Love is not antagonistic to anything in the universe. It is only when Cupid stirs up a revolt against Virtue that tumult begins; then Love loses constancy, and Beauty loses peace. When Love occupies its proper place in subordination to Virtue, it contributes its special element towards Perfection, it does not destroy symmetry; because Virtue is nothing but Harmony,—it preserves Beauty, it preserves Goodness, and by wedding the two together it gives a delicious completeness to both....

The highest rank among our women is that of the matron. Child-birth is a holy sacrament in our country. Therefore has our law-giver Manu proclaimed of women, "they are noble, honourable, and the light of our homes, *because they give birth to children.*" The whole poem of the *Kumar-sambhav* is a fitting prologue to the mighty event of the birth of the Son (*Kumar*). The union brought about by Cupid's secret shafts at the expense of self-control, is not adapted to the birth of sons; in such a union the couple desire each other and not any offspring. Therefore did the poet burn Cupid to ashes, and compel Parvati to perform ascetic devotions. Therefore did the poet contrive the birth of the Son (*Kumar*) after setting up the intensity of constant devotions in the place of the fickleness of appetite,—the graceful light of goodness in the place of the fascination of beauty,—and the rejoicing blissful universe in the place of the woodland wild with the gaiety of Spring. . . .

Thus we see that the theme of the *Kumar sambhav* and the *Sakuntala* is the same. In both poems Kalidas has shown that while Infatuation leads to failure, Beneficence achieves complete fruition,—that Beauty is constant only when upheld by Virtue, that the highest form of Love is the tranquil, controlled, and beneficent form,—that in regulation lies the true charm and in lawless excess the speedy corruption of Beauty. This ancient poet of India refuses to acknowledge passion as the supreme glory of love; he proclaims GOODNESS as the final goal of Love.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

GERMANY'S GREATEST RELIGIOUS POEM

BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

TO few dramatic writers has it ever been given to produce so powerful a religious impression upon their country and age as that created by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, in Germany, a century and a third ago, by the publication of his drama, "Nathan the Wise." By general consent the poem is one of the greatest that Germany has given to the world, being surpassed only, perhaps, by Goethe's

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"Faust" and three or four of Schiller's finest dramas; while as a distinctly *religious* work—a work produced with the aim of conveying in the most perfect form a lofty religious lesson—it has no rival in German literature.

"Nathan the Wise" was written in the year 1779. The lesson it teaches is that of religious toleration, or, perhaps more accurately, religious sympathy and appreciation. Its thought is, that in all the great historic religions of the world there is good; no form of religion may or can have a monopoly of truth or virtue; religion is deeper than any creed or sect, or name, or historic form; below religions is religion; the soul of Christianity, Mohamedanism, Judaism and every other religion is one, and when we reach it we find it to be personal integrity, kindness towards one's fellows and reverence toward God. Therefore every form of religion, as Judaism, Islamism or Christianity is to be treated respectfully, and everywhere men are to be judged by their lives and not by their professions or religious names.

Lessing's poem could not have on its title page a more appropriate motto than the words of Jesus, "They shall come from the East and from the West and from the North and from the South and sit down in the Kingdom of God," or the words of St. Peter, "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him;" or those of the ancient Hebrew prophet, "What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Before entering upon a consideration of the poem, it will be well to give a little attention to the author, and the circumstances attending its production.

Lessing has been well called the father of modern German literature. Before him Germany had produced one great writer, viz., Luther. But that was 400 years ago, and 250 years before Lessing's day. Moreover, Luther's writings had all been in one particular direction, that of religion, and the literary activity that had sprung up around him had been almost exclusively theological. The two and a half centuries that intervened between Luther and Lessing were for the most part a barren plain so far as the literary productiveness of Germany was concerned. At the middle of the century in which Lessing appeared, Germany had nothing outside the domain of theology and religion that could compare at all with the literature of France, England, Italy, or even Spain. That she is now the peer of any of these nations in authorship, and the superior of all except England, is due to her achievements since 1750. The Augustan Age of German literature began with the middle of the Eighteenth Century. Indeed it is a date later than the middle that John Morley has in mind when he says, in his life of Voltaire, that to go from the England of George II to the Prussia of Frederick the Great, was to go "from the full light of the Eighteenth Century back to the dimness of the Fifteenth." Voltaire in his day thought German literature so insignificant that he did not deem it worth his while to learn the German language.

But from this insignificance Germany leaped up, almost ere any one was aware, to the second if not the first place in the world of letters. Within a single forty years, from 1724 to 1762, Germany gave birth to those seven giants in the realm of literature, Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Schiller and Richter. How few other lands have ever produced such a progeny of genius within four short decades! Ere these men passed off the stage Germany had a great literature.

Of these seven immortals, Lessing was born second in order of time. But as a writer he appears in the arena first, and in more sense than one he is the pioneer and leader of the new age. It was his influence more than any other's, not even excepting Goethe's, that gave character and shape to the epoch.

His birth year was 1729. His father was a Lutheran clergyman, and seeing early the marked ability of his son, determined to educate him for the same calling. But the boy's education had not proceeded far before he began to manifest a decided disinclination for theological studies, and a very great interest in literature, especially the drama. Sent to the University, he was soon absorbed in the plays of Greece and Rome. Moreover he became deeply interested in the practical rendition of plays,—went to the theatre, formed an acquaintance with the principal actors and rendered them some service by reason of which he was permitted to go behind the scenes and see the rehearsals. His father, hearing of all this greatly troubled, and called his

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son home. Having found it hopeless to attempt to make a clergyman of him, it was thought he might be educated for the profession of physician. Accordingly he was induced for a time to study medicine; but with little more heart than he had pursued divinity. Literary studies and the drama were ever uppermost in his thought and affection. Very early, indeed before reaching manhood, he had tried his genius in the composition of several plays, one of which was put upon the stage, and attained some success.

At last, Lessing's own bent of mind having proved too strong for his father, all thought of medicine was given up, as theology had been, and the young man launched boldly upon the severe, uncertain and wretchedly poor-paid career of authorship. For thirty years he lived by his brain, and pen-poor, but brave and uncomplaining. He wrote letters and articles on a great variety of subjects for literary periodicals, and did much translating from other languages into German, thus by degree winning for himself wide literary recognition. He wrote books that became classics; but neither his books nor his other writings brought him much in the way of pecuniary compensation.

At one time he was director for a little while of a new theatre in Hamburg, but the venture did not prove a success. Once he engaged in the publishing business; but that failed and left him deeply in debt. For several years he was secretary for a general in the Prussian Army. He lived for longer or shorter periods in Wittenburg, Leipzig and Berlin. In Berlin his friends endeavoured to secure for him the position of Royal Librarian; but he was not in favor with Frederick, and the place was given to another who had not a tithe of Lessing's fitness for it. The professorship of literature at the University of Konigsberg was offered him; but although otherwise desiring the place, he would not take it, because one of the duties required was that of pronouncing once a year a eulogium upon the King. He was the very soul of truthfulness, integrity and honor, and would never sell his freedom, his independence or his conscience, even in the slightest degree, for any emolument or advantage.

During the last five years of his life he was the Librarian of the Duke of Brunswick, at Wolfenbuttel; but his salary was small, and never all paid. Later in life he married, having postponed the event long because of his poverty. He enjoyed a single year of beautiful and almost supremely happy wedded life; then his wife, dearly loved, and by her superior qualities of mind and heart wholly worthy of him, died, and left him sorely stricken—to follow her all too soon to the grave,—his decease occurring in his fifty-second year. His loss was severely felt by the best minds of Germany. Gleim wote of him :—

"Him have we lost, who was our greatest pride;
Him who abroad had won our nation fame.
God said, 'Let there be light,' and liberty came.
God said, 'Let darkness be,' and Leibnitz died."

Engel wrote :—

"Had Britannia, not Germania, given him birth,
His dust might share with Kings the sacred earth,
And a proud people, grateful for his fame,
Would rear a lasting tribute to his name."

I have said that Lessing began writing plays when he was hardly more than a boy. The first he wrote as a man, in the full strength of his matured powers, was when he was 36 years of age. It was his "Minna Von Barnhelm," a comedy, which sprang at once into great popularity on the German stage, and has steadily held its own now for nearly a century and a half. Notwithstanding all that has been written since, it still remains the greatest German comedy.

The next year Lessing gave the world another work in an entirely different line which has become quite as much a classic as his Minna Von Barnhelm. It was his "Laocoon"—a book of art criticism, designed more especially to draw the lines of distinction between the "formative arts," as Lessing calls them—that is, painting and sculpture, and poetry. Lessing's fame outside of his own country rests more, perhaps, upon this work than upon any other of his writings. It is generally conceded to be unsurpassed in any language in the subtlety, discrimination and insight with which it deals with the subject under consideration. Its influence upon the young Goethe, a student at Leipzig, when it made its appearance, was profound.

I have said that Lessing was for a time at Hamburg connected with a new theatre there. Though the theatre failed, the result of Lessing's connection with it was a valuable series of papers upon the drama. These papers are known as the "Hamburg Dramaturgy"—a work which hardly falls below the Laocoon in importance.

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Of course I cannot stop in this connection to mention all of Lessing's writings. But three others of enduring value should be noticed. These are his play "Emilia Galotti," in which he rises to as lofty a height of excellence in tragedy as he had done in comedy in Minna Von Barnhelm; his "Education of the Human Race,' a mere fragment, but full of germs of much of the best thinking in the direction of the philosophy of history and religion which the century following his death produced ; and, finally, the great religious dramatic poem about which we are especially concerned in the present connection, "Nathan the Wise," which was finished in the early part of 1779, just two years before his death. Moses Mendelssohn, his dear friend, said of him :

"He wrote Nathan the wise, and died. He could not rise higher, without passing into a region where our sense-dimmed eyes could not follow him,—and indeed this he did. Even now we stand here, like the sons of the prophet, looking up to the place in the sky where he departed from our sight."

The circumstances attending the composition of this poem throw much light upon its meaning. It has already been said that Lessing spent his last years at Wolfenbuttel as librarian of the large and valuable library of the Duke of Brunswick, located at that place. About that time the manuscript of an able work written by the learned radical thinker Reimarus, then recently deceased, was put into Lessing's hands. Lessing was so much impressed with the manuscript, that, although not agreeing wholly with the views which it advocated, he determined to give portions of it to the public. Accordingly he began the publication of detached chapters of the work, as something discovered in the Wolfenbuttel Library, from the pen of an unknown author. These parts of the work of Reimarus published by Lessing are known in history as the "Wolfenbuttel fragments," and are very famous because they stirred up perhaps the greatest theological controversy which had been known in Germany since Luther. These fragments aimed to show that the Bible is not a supernatural or miraculous revelation from God, that it contains errors and contradictions, that the account of the Resurrection of Jesus is unhistoric and incredible, and, worst of all, that Jesus and his Apostles did not scruple to use deceit and misrepresentation to establish their authority, and begin the Christian movement.

Lessing himself in publishing these papers accompanied them with brief notes and comments in the form of strictures and expressions of dissent from many of the points urged, and suggestions of possible answers to some of Reimarus' arguments. But, notwithstanding that, the storm that rose burst in its main fury upon Lessing's head. Why did he print the fragments? And then his own comments, how did they help matters?

Were they not often nearly or quite as heretical as the fragments themselves? The orthodox clergy of Germany became thoroughly aroused. Answers by the score were written and published. The lash was laid without mercy not only upon the unknown author of the fragments but upon Lessing. Perhaps the ablest of these repliers was one Pastor Goeze of Hamburg. Him Lessing answered, defending his own action in publishing the fragments, and defending also the somewhat rationalistic views of the Bible and Christianity which he had expressed in his notes. Goeze replied. Lessing replied again. The other combatants retired or fell into the background; but between these two the battle raged with great fury for many months: for Goeze was a man of great learning, force of will, and ability as a controvertialist, although no match for Lessing. The controversy took a somewhat wide range, covering most of the ground in dispute between orthodox Christianity and rationalism, regarding the authority of the Bible, the origin of the Christian movement and the formation of the Christian canon. Goeze had never before been beaten in a controversy; but he never before had had such an opponent,—either so learned or so brilliant and powerful in debate. At last the victory declared most decidedly for Lessing, and poor Goeze retired from the field humiliated enough.

It was here and now, on the close of this controversy, that Lessing wrote his "Nathan the Wise"—wrote it as his last word in that contention. When he told his friends what he was doing, and that the theologians would wince more over this than over anything he had before written, it was supposed that the production would be a fiery onslaught, or a scorching satire, or a burlesque upon his clerical foes. But never was mistake greater. To everyone's surprise the poem did not mention or even indirectly refer to Goeze, or any others of those who had opposed Lessing, or to their

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theological views. It simply drew a picture, beautiful and masterly, of the kind of religion that Lessing believed in and had been contending for through all the controversy,—a religion of the spirit as distinguished from a religion of the letter; a religion of virtue and charity and good deeds, as distinguished from a religion of subtle theologies and hard creeds; a religion which extends the hand of fraternity and fellowship to all sincere seekers for truth and all good men, whether they are in name Christians or rationalists or Jews or Mohammedans or Parsees; a religion that is deeper than any name or form of worship; that religion which is the soul and life of all the historic religions of the world,—amidst their changes unchangeable, amidst their transitoriness perennial and eternal. Such a winding up of the controversy was not only masterly, it was unanswerable.

Lessing in his drama introduces upon the stage character after character, and makes them to move and act and talk and live before us—character after character delineated to the life, so that we cannot but feel that they are real persons—who do the noblest deeds without believing at all in the supernatural origin of Christianity; who are beautiful, lovely, noble characters, full of charity and mercy and piety, without ever having been baptized or converted or having received the sacraments; who exemplify in their lives the best spirit of Christianity and yet have been reared in other religions and bear the name Jew or Mohammedan or Parsee. Moreover as a contrast to all this—a shadow to make the light brighter—Lessing introduces, not conspicuously, but prominently enough for effect, a Christian prelate, who is most strict in his Orthodoxy, and most punctilious in all his observances of the externality of religion, and most zealous for the propagation of Christianity, who is nevertheless hard-hearted, cruel, bigoted, unworthy to unloose the shoe latches of the Jewish Nathan, or the Mohammedan Saladin.

It is not strange that Lessing's friends, when they had read his drama, were delighted with it—not only with its beauty and strength as a literary work, but quite as much with the spirit that it breathed—the noble plea it contained for religious toleration, and the splendid vindication that it afforded, without the introduction of a single controversial word into its pages, of the principles of liberality and charity for which Lessing had so earnestly contended. Written by a man calumniated as few men have ever been, "Nathan the Wise" contains no trace of resentment. Conceived in the very heat of controversy, it is singularly calm and serene; the child of fierce polemics, there is not even the smell of the fire of polemics upon its garments.

The scenes of the drama are all located in Palestine, indeed in Jerusalem. The time is the latter part of the 12th Century, during an armistice of the Fourth Crusade. The celebrated Sultan, Saladin, is in possession of the Holy City. Both Richard Cour de Lion of England, and Philip Augustus of France, are represented as present in Palestine. There are no hostilities going on, however, because of the armistice.

The chief characters of the drama are Nathan, called the Wise, a wealthy and honoured Jew of Jerusalem; his supposed daughter Recha, a young woman of rare attractiveness, who has been brought up by Nathan and most carefully trained in wisdom and virture; Daja, Recha's old nurse, a Christian woman; Saladin, the powerful, generous, chivalric Sultan; his sister Sittah—in mental characteristics much like her brother; the Templar, a brave, high-spirited, impulsive but noble young man who had been captured by the Saracen army in some engagement, but whose life had been spared by Saladin; the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as Lessing describes him, "a red, fat, jolly prelate," but bigoted and cruel; and finally a monk, lay-brother as he is called, the servant and tool of the patriarch, and yet possessed of generous and noble traits.

The interest of the drama centres in Nathan, who is the most prominent character, the finest (indeed a finer can hardly be discovered in literature), and the character in whom the religious lesson of the poem finds its truest realization.

Eighteen years before the story opens, Nathan had had his wife and seven children cruelly murdered by the crusading Christians. Of course it was a terrible blow to him. For a time he was stunned, and felt that all he had to live for was gone; the world for him was black as night. Three days after the dreadful event, however, a Christian child, the infant daughter of a Knight, his friend, Wolf Von Filnech, was brought to him and placed in his care. The

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babe's mother had died, and the father must away to take part in the defence of Gaza. What should Nathan do? Could he, a Jew, whose wife and sons had just been murdered by Christians, open his heart to a Christian child? To ask the question was to answer it. Too noble to cherish feelings of revenge, he said, "For the seven gone, God has given me this one. I will be to her a father." And he was. Everything that a father could do for a child he did for the little Recha, until now at the end of the eighteen years, she is a beautiful, noble woman, who with love and pride calls him father, and knows no other father but him.

When the drama begins he has been for some months away from Jerusalem, on a mercantile journey to Damascus and Babylon, and is just returning home with a train of camels laden with jewels, precious stones, silks and costly merchandise. On approaching the city he is met with the news that during his absence his house has taken fire, and has come near being levelled with the ground. This however seems a small matter to him if only its inmates are safe. But on reaching the house he finds that his loved Recha only barely escaped with her life, and that the escape was the result of the heroic act of a Christian templar who, happening near, rushed in amid the smoke and flame, and when it was thought all was lost brought her forth wrapped in his mantle, laid her in safety on the ground, and disappeared. Now, the girl, as the result of the fearful fright, lies ill, half unconscious, half delirious. When her father comes to her bedside she tells him how eagerly she has waited for him; how barely she escaped the fire, and that it was an angel in the form of a templar that saved her. The father's presence and wise words comfort and calm her mind.

Soon he sets out in search of the templar to thank him for saving his child. After some difficulty he finds the object of his search; but the templar treats the matter with indifference. At last, however, he is prevailed upon to go to Nathan's house that Recha may see him and make acknowledgment of her gratitude. As a result he falls deeply in love with her, and soon after he asks Nathan to give him Recha for his wife.

Nathan is pleased with the templar's appearance, and would willingly grant his request, only for the fact that certain things have occurred which kindle the curious suspicion in his mind that the templar may in some unknown way be related to Recha. Accordingly he feels himself compelled to put off the wooer without giving assent to his plea, and without being able to give any seemingly sufficient explanation. At this the impetuous templar not unnaturally becomes angry.

Daja, Recha's nurse, now feeling deeply interested, partly from personal and partly from religious motives, in the scheme of marrying Recha to the templar, divulges to him the secret that Recha is not Nathan's daughter, but a Christian child whom Nathan in some way obtained in infancy, and brought up as his own. Possessed of this secret, and inflamed with resentment toward Nathan, the templar goes to the crafty and conscienceless Christian Patriarch, who he knows hates all Jews, to see if means cannot be found out through him of compelling this Jew, Nathan, to give up Recha.

Meanwhile what of Nathan's suspicion regarding the templar's kinship? I have already said, that Recha was the daughter of Nathan's old time friend Wolf Von Filnech. Von Filnech had been killed soon after committing his child to Nathan's care. But Nathan remembered well his looks; and now he had found himself struck with a strange resemblance between Von Filnech and this young templar. What if this templar were a relative of Von Filnech? What if he were his son? In that case he would be a relative, may be a brother, of Recha. No! there was only one course open. Investigations must be carried further, before the hand of Recha could be given to the templar.

But who is this templar? It is a curious thing that a templar, a Christian knight, should be here in Jerusalem, at large, in the enemy's country. How does it happen? Inquiry reveals that he is one of a number of templars captured in some engagement between the Christians and the Saracens. The others were put to death, and he was to have perished with the rest; but, as the work of execution was going on, the eyes of the Sultan, Saladin, fell on him. The Sultan was impressed by something in his look, and ordered that he be spared. And so, he was set at liberty. What was it that the Sultan had seen in his look? A strange resemblance to a brother who many years ago had gone from home and

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never returned, and had ever since been mourned as dead.

Well, to make a long story short, Nathan traces up his suspicion, until, by the aid of the monk, or lay brother of whom I have spoken, who in his younger days was a groom of Von Filnech, and with the aid also of a book which the lay brother had taken from his Master's pocket when he fell at Gaza, it is discovered that Nathan's suspicion is true—the templar is none other than the son of Von Filnech,—a son who had been born to him in Germany, and left there to be educated when the father came to Palestine to fight in the crusade against the Saracens.

Nor was this all. What of that resemblance which the Sultan thought he saw between the templar and his (Saladin's) long lost brother? That also turns out to be well-founded. The book reveals the fact, before unknown and unsuspected, that Saladin's lost brother had turned Christian, gone to Germany, married a German woman, and being compelled after a brief stay in that rigorous climate to seek again the milder air of the East, had come to Palestine, fought here on the Christian side, and, in a word, was no other than the knight Wolf Von Filnech, whom Nathan had known and loved. While in Germany a son had been born to him, whom he had left there with relatives, as I have said. And now that son, grown to manhood, had become a templar, had made his way to the Holy Land, had fought with Saladin's army, had been captured, had chanced to be seen by Saladin just on the eve of his expected execution, and Saladin had spared him because somehow he so strongly reminded him of the lost brother—who proves to have been none other than his, the templar's father.

Thus the Drama ends with the discovery not only that the templar and Recha are brother and sister, but that, to the overwhelming joy of the Sultan, and of all others concerned, both Recha and the templar are close relatives of Saladin and Sittah,—none other indeed than children of their dear, long-lost brother Accad.

Here ends the story. Could the great lesson of religious toleration and charity, which Lessing had in mind in writing his poem, be more powerfully taught than by the fact that the Jewish girl, the Christian Knight Templar, and the Mohammedan Sultan are all discovered to be of one blood?

But there is something more and something of great importance which we have not yet seen. Impressively as the lesson of toleration and sympathy between religions and between races is taught in the plot, there is a portion of the drama, not yet mentioned, which teaches it if possible more impressively still. I refer to that part of the third Act known as the Episode of the Rings. Indeed, we learn from Lessing himself that the story of the Rings (found by him originally, in an undeveloped from, in the Decameron of Boccaccio) was what first suggested to his mind the writing of the drama, and that all the rest of the poem was composed, so to speak, as a frame work or setting for this story and the great truth which it embodies.

Let me then close my paper with the ring episode, and as fully as possible in the language employed in the poem.

It may be necessary to explain that this ring story is introduced by Lessing into the drama as a means of bringing Nathan and Saladin together. Saladin is represented as being out of money. His wars cost heavily. His seven years' tribute from Egypt, overdue, is delayed. His treasury is empty. What is to be done? His siser Sittah thinks of Nathan the rich Jew, and urges her brother to send for him and compel him to lend the sum of money needed. And as a sort of excuse for sending for him she suggests that Saladin inquire of him which of the three religions then represented in Palestine, the Jewish, Christian or Mohammedan, is the best. Thus perhaps he may be got into a trap, which may in some way make it easier to extort money from him. Saladin is more frank and ingenuous in his nature than Sittah, and does not like subterfuges or indirection. Nevertheless Nathan is sent for, and after a little parleying, the Sultan comes to the point—not indeed of asking for money, but of asking about the religions. The conversation proceeds as follows:

Saladin.

Since so great your wisdom,
I pray you tell me what belief, what law,
Has most commended itself to you.

Nathan.

Sultan, I am a Jew.

Saladin.

And I a Mussulman.
Between us is the Christian. Now, but one
Of all these religions can be true.
A man like you stands not where accident
Of birth has cast him. If he so remain,
It is from judgment, reasons, choice of best.

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Impart your judgment; let me hear
The reasons I've no time to seek myself.
Communicate, in confidence of course,
The choice you have arrived at thro' those reasons,
That I may make it mine.—You are surprised—
You weigh me with your glance! May be that Sultan
Had ne'er such whim before; which yet I deem
Not unbecoming in a Sultan. Speak—
Your answer! * * * * * *

Nathan.

Permit me to relate a story to you.

Saladin.

Why not! I have ever been fond of stories
Well told.

Nathan.

The telling well I do not promise.

Saladin.

Again so proudly modest! Come, your story!

Nathan.

In gray antiquity there lived a man
In Eastern lands, who had received a ring
Of priceless worth from a beloved hand.
Its stone, an opal, flashed a hundred colors,
And had the secret power of giving favor,
In sight of God and Man, to him who wore it
With a believing heart. What wonder then
This Eastern man would never put the ring
From off his finger, and should so provide
That to his house it be preserved forever?
Such was the case. Unto the best beloved
Among his sons he left the ring, enjoining
That he in turn bequeath it to the son
Who should be dearest; and the dearest ever,
In virtue of the ring, without regard
To birth, be of the house the prince and head.
You understand me, Sultan?

Saladin.

Yes, go on!

Nathan.

From son to son the ring descending, came
To one, the sire of three; of whom all three
Were equally obedient; of whom all three
He therefore must with equal love regard,
And from time to time now this, now that,
And now the third,—as each alone was by,
The others not dividing his fond heart,—
Appeared to him the worthiest of the ring;
Which then, with loving weakness, he would promise
To each in turn. Thus it continued long,
But he must die; and then the loving father
Was sore perplexed. It grieved him thus to wound
Two faithful sons who trusted in his word;
But what to do?
In secrecy he calls
An artist to him, and commands of him
Two other rings, the pattern of his own;
And bids him neither cost nor pains to spare
To make them like, precisely like, to that.
The artist's skill succeeds. He brings the rings,
And e'en the father cannot tell his own.
Relieved and joyful, summons he his sons,
Each by himself; to each one by himself
He gives his blessing, and his ring—and dies.
You listen, Sultan?

Saladin.

(Who somewhat perplexed has turned away)
Yes, I hear, I hear.
But bring your story to an end.

Nathan.

'Tis ended;
For what remains would tell itself. The father
Was scarcely dead, when each son brings forth his ring,
And claims the headship. Questioning ensues,
Strife, and appeal to law; but all in vain.
The genuine ring was not to be distinguished;
(After a pause, in which he awaits theSultan's answer)
As undistinguishable as with us
The true religion.

Saladin.

That your answer to me?

Nathan.

But my apology for not presuming
Between the rings to judge, which with design
The father ordered undistinguishable.

Saladin.

The rings? You trifle with me. The religions
I named to you are plain to be distinguished
E'en in the dress, e'en in the food and drink.

Nathan.

In all except the ground on which they rest.
Are they not founded all on history,
Traditional or written? History
Can be accepted only on trust.
Whom, now, are we the least inclined to doubt?
Not our own people—our own blood—not those
Who from our childhood up have proved their love;
Ne'er disappointed, save when disappointment
Was wholesome to us? Shall my ancestors
Receive less faith from me, than yours from you?
Reverse it: Can I ask you to belie
Your fathers, and transfer your faith to mine?
Or yet, again, holds not the same with Christians?

Saladin.

By heaven the man is right! I've naught to answer.

Nathan.

Return we to our rings. As I have said,
The sons appealed to law, and each took oath
Before the judge that from his father's hand
He had the ring,—as was indeed the truth;
And had received his promise long before,
One day the ring, with all its privileges,
Should be his own,—as was not less the truth.
The father could not have been false to him,
Each one maintained; and rather than allow
Upon the memory of so dear a father
Such a stain to rest, he must against his brothers,
(Though gladly he would nothing but the best
Believe of them) bring charge of treachery;
Means would he find the traitors to expose,
And be revenged on them.

Saladin.

And now the judge?
I long to hear what words you give the judge.
Go on!

Nathan.

Thus spoke the judge: Produce your father
At once before me, else from my tribunal
Do I dismiss you. Think you I am here
To guess your riddles? Either would you wait
Until the genuine ring shall speak?
But hold!
A magic power in the true ring resides,
As I am told, to make its wearer loved—
Pleasing to God and man. Let that decide.

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For in the false can no such virtue lie.
Which one among you, then, do two love best?
Speak! Are you silent? Works the ring but backward.
Not onward? Loves each one himself the best?
Then cheated cheats are all of you. The rings
All three are false. The genuine ring is lost;
And to conceal, supply the loss, the father
Made three in place of one.

Saladin.

Oh, excellent!

Nathan.

Go, therefore, said the judge, unless my counsel
You'd have in place of sentence. It were this:
Accept the case exactly as it stands.
Had each his ring directly from his father,
Let each believe his own is genuine.
'Tis possible your father would no longer
His house to one ring's tyranny subject;
Certain that all three of you he loved,
Loved equally, since two he would not humble
That one might be exalted.
Let each one
To his unbought, impartial love aspire;
Each with the others vie to bring to light
The virtue of the stone within his ring;
Let gentleness, a hearty love of peace,
Beneficence, and perfect trust in God,
Come to its help. Then if the jewel's power
Among your children's children be revealed,
I bid you in a thousand, thousand years
Again before this bar. A wiser man
Than I shall occupy this seat, and speak.
Go! Thus the modest judge dismissed them.

Saladin.

God!

Nathan.

If therefore, Saladin, you feel yourself
That promised, wiser man—

Saladin

(Rushing to him and seizing his hand)
I? Dust! I? Naught!
Oh God!

Nathan.

What moves you, Sultan?

Saladin.

Nathan! Nathan!
Not ended are the thousand, thousand years
Your judge foretold: Not mine to claim his seat.
Go, go!—But, be my friend.

This, then is the story of the rings. Do we wonder at its power? Do we wonder at the power of the whole drama built up around it? How it shames religious bigotry and narrowness! How it teaches not only the lesson of religious toleration and charity, but the further great lesson, which Lessing had so much at heart, that forever and everywhere true religion must reveal itself not by claims, and pretensions, and desire to dominate, and assertions of favoritism with God, and show of outward authority received from man or angels; but by self-forgetfulness, and love and humility, and the spirit which seeks not to be ministered unto but to minister! Whenever and wherever a religion appears bearing in itself internal credentials of the spirit, no matter what its name or supposed historic origin may be or may not be, it is of God and divine!

CAN FINITE MIND DISCOVER NEW IDEALS?

By Wilfred Wellock.

So far as we discussed the question of the possibility of a science of morals in the last article, we only showed that a science of past experience was possible, that reason was capable of ascertaining which ideal, out of the many that men and women in different parts of the world live by, or in the past have lived by, is the best, is capable of bringing to man the deepest satisfaction, the most abundant life. But if man is to be his own moral guide, is to take full charge of his life, choose his own ideals, etc., what guarantee have we that he will or can make progress, that he will be able to discover new life-truth and thus formulate new spiritual ideals whereby his life may travel beyond the boundaries of past experience and enter into the hitherto unexplored regions of thought and experience? And this is both an important and a relevant question, for it is quite obvious that if progress is a fact, if life does gain in significance, in the number and variety of its interests and modes of activity, and if the relation-

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ships which human beings cultivate do multiply and deepen, past experience must at times be transcended and new ideas and ideals come into being. But how is such transcendance effected? By what means does man make the transition from the known to the unknown, from the experienced to the as yet unexperienced, from the realised to the unrealised or the ideal? In other words can it be shown that reason or the finite power of the human mind can discover the truths, the ideals that are to bridge this apparently unpassable gulf which separates the known from the unknown, and thus enable man completely to control and guide his life, and in such a way as to deepen and perfect it, to achieve development?

But let us be quite sure that we grasp the position. So far as we have discussed this question of the possibility of a science of morals, we have confined ourselves to ideals that are already in existence. But a science that is limited to existing ideals, to experience, is purely positive, historical, and cannot be adequate to the soul's deepest needs. The ideal which reason might in this way select might be a very good one, but it would simply be the best of those which were already in existence, and would not be able to satisfy man, seeing that he is an aspiring, developing being, for all time. For every ideal is necessarily circumscribed, definite, fixed, and therefore limited; were it otherwise, an ideal would be of no practical use, yet because it is fixed and limited it cannot possibly endure for ever, as it can only carry man to a certain point, a particular level of development: hence the time must ultimately come when an ideal, having done its work, must give place to grander and more perfect ideals,—that is, if stagnation is to be avoided and progress ensured. If progress is to take place in the future as it certainly has done in the past, life must be enriched from time to time by the introduction of new elements, new truth, new ideas and ideals; by the cultivation of new relationships, new interests and new duties; for unless the ideal grows, the life itself cannot possibly grow. And as in the past old customs have had to give place to new ones so must they do in the future. It is for us to show how finite mind can of itself discover new life-truth, new ideals.

The necessity for such a description is all the greater by reason of the fact that we are still open to the attacks of the theologians on the one hand, and of a certain school of Naturalists on the other, who hold, the one that not finite mind but God is the author and revealer of new moral or spiritual truth, of every fresh ideal, and the other that ideals are fictions, or at best the product of prudence, and are derived absolutely from experience. This latter view, however, is only a deduction from the theory that the supreme law of life is "Struggle for Existence", and thus that all progress, such as it is, has an external cause.

Now were it to be proved that man of himself, without the aid of Revelation, is incapable of finding out the Good, of discovering new ideals, our ultimate object, which is to discover an adequate spiritual ideal for the guidance of the twentieth century, would never be attained. But, what is worse, we should be compelled to admit that the real force of progress was external to man, and thus, in the last analysis, that progress was wholly and entirely due to God, to Divine agency. Thus, strange to say, the priestly theory and the Naturalist theory of progress are alike in this that they both ascribe the cause of development to forces or powers external to man, the one to God, the other to environment, physical circumstances. Both the priest and the Naturalist would say that to transcend experience is to transcend reason, and therefore that to make progress man must be led forward by God, as says the one, or pushed forward by the force of circumstances, as says the other. In either case the cause of progress is ultra-human.

Before we attempt to describe the process whereby new ideals are made and new truth is discovered, it will be well if we briefly discuss the position taken up by each of the two schools of thought already mentioned. Firstly, then, with respect to the priestly theory.

Of course, it can never be proved that God is not the source of all truth, that truth is not directly revealed by God to man according as the latter needs it. But why should we hold such a view when we find that the attainment of truth follows patient, anxious thought and seeking as surely as effect follows cause in any natural happening? If it be a fact,—and who dare deny it?—that truth is the reward of those who diligently seek it, no matter of what religious persuasion the seekers be, what point is there in saying that all truth

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is directly revealed of God? It is a fact that cannot be gainsaid that new spiritual truth is more often than not first discovered by laymen, and very often such truth is fiercely resisted by the priestly class, the very men who claim to have special prerogatives with respect to truth. It is also a fact that every people, whether intensely religious or only slightly so, whether believers in many gods or in one God, have developed, have, during the course of their history, attained truth, goodness and well-being. No one would deny, for instance, that the Greeks made progress or that they gave rise to one of the noblest civilisations that have ever existed, yet the Greeks could not be said to be a very deeply religious people, as we generally understand religion. It is obvious therefore that there must be some universal law of attaining truth, some means other than a process of arbitrary Revelation.

Of course I am quite well aware that the objection of the priests of religion to the idea of a science of morals is due to a fear that religion will decline as a consequence. But such fear is without foundation. Religion will only suffer in so far as the priests are opposed to changes in thought, doctrine and theology, to the means of development, for religion has other functions than that of acting as security for morals when morals are dogmatically taught, functions which will be duly recognised when reason has had time and opportunity to investigate the foundations of belief and of experience.

With the Naturalist school which denies to the evolutionary process the existence of any ideal elements whatsoever ("ideal," that is to say, conscious choices made by reference to a desired but an as yet unrealised Good), declaring that progress is merely the effect of adaptation to environment, we have to wage a more strenuous warfare.

To this narrow type of Naturalist human nature is nothing but the plastic material which the stronger forces of Nature and circumstances compel into form. Struggling for the means of existence is the supreme and primary activity of human life. Man does not conceive of an end of Good which he strives to realise, for the end of human life is always the same, absolutely unchangeable, being, at root, a simple desire to perpetuate one's existence.

In opposition to this view the idealist holds that progress is the result of subjective being aspiring to a fuller realisation of itself through a better utilisation of its opportunities, such realisation carrying with it a broader and more significant experience, a fuller consciousness, a deeper and richer joy, a keener appreciation of the beauty of life. Thus the point at issue is really this: does man seek existence pure and simple or does he seek a life of a particular content or quality? If the former, then the cause of progress is external to man in conditions; but if the latter then the cause of progress is internal, in the mind and heart of the individual.

No better disproof of the Naturalist's contention could be found than the fact that poor and humble people will suffer, starve, and even die rather than live by dishonest means. "Better death than life of shame" is what their conduct teaches. Many a man has given up his work and taken the risks of unemployment rather than tell a lie, and many, I know, would blankly refuse a lottery prize though they were starving. The strange little fact which upsets all the theories of the Naturalist is that men "do" suffer privation for righteousness' sake; "do" starve and die when they might be dishonest and live; "do" love and deprive themselves of the necessaries of life when by being selfish they might live in ease and plenty. Every newspaper we take hold of contains accounts of some incident or other which conclusively proves how "unnatural", how "irrational" man is. One newspaper I have by me describes how an honest, hard-working woman was dragged out of the Thames half-drowned because she had got tired of mere "existence", of trying to live on four shillings a week. Another describes how a man—living in the midst of plenty, in one of the wealthiest cities of the world—was slowly dying on two shillings a week. A third relates how a poor labourer refuses a huge fortune because he will not change his religion, nor lie by pretending to do so. A fourth tells of a woman who was killed in jumping from an express train in an attempt to save her child. Now all these things are, from the Naturalist's point of view, mad, unnatural and inexplicable events, but they are not so from the idealist's point of view; still, they are facts: that is the important thing. By thus considering human nature in its extremity we are able to see that at bottom it is not a

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desire for mere existence, for self-preservation that is the strongest motive in the heart of man, but a desire for a life of a particular order or content; we are also able to see that when a man finds he can not live as he desires to live, feels he cannot have the well-being which to him is life, the only real life, he prefers to die. It may be a very low conception of life, of well-being, that a man possesses, but he has one of some sort, and life to him consists in realising his ideal.

Not mere existence, therefore, but qualitative existence; not life but fulness of life is what man seeks. To the honest man life without honour is worse than death, and the very meaning of heroism is that a man will risk his life, his all, that he might win the liberty, the right, the love, whose possession he feels to be the condition of the life he longs for.

The error of the Naturalist seems to have arisen from an imperfect and superficial generalisation, from having applied the inductions made from investigations in a realm of being, viz., the animal kingdom, about which men, after all, can know very little, to man. That animal mind is less complex than human mind is true enough: but the difficulty about animal mind is that we cannot get inside it, and even if we could it is very doubtful if we have a right to apply the inductions made from a study of simple organisms to organisms that are infinitely more complex. Although human mind is more complex than animal mind we can certainly know more about it, get inside it, so to speak, know more of its motives, its aims, etc. Moreover, in the higher types of mind attributes and activities are apparent which cannot be discerned in the lower types, but which nevertheless may be there. It is therefore reasonable to question the legitimacy of denying, say, the existence of ideal elements in human mind, simply because such elements cannot be encountered in animal mind. And considering that we have actually discovered ideal elements in human life would it not be more reasonable to say that possibly such elements exist in a very crude form in the animal world?

Another source of imperfect generalisation is the practice of studying human nature in the bulk, in the abstract, that is, instead of in particular individuals. It is possible to study "Man" for ages and yet to know practically nothing about men, just as it is possible from reading to know a great deal about hunting and killing lions and yet to tremble in impotence in the presence of a single live one. A man is a very real thing, a thinking and sentient being whom one cannot get very far wrong about if one only looks him straight in the face; but man in the bulk, man spelt with a capital M, is a huge abstraction; nobody, in fact: consequently one can talk pretty freely about him without attracting anybody's attention or hurting anybody's feelings. It is quite easy, for instance, to say that the fundamental law of human nature is a desire to perpetuate one's existence; but nobody is troubled about what you are saying because nobody knows who you are talking about. Your next-door neighbour is not alarmed at your statements because he happens to know that you have been studying all sorts of aboriginal races, and very naturally thinks you are talking about savages; and as he knows nothing about savages he is quite content to let you talk on. But were you to turn to your neighbour and say: "Are you aware, Sir, that the real reason why you brought-up and educated your dead friend's children was that you might perpetuate your existence, increase your chances of getting a livelihood?" he would be interested at once and would be quite ready to enter into argument with you.

Now it is precisely because the nineteenth century Naturalists studied man in the abstract that so many false theories of life have been popularised, and that too great stress has been laid on external conditions. The Naturalist theory of development has tended to cause men to disbelieve in themselves, to underestimate their power over conditions and over their destiny in general, and to turn to the State and other external agencies for the redress of wrongs, instead of personally and directly insisting on them being redressed, as their forefathers would have done several hundred years ago. It is not to be denied, of course, that external conditions have a great deal to do with development, for not only do conditions help to determine one's opportunities of self-expression and self-realisation, but they have a powerful spiritual effect also, being capable of depressing or of inspiring the mind. But what we need always to remember is that there can be no real development, no real advancement, apart

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from a modification of one's conceptions, a change in one's ideals. Before a man can really and permanently improve his life, increase his well-being, he must undergo some sort of conversion, see the world with new eyes, adopt fresh and better motives. However much a man's life may change outwardly, if his heart and mind are still the same, the inward life will be really the same. Only changes in the inner constitution of the soul, in the structure or make-up of the inner self, can give rise to progress. A shortage of food or labour in one country, might compel a man to migrate to another country or to change his occupation: might, for instance, compel a farmer to become a worker in a dirty town, a plough-boy to become a blacksmith, or a dairy-maid a weaver. But no changes in external conditions could compel them to serve new gods, to live dishonestly, to do what they believed to be evil; could compel them to pursue new ends or forsake old loves. A change of ideals, of religion, means a sheer break with the past, a complete turning round, so to speak, a looking at all things anew, and cannot take place without due thought, a conviction that as a result of such change well-being will be increased. Conscience, therefore, or a particular conception of life, of well-being, is what, in the last analysis, life is governed by. And, indeed, is it not the case that most of the upheavals and reformations that have taken place in the history of any country have been spiritual, connected with religion, with fundamental beliefs, ideals, and have had little or nothing to do with economic conditions and concerns ?

Progress, therefore, relates to the soul, and implies a growth in the self, a change in the constitution of ideas, which, of course, are a part of the self. A vital modification of conduct must necessarily be preceded by a modification of the self, of one's ideals, one's conceptions of life. Apart from an inward need and a desire for more life the outward world cannot even offer a suggestion for the improvement of any man's life; and apart from a change in the inward self, the manner and form of one's life cannot really alter. It is first a feeling of need, a desire for more life that causes a deeper truth to be perceived, new ideals to be developed, and new modes of conduct to be adopted. And until the mind comes to truth in this way no real progress can be made. Each man lives in his own world and in accordance with his own interpretation of life, his own particular theory of values; and until that world of his mind has been modified, his life will not, cannot, radically change.

Seeing, then, first, that mind interprets life and the world through ideas and ideals, and second, that a reconstitution of experience, a reform of conduct, can only take place upon a modification of those ideals, each of which, as we have shown, stands for a given conception of well-being or Good, it follows that the deepest law of life is not outward but inward, is not simply the Struggle for Existence but, an effort to realise more and yet more life; to feel, grasp, appreciate and understand more of that undefinable mysterious yet glorious something we call life.

What, then, are the real and effective instruments of progress? By what means does the human mind come to see new reality, come into the possession of new truth and new ideals? These questions we will now try to answer.

It is often the case that we see a man pursuing a straight path of conduct, keeping strictly to certain modes of activity, for a long time, and then, quite suddenly, begin to falter, to oscillate, to venture on new ground, and finally to veer off at a tangent, as it were, and proceed in an entirely new direction. In explanation of such an occurrence it is not enough to say that the person in question has taken it into his head to experiment a little merely by way of change, for there must be a far deeper reason than this. The very fact of seeking and making a change is a sign of dissatisfaction, an indication that the individual has outgrown his environment, his world, his spiritual clothes, so to speak, is longing for a larger sphere of activity, for a deeper, more vital and conscious existence. When a man thus feels that his duties and interests are not adequate for the full expression of his soul, what does he do? Does he make blind sallies into the unknown and unfamiliar and do anything that he sees other people doing or that happens to suggest itself to his mind? Certainly not. Death and disaster lie that way. Whatever he does he will have some reason for doing, some guarantee that it will give him the opportunity he needs, the satisfaction he is seeking. Hence what he will do will be to look about him, to set his mind and his

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imagination to work in order to try and find some new mode of activity, some new reality, and thus enter into fresh relationships in and through which his spirit may be quickened and his life deepened. Such a man has outgrown his ideals, his old self, in fact, and such being the case he cannot satisfy the longings of his heart until he gets a new ideal. For an ideal is literally a part of a man's very soul; nay, it is the man himself, the product of his years, the resultant of his meditation and thinking, the outcome of experience, of tuition and intuition. What a man in such a crisis as we are describing experiences therefore, is the disparity between his realised and his unrealised self, between what he is and what he feels he has it in him to be. Since the time that a former expansion of experience took place the self has developed, attained a deeper consciousness, consequently there is a demand for a profounder ideal, a bigger world in which to live and move, a grander system of relationships wherein to experience a richer and more abundant life.

This consciousness of disparity between the realised and the realisable self marks the beginning of a transition to a higher level of being, and no sooner is it manifest than the mind begins to look abroad for suggestions of new experience, and to continue in its search until it has found what it believes will lead to the deepening and enriching of its life. But how is the individual to know that these new modes of living that he has discovered are valid, reasonable, capable of producing well-being rather than "ill-being"? He cannot prove that they are such, for he is dealing with the as yet unrealised, and we cannot prove the value of any given mode of conduct until we have made it a part of experience. It is evident, therefore, that reason alone cannot discover new moral truth. But can reason aided by other powers of the soul, by imagination and sensibility, say, make such discovery? We believe it can. At any rate we believe that it can and does create sufficient certainty as to the value of new modes of conduct, the life-producing power of new ideals, to warrant mankind in accepting and adopting them.

Close observation shows that new modes of conduct are never very far removed from those in actual operation. Thus a new or possible mode of conduct is first of all suggested by an approximate parallel in experience. So soon as the suggestion of a new relationship or mode of conduct is received by the mind, the imagination applies it to experience and tries to picture and estimate the value of the probable effects. If the result is satisfactory, promises increased well-being, then it is adopted and made the basis of a new interpretation of life. A certain amount of discrepancy is possible, of course, in estimating the value of the result, but in the case of a thoughtful person, whose instincts will be fine and true—for the discoverers of new ideals are always the most spiritually developed and finest-souled members of society,—the estimate, being made in accordance with the unity of sensibility will certainly be appoximately true, and quite worthy of being relied upon. In this way, then, through the instrumentality of reason, imagination and sensibility, new moral truth is discovered, new ideals are constructed, new thought-worlds made.

Let us illustrate the process by means of an example.

A and B, let us say, are two traders who transact business in accordance with the accepted customs and rules of the business world. They accept these customs for the simple reason that they have been taught to do so, and because they are as natural to them and as valid as their religion or the ordinary rules of arithmetic. Now it happens that these two gentlemen, A and B, having done business together for a long number of years have become very friendly, which fact has much to do with what follows. In the normal course of events an occasion arises where A, by reason of some secret knowledge which B does not possess, finds that he can make an abnormally large profit out of B, so much profit that it might very readily bring B to the verge of bankruptcy. Then a strange thing happens. Although there is nothing in the anticipated transaction but what is right and just according to the moral code which both accept, A finds himself doubting his right to take advantage of his friend. Now, had the other party to the transaction been any other person than B, A would never have hesitated but would have gone forward with the transaction, but seeing that it is B, and that B has become a close friend, A begins to hesitate and to ponder. Still there is no positive idea in A's mind that he ought not to proceed with the transac-

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tion, no certainty that he would thus be doing a moral wrong; there is simply an uneasy feeling of doubt which causes him to think.

Having been brought up in, say, a Middle Class family, and taught from his youth up that the object of industry, of business, is to secure as much wealth as one can for oneself and one's family, no matter what effect such a policy may have on society at large, humanity in A's mind has been sharply divided into two unequal parts. In one division there stands A with all his kith and kin, and with perhaps a few special family friends thrown in; the rest of the world is in the other division, while between the two there exists inherent strife and eternal opposition. Now the real cause of A's doubt is due to the fact that the crude world of his habitation is beginning to totter, to break down, for here he finds himself regarding B, who is supposed to belong to the large division of enemies, as a friend, as a member of the small division of friends. A close friendship and a keen appreciation of the personality of B have caused the accepted business codes in the present instance to appear, at least, questionable. In A's mind B is tending to become transformed from a mere physical opposing force into a veritable spiritual being, a personality that is loved. The question for A, therefore, is whether in his business life he shall treat B as a physical or as a spiritual being, as a unit of opposing force or as a personality. How is he to decide?

The decision is a momentous one for A, in that it concerns his relationship not only with B, but with the entire business world. It opens up a wide issue and threatens to revolutionise his entire conceptions of humanity and of life, to affect all his conduct, for A cannot possibly alter his attitude towards B without in due time coming to feel that men in general are something more than economie forces which exist for the production of wealth, are, indeed, spiritual beings who are worthy of love. It is quite evident that A is on the point of discovering a new relationship, but how is he to know whether the suggested new relationship is valid or not, will be the means of increasing or decreasing his well-being. If he accepts B as a friend, receives him into the inner circle, so to speak, he will have to forego much wealth, the right to make wealth in certain ways, and if the receiving of B into the inner circle may lead to others coming in also, what will become of his chances of acquiring great wealth? Quite so, but is this all? A inquires. He thinks out the problem, exercises his imagination, examines the pros and cons—and, finally, makes a startling discovery. Quite suddenly he comes to the conclusion that there are more forms of wealth in the world than what he had been in the habit of supposing, and quite clearly sees that although love, or friendship, may involve the sacrifice of material wealth, it is capable of yielding a wealth of a far more precious order, *viz.*, spiritual wealth, fellowship, closer social intercourse, spiritual communion of soul with soul. What A has thus been doing is to paint a picture in his imagination, of the new life that his altered relationship with B, and with others such as B will give rise to, and to test its value by an appeal to the feelings, or what I have termed the unity of sensibility; and it is in accordance with that test, with the estimate arrived at, that his ultimate decision will be made. For after all what A is really concerned about is his ultimate well-being; and there is absolutely no reason why he should remain inside his narrow, conventional world once he sees the advantage of abandoning it for a superior one.

In the foregoing illustration we have a simple description of the process whereby new modes of conduct are discovered and adopted, and whereby a transition from one level of life to a higher one is made. The illustration also serves to show that new modes of conduct are always related to, and are but a slight advance upon, accepted modes; that they in a sense flow out of the past while yet going just a little way beyond it. But although there is only a step between the new and the old mode of life, to take it is to affect our experience through and through, to modify our conception of, and our entire attitude towards, the world. A new unity or ideal is brought into being, and this ultimately leads to the creation of a new self. The new ideal may thus be said to be a blending of old and new elements, of positive or realised elements and ideal or unrealised elements. Not wholly positive nor yet wholly ideal, but both, is the source of every new ideal and principle of conduct.

If my description is true to life, therefore,

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it follows that finite mind can discover moral truth, can of itself find out the means of progress. For in the illustration which I have given the discovery which A made was to him an absolute discovery, and it was made by means of reason aided by the imagination and the unity of sensibility. By catching the suggestions of experience, picturing, thinking, and testing by means of the feelings, or intuition, the newly created ideal, man can discover moral truth, transcend the limits of realised experience, either into new activities, cultivate new relationships, and so develop his selfhood, increase and intensify his life, and make real progress.

It may perhaps be interesting to note that this feeling of harmony, this unity of sensibility, by which we are enabled to come to a decision with respect to the value of a new and possible mode of conduct, is really the basis and source of art, the faculty whence we derive all our judgments of beauty. In reality, beauty is a form of truth; it is truth expressed pictorially, in terms of feeling, that is, Truth, as that is for art, is expressed in terms of beauty; and emotional harmony, in the last analysis, seeing that art is and ever must be related to life, is in some sense an expression of belief that a certain thing is good, is in accordance with truth, with the eternal law of goodness and well-being. To picture in the imagination an experience that we believe to be good is to produce a thing of beauty; and to picture it in concrete form, either as a painting or as literature is to produce a work of art. The art faculty is thus an indispensable instrument of progress, for it is the source not of art simply, but of the harmony, or picture truth, which is the foundation of art and the cause of progress. Art interprets life, unfolds the ideal which exists in the mind of the artist; but the art faculty does much more : it reveals new truth and is an indispensable agency for helping man to transcend the actual and known and to enter the region of the ideal and possible. This art-faculty therefore is a necessity of developing mind; while art may be described as the handmaiden of the soul in its eternal effort to realise itself and scale the illimitable heights of being.

And, be it noted, this method of arriving at new moral or life truth has been in operation from the beginning of civilisation, and probably long before that. Indeed we have absolutely no proof against the possibility of animals taking to new ways, altering their habits of life, as a result of instinct, of the unity of sensibility with respect to certain suggestions which they intuitively seek and feel. For centuries, even after the dawn of history, man is not conscious of the method by which he arrives at a knowledge or, more strictly speaking, an "awareness" of new life-truth, is not even aware that the changes he adopts in his life, the "conversions" through which he passes, are the outcome of new conceptions or notions of life which his instincts have led him towards, and which the unity of his sensibility have appraised. And is it not significant that man becomes an artist long before he becomes a scientist or a philosopher? Does it not show that truth is felt, exists as beauty, as a feeling of harmony, long before it is seen or is capable of being proved? It is just because man is ignorant of psychological processes that in the earlier stages of his development he attributes the origin of truth, especially of moral truth, to the gods, to Divine Revelation. And it is easy to do this because truth always does spring into the mind suddenly, like a flash, as a Revelation. Fresh ideals always do and always will appear as visions, sudden illuminations of truth. Even the enlightened Socrates believed that his great truth had been revealed to him by the Delphic Oracle. New truth never comes as a dogma, as a formula, a hard statement of fact, but as a picture, a vision, a living spirit; and every great prophet is such by reason of the fact that he is both thinker and artist, possesses the true artist-soul; is a man, who, searching among the shadows of a waning life catches a gleam of something brighter beyond, a ray which becomes an effulgence, a vision of a new heaven and a new earth, of a life whose beauty he endeavours to describe in the burning, poetic language of one whose very soul is on fire.

Now if our description is true to life, it follows that progress or change has not been the result of accident or blind groping, but of purpose and reason. Every step forward that man has made has been the result of a judgment,—a judgment of the feelings, it is true,—of a belief that such step would lead to enhanced well-being, to the increasing of life. In every case the aspiration of the human soul has been guided by a sense of the fitness of things, by instinct,

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insight, reason. But in saying this we would not imply that the ultimate end or implication of every step forward which man takes has been seen or even felt from the beginning. Quite the contrary. Indeed we believe that when a new choice is made man sees but a very little way in front of him, but, resting on the conviction that what he is about to do will lead to his highest ultimate as well as immediate well-being, he makes his choice fearlessly and confidently, believing, quite rightly, that whatever it leads to will be good, a necessary condition of his true development. Consequently there is a very real sense in which we can say that the end was involved in the beginning. Thus, for instance, although it is a big transition from Aristocracy to Democracy and one which involves a great number of changes, social and personal as well as political and industrial, changes which affect one's entire outlook upon, and attitude towards, life, it may be said that, Democracy was implied in the changes which took place long before it was ever realised that Aristocracy was being superseded.

Our analysis, moreover, has enabled us to see the relationship between art and science in the process of development. Art is the forerunner of science, that which pictures what science at a later stage demonstrates. We picture and feel truth before we are able to prove it, for we cannot demonstrate the validity of moral truth until it has been woven into the texture of experience. Art, in addition to its other functions, reveals the truth of the unexperienced, but reveals it as beauty. At a later stage science exposes that truth, expresses it in the terms and forms of logic. There may thus be said to be three stages in the evolution of moral truth: the art stage, the experimental stage, and the scientific stage. The art stage is where the mind conceives and pictures a new ideal of life, the truth of which is felt by reason of its beauty, the harmony of the feelings to which it gives rise; the experimental stage is where the ideal is applied to and realised in experience; the scientific stage is where the truth of the ideal is proved by a reference to results.

Having shown therefore that finite mind can discover new moral or life truth and thus that a science of morals is possible, the way is thrown open for a thorough study of life and for an attempt to be made to discover an ideal that shall be adequate to the needs of the twentieth century. With the question of a suitable ideal for the needs of man to-day we hope to deal in subsequent articles.

THE BENGALI PASSIVE

MAY I appeal to readers of a magazine which reaches those who know both Bengali and English for help in a small linguistic difficulty? At first sight, the matter is a *very* small one, but in the analysis of idiom and syntax, a small error, a trifling confusion, may have far-reaching consequences. I hope, therefore, that those who have had lifelong experience of Bengali grammar will have patience with me while I expound a seemingly elementary difficulty in the way of learners of one of the most elusive and idiomatic languages in the world. It is, I think, always useful to point out a foreigner's difficulties to those who are "to the manner born."

Grammars written for the use of Europeans assume that Bengali has only two Voices, Active and Passive. That, in itself, is a rash assumption, but I will come to that presently. Let us for the present admit that there is an Active Voice, a কর্তৃ-বাচ্য, and that a Passive sense can be expressed in Bengali in various ways. One of these ways is to use the verb যাওন (as *jana* is used in Hindi) as an auxiliary verb. Of this construction Mr. Nakulesvar Vidya-

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bhusan says in his admirable little ভাষাবোধ বাঙ্গালা ব্যাকরণ that 'যা' ধাতুর অর্থ সময়ে সময়ে 'হওয়া' হয়। যথা--এমন লোক দেখা (দৃষ্ট) যায় (হয়)। অষ্ট্রেলিয়ায় সোণা পাওয়া যায়। পাঁচটি টাকা লওয়া যাইতে পারে।

Nothing could be clearer. We might gather from Mr. Vidyabhusan's statement of the case that the Passive sentences quoted by him are precisely similar to the corresponding Hindi idioms, as we might expect from the fact that the two languages come from the common Magadhi Prakrit. In Hindi we find expressions such as वह पत्र लिखा गया, 'that letter was written : कोई स्त्री मारी जाती थी, "some woman was being beaten ;" वे नहीं देखे जाते , "they are not seen."

In other words (to resort to the risky expedient of a literal translation) it is possible to say, in Hindi and Bengali alike, that "I *go* beaten," instead of saying "I *am* beaten." That is, the verbs যাওন and জানা can be used with the past participle to translate the true passive form of rigidly inflected languages. (Hindi and Bengali are obviously partly inflected, partly analytic languages, like most of the modern Indo-European languages.)

Here comes in my quite elementary difficulty. The passive, as we all know, is rarely used in Bengali of animate things, and especially of human beings. When used of inanimate things, or impersonally (in ভাব বাচ্য) the construction is ambiguous, as will presently appear.

Now let us see what grammars for the use of Europeans say on the subject. Mr. Beames (p. 43), following that excellent teacher Syama Charan Sirkar, says ;—

"The passive is formed by adding the tenses of the verb যা 'to go' to the verbal noun করা. Thus (the first person only is given) : করা যাই, করা যাইতেছি, করা যাইতেছিলাম।" &c.

It will be seen that Mr. Beames's explanation agrees with what has been said above. For him, the passive with যাওন is strictly analogous to the corresponding Hindi passive.

But now turn to Wenger's 'Bengali Grammar' (p. 72), and you will find this :

"The passive is formed in two different ways. One way is to put the Bengali verbal *noun* in আ with the third person of the verb যাওয়া 'go' or হওয়া 'be'; the subject of the passive verb being put, in the objective case. Thus, 'I am seen' is expressed by 'the seeing-me goes on,' আমাকে দেখা যায় (or হয়)."

Mr. G. F. Nicholl, in his 'Bengali Grammar,' takes a similar view of the Bengali passive.

Now I suppose no one will deny that it is possible to ask such a question as এই লাঠি দিয়া কাহাকে মারা যায় ? and to answer আমাকে, তোমাকে, সকলকে এই লাঠি দিয়া মারা যায়। But here a permissive sense is introduced, and Messrs. Wenger and Nicholl do not cite any actual cases from literature of the passive with the objective. As I have already said, unambiguous cases will always be rare, because the names of inanimate objects have the same form in the nominative and objective case.

I have looked out for actual cases in reading, and have found two which happen to stick in my memory. One is this এই শক্তি না থাকিলে অনেক গ্রন্থকার মারা যাইতেন। The other occurs in Macmillan's Primary Reader. তাঁহার পিতা যুদ্ধে মারা যান। Both these cases support Sirkar and Beames rather than Wenger and Nicholl.

It is always possible, when there is a difference of opinion such as this, that *both* authorities are partly right. It may happen that an idiom is changing, and that one authority may be describing an obsolescent use, while the other has got hold of the more modern idiom. In this case, it seems probable that the original construction was strictly parallel to the corresponding Hindi idiom. But since মারা, ধরা, পারা &., are in Bengali both verbal nouns and verbal adjectives (participles) it is possible (as has been suggested to me) that a feeling that in such phrases as মারা যায়, ধরা যায় &c., মারা, ধরা are verbal nouns, is changing the passive idiom. This question can only be settled by citing actual cases from current literature. Perhaps readers of the *Modern Review* would kindly look out for actual cases in the course of their reading in newspapers and books.

I hope I have now stated the difficulty as clearly as I can. May I now briefly state my own impression as to how Messrs.

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Beames and Wenger come to differ on so apparently simple and elementary a point? I think the division of all Bengali verbs into the two categories of Active and Passive Voices by European grammarians is somewhat arbitrary, and takes too little account of the analysis of indigenous grammarians. My own impression is that Messrs. Wenger and Nicholl have been misled by a misunderstanding of one of the uses of the ভাববাচ্য। But I make this suggestion very diffidently, and would be glad to have the advice of Bengali scholars.

On pp. 154, 155, of Mr. W. S. Milne's excellent "Practical Bengali Grammar,' I find an account of the ভাববাচ্য। The Examples that are there given seem to me to fall into two different classes.

(1) তোমাকে যাইতে হইবে। সেখানে থাকিতে হইয়াছিল। তাহার আসা হইল। আমার শোওয়া হয় নাই।

In these cases, যাইতে, থাকিতে, আসা, and শোওয়া are obviously verbal nouns and the subjects of the verbs that follow them. (The use of the infinitive as a verbal noun is common in modern Indo-European languages).

(2) এ পথে চলা যায় না। আর দাঁড়ান যাইতে পারে না।

Mr. Milne gives other cases elsewhere, but these will suffice for my present purpose.

It seems to me that in the second class of examples চলা and দাঁড়ান are not verbal nouns but participles, and that চলা যায় and দাঁড়ান যাইতে are to be treated as compound impersonal verbs which may be completed, if necessary, by 'understanding' some such phrase as লোক-কর্ত্তৃক or মনুষ্য-কর্ত্তৃক। Take again such a phrase as পারা যায় না, মহাশয়। It seems to me that Wenger is wrong in literally translating আমাকে দেখা যায় as 'the seeing-me goes on.' I think that Vidyabhusan is right in saying that যাওন = হওন in the passive, and that the proper construction is আমি দেখা যাই to correspond to the Hindi construction মৈঁ দেখা জাতা।

I think the vernacular division of Bengali verbs into (1) কর্ত্তৃবাচ্য, (2) কর্ম্মবাচ্য, (3) ভাববাচ্য and (4) কর্ম্মকর্ত্তৃবাচ্য is better than the European division into merely (1) Active, and (2) Passive. As for the so-called passive-active voice, the কর্ম্মকর্ত্তৃবাচ্য, may I suggest that it seems to have a reflexion or *middle* significance. In this, as in many other particulars, Bengali has a curious resemblance to French, which abounds in such phrases as "Se mouvoir," "Se battre," &c. I think indigenous grammarians have omitted to notice the very interesting class of verbs in a 'causal' form which have a reflexive meaning, such as তাহা ভাল দেখায় না। These, in meaning at least resemble the ভাববাচ্য. Much confusion resulted in describing modern analytic languages from the fact that we use such terms as "active," "passive", "middle" &c., which are properly terms to describe the morphology of inflected languages. We apply them to the *translations* of the corresponding inflexions in inflected languages.

I hope my attempt to state the difficulty about the Bengali passive may not seem presumptuous. I merely want to show what the little problem is, and I most willingly leave it to indigenous scholars to suggest a solution.

May I, while my pen is in my hand, suggest a slight alteration in the Bengali বর্ণমালা which would be of help, I think, both to Bengali schoolboys and to foreign students? At present, we use ওয় to express the sound of W. Thus যাওয়া is pronounced jawa. That is, we use two letters to express one sound, and driven to transliterate যাওয়া as 'jaoya' which is both misleading and ugly, since it is possible to pronounce 'jaoya' as 'ja-o-ya' as well as 'jawa'. Could we not substitute for ওয় the old letter for র (namely ৱ) which is not now used? We might then write যাৱা jawa instead of যাওয়া 'jaoya'.

Another suggestion is that we might, if only for etymological purposes, discriminate between B and V, between বর্গীয় ব and অন্তঃস্থ ব। For the latter might we not use ৱ? It would be a small typographical change, and might lead to the renewed use of a soft and pretty consonant. I see that people often write 'Vande Mataram' in

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English character, and such names as Vinodini, Viresvar &c. Would it not help our etymological sense if we could read in print বিনোদিনী, বীরেশ্বর ? These are small matters, but small things that contribute to accuracy of speech and thought are not without their importance.

J. D. ANDERSON.

CONSERVATION AND REFORMATION

THE greatest of the conservative political philosophers of England, Edmund Burke, has expressed the relation between conservation and reformation in an epigram which can scarcely be improved upon.—"A state without the means of change is without the means of conservation." The profound truth that lies hidden in this short sentence, paradoxical though it appears to the superficial critic, will be laid bare at once if we care to search for it in the universally applicable theory of Evolution. There is nothing except dead matter, if at all, that does not change. To maintain its very existence the thing must take on new forms. That is, change is at the very root of being. A substance conserves its existence by reforming itself. So, it is apparent that conservation and reformation are not two ideas opposed to each other, but two aspects of the same idea,—two standpoints from which to look at creation. If it is true of creation at large, how much more true is it of organism whose life depends on its ability to adapt itself to its ever varying environments. And human society is an organism, if it is anything. So, it must exist through change. It must change, either for better or for worse. If not the former, it must degenerate until its course is arrested by decay and ultimately by death. Therefore there is no such thing for human society as SANATANA, of which we so much boast. As change there must be, let us see what forms it takes.

First, change takes the form of development. This is evolution proper. The germ is there, it must grow. As the child grows to be a man, and as he grows, his frock coat changes making room for a long one, so also society must grow in order to fulfil its destiny, taking on newer and newer forms as it marches on its onward course. It is so evident that it would be sheer waste of time and energy to expatiate on this point. This is at the very root of creation. To go against it, to invent means to stop its course is to act contrary to the design of the author of nature. No man and no body of men, however designing, can succeed here. In the second place, like the human body human society is afflicted with diseases. And like bodily ones the social diseases also may be due to internal disorders or to failure on the part of the social organism to adapt itself to the external circumstances which may, all of a sudden, be thrust upon it by courses of events over which it has no control. So under certain circumstances the cry for "growth from within" may itself turn out to be a disease.

In the third place, what is only a local need or a necessity under the pressure of a set of special circumstances may spread over the whole of society by imitation or may be retained though the circumstances have passed away. When once a person was performing the *sradh* of his father, his pet cat was interfering with the ceremony. As a matter of course, it was tied to the ceremonial post (*yup kastha*) as the animal would not leave the presence of its master. After long years the ceremony was to be performed by one of the guests who witnessed the binding of the cat but could not remember the reason thereof. He thought it was a part of the ceremony. So he borrowed a cat from his neighbour and bound it to the post lest its absence should make the performance incomplete. Perhaps, owing to the combination of certain circumstances the prohibition of

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sea-voyage became necessary. Those circumstances have now been reversed whatever might have been their nature. Our irrevocable relations with England over the seas have brought about a necessary modification in our attitude about the matter. Under these changed circumstances it would be the acme of folly to adhere to that injunction made obsolete by the change of situation. Those who visited the "Gate of India" will bear me out that the prosperity of the Western Presidency is to a great extent due to the Parsees. Will it not be incumbent on the legislature of the country to prohibit sea-voyage on their part if they resolve to return to Persia, as no patriot can think of their exit from the country with equanimity? Because their exit means the exit of the major portion of the commercial enterprise of Bombay, and for the matter of that, of India at large. The prohibition of the Parsees may in time be adopted by others thereby spreading the injunction over the whole of the body politic. However, it is clear, there may be injunctions or customs arising out of the local need or peculiar necessities of the situation which can not be meant for the whole or for all time to come.

It has now been proved beyond the least shadow of a doubt that changes are those conditions under which society lives, through which it moves and has its being. Then, how to bring about the changes when necessary? In order to be able to thoroughly discuss the question it would be required to take stock of the constituents of society and the nature of its working. Like all organisms society holds a vital relation with its parts. Like the human body the human society also is not a mere aggregate of its component parts. As in all living things the members thrive through the prosperity of the whole as the whole prospers through the healthy cooperation and harmonious working of the members among themselves and that between the members and the body as a whole. The only difference is that in the social whole the members are more pronouncedly ends in themselves. Society is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. And that supreme end is the realisation of the PERSON in the individuals that are the constituent parts of society. Society fails in the very object of its existence if it fails to contribute to that end. The individuals, on the other hand, can not realise that end apart from one another as well as away from society. The human personality is a social entity and it can develop only in and through the social organism. So it is evident, changes are required to help forward the fuller and fuller realisation of this personality in man. Now, it will not require much exercise of intelligence to ascertain that changes may be initiated in two different ways and from two different poles of the social organisation. The individuals are self-conscious beings, they on their own account can propose changes for society. But the whole has no such conscious centre. In order to meet this want society works through its accredited and authorised person and body of persons. Ordinarily the king, who is the acknowledged head of the state, or the sovereign people's representative council, acts for society. In the normal course of things the latter is taken to be the right method and, therefore, changes inaugurated by the constitutional authority are called Reforms whereas those by the individuals are stigmatised as Revolt, and when the movement is successful it is called Revolution. It is for this reason the changes introduced through the Parliament by Lord Morley are called REFORMS, whereas the aspirations of the Indian National Congress though confined to their tenth part were howled down as revolutionary. In India this constitutional method evolved a type of its own. Laws are eternal, they are immutable. They can not be changed. Then how to bring about the change when a change is necessary, except through revolution, there being no change allowed in the *Sanatana dharma*, technically so called. But Revolution is something that happens, it is not brought about by pursuing an ideal. Was then there no change in the land since the promulgation of the laws by the Rishis of old except through revolts as attempted from time to time by, for example, GAUTAMA BUDDHA or BRIHASPATI? Theoretically, there was no reformation. Yet there was progress without having recourse to revolution. Every disease has its remedy and the Santana dharma has its own. They invented the method of interpretation. Whenever changes were found necessary the Brahmins expounded the sanatana shastras accordingly and the king would introduce the same by his executive authority. The people had

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nothing to say against it. The method works marvellously well when the Brahmin's head is protected by the Kshatriya's arms. The inherent defect of the method is that there must always be a set of authoritative interpreters with the shastras. I say authoritative and say so advisedly. A legislature not backed by a powerful police is a dead letter. This is proved by the actualities of our present situation. Laws are made, customs are formed according as the circumstances supply the motive for them. He must be a big fool or an arch-enemy of human progress who contends that laws are for all times. There are not wanting old women of both sexes who think that our Rishis were omniscient and formulated laws anticipating all changes to come. Well and good. But how to explain away facts of a sphere where the sun and the moon are witnesses against this vaunted omniscience,—"chandrarkau yatra sakshinau"? Our astronomy reveals a tale which is damaging to the claim beyond all retrieve. Barahamihir left the vernal equinox where it still remains for the purpose of the shastric calculation though it has actually receded to a point that makes a difference of about twenty days. The stars do not think that your shastrakaras were omniscient. Your father may have left you with a baby-frock and though a grown up man you come out with it before the congregation of universal humanity simply to make yourself the laughing-stock of all. You can no longer afford to live in the fool's paradise. Your shastrakaras will not bless you for your making fools of them in the eyes of the world. The method will not do now under our altered circumstances. Even those who swear by the name of the shastras are not *shastrabadins* in the only sense of the term, because the individuals interpret them to suit their own whims and fancies. This is no constitutional method, it is individualistic method pure and simple. So, the Shastras have turned out in the hands of designing people a potent instrument to retard social progress. Shastras to be of any use must be progressive like everything else, or there must be room for the formation of new ones. Otherwise they would be dead bones, instead of giving life they would kill. Not only that, they to be an objective standard to guide the onward course of society, there must be authoritative interpreters whose interpretations would be acceptable to all alike. But this is not the case. We have no such body of interpreters. Though the Brahmins still put forward such claims, as their claims are not backed by any executive authority, their claims are impotent. The traditional method has failed us. When the method worked, often the verdict of such Brahmins passed as an infallible law as were unworthy to unloose the latchets of Raja Rammohan Ray's shoes, but now the lowest sudra would refuse to accept the Raja's interpretation without considering it for himself. Every man is his own judge whether *shastravadin* or no. As there is not the remotest chance of a constitutional method the so-called traditional methods having proved to be individualistic ones in disguise the Brahmo Samaj was forced to appeal direct to the internal light in order to come out of the chaos due to the failure of the traditional method and to clear the way for the social and spiritual regeneration of the country. Under the present circumstances of the country the only hope for a constitutional authority for the guidance of our society lies in the regenerated individuals' surrendering their individuality to a newly constituted authority that will satisfy their renovated but evergrowing consciences. We can not ignore the claims of Conscience which is God's voice in man showing the path of regeneration when the collective reason fails in its purpose. Under such circumstances the higher social self asserts itself through the individuals. There is nothing unnatural in it. In the social economy this is the only provision under peculiar and difficult circumstances for infusing the breath of life into the dead bones of a moribund society. It is for this reason that great store has been set by Herbert Spencer by the internal light vouchsafed unto man. "It is not for nothing," says the apostle of the philosophy of social evolution, "that he has in him sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others.

He with all his capacities and aspirations and beliefs is not an accident but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future and that his thoughts are as children born to him which he may not carelessly let die. He like every other man may consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through which works the unknown cause, and when the unknown cause produces in him the certain belief, he is *thereby authorised* to profess and *act out* that

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belief. Not as adventitious therefore will the wise man regard the faith that is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter, knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his right part in the world, knowing that if he can effect the change he aims at—well: if not—well also, though not so well."

The advocates of the rival method only put back the hand of time and retard the advancement of that very object for which they fight by dissuading the individuals from acting out their beliefs. There are timid people who are afraid of the new light lest it should interfere with their easy habits. For their enlightenment I have a word or two from Buckle's History of Civilization, vol. 3, if they are at all amenable to it.

"Every new truth which has ever been propounded, has, for a time, caused mischief, it has produced discomfort and often unhappiness, sometimes by disturbing social or religious arrangements, and sometimes merely by the disruption of the old and cherished associations of thought. It is only after a certain interval, and when the frame work of affairs has adjusted itself to the new truth that its good effects preponderate, and the preponderance continues to increase, until, at length, the truth causes nothing but good. But at the outset, there is always harm. And, if the truth is very great, as well as very new, the harm is very serious. Men are made uneasy, they flinch, they can not bear the sudden light, a general restlessness supervenes, the face of society is disturbed, or perhaps, convulsed, old interests and old beliefs are destroyed, before new ones" concludes the eminent philosopher of History, "have been created."

But there are those who aver that they are not afraid of the new light, but would not take to the practical field until all are ready for the march. Verily they are waiting for the crack of doom, yet there is no knowing whether then even they would be ready for action. They are pursuing a chimera. It is a veritable gospel of inaction. In a country where there are a multitude of people still living in the Atharva Vedic age with their *tantras* and *mantras* and where most of the people are resting in medieval darkness, the proposal of bringing all of them under the same standard before the journey begins is the alternative way of saying, "we will not stir." Those who are ahead are blocking the way of the less advanced. If education be your plea, why deprive them of the benefits to be derived from the most powerful of all the educative agencies,——practical examples? Do not examples teach better than idle talk? It is for this reason the Brahmo Samaj is in the active field with an ideal and asks the country to follow. And the Samaj method stands justified today in the larger life of the nation. Those who mean business and are indulging in not mere talk are following in the wake of the Brahmo Samaj,—acting out their beliefs themselves and thereby clearing the way for others to follow. The caste movements are revolts on a vast scale against the unjust classifications of men in the Hindu community. And those who have persuaded themselves of this injustice are resorting to immediate steps to right the wrong irrespective of the protests of their own less advanced caste-fellows or the ban and anathema of the hereditary priests, who as a class are always and everywhere the enemies of change. No Hindu caste can exist without the ministration of the Brahmin priest. The bolder section of these boycotted caste people are meeting the emergencies by creating new ones. Only the other day a Kshatriya of the new order finding it too costly to get the sradh ceremony performed by the new priest cast off his sacred thread in despair and re-entered the old fold. Such blackslidings are inevitable. But this is only by the way. As they are not satisfied with talking alone and educating their fellows, the great Kayastha community has been split into two over the widow remarriage question. They have solved the sea-voyage problem in a way which is not acceptable to all other castes. Even in the caste itself it was the more impatient souls that began on their own account and only afterwards infused the spirit into others by means of the more convincing proof of acts. The more daring section of this most daring of the Hindu castes contemplates the fusion of all the subsections among them, and instead of confining it to talk they have begun the operation in actual practice, not minding the results of their bold step. Because "karmanyevadhikaraste ma faleshu kadachana." Buckle has truly said:—

"The first duty of every one is to set his face in direct opposition to what he believes to be false, and having done that, leave the results of his conduct to take care of themselves".

Not that this noble band of workers pursue the Samaj method consciously. They are simply working and on reflction it is found that this the very method to which the Brahmo Samaj has been drawing the attention of the country for about half a century. And it is not a very difficult affair to find out the reason of this unity. Taking into consideration the actualities of our

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present circumstances there is no other way open for action, and the workers have all gradually drifted as a matter of course to that only open channel of activity. This unconscious adoption of the method inspite of themselves puts its right beyond all cavil and makes the Samaj's claims of leadership irresistible. However, the last shred of objection to the method as far as the Samaj is concerned is torn to pieces when it is pointed out that all the most substantial items of reforms proposed by the Brahmo Samaj are practices either current in the society in the palmy days of yore, which we make so much boast of in our idle talks, or quite consistent with the genius of the national ideal of the Hindu. So, it can be very easily shown that in most of our attempts at reformation we are more conserving than reforming. Our reformation means conservation. If we do not reform our institutions in order to make them compatible with modern life, the connection with which we cannot cut off, all our good things would pass away. There is more love shown by reformers to society than their opponents. They rebuke because they love. Otherwise they would not find sufficient motive for the troubles they propose to themselves for the purpose. The ancient prophets of Israel reprehended their countrymen for their many sins of omission and commission in no measured terms. But a set of more ardent patriots the world has never seen in any part of its history. Because they loved most, they were therefore pained most on seeing their iniquities, and consequently established their right to rebuke them most. The reforming zeal is the criterion of love and not of its opposite. Its want, on the contrary, connotes lukewarmness in the country's wellbeing, There may be love in the minds of the opponents of reform, but it is ill conceived and worse manifested.

Now we shall devote our attention to some concrete examples in order to show that the activities of the Brahmo Samaj are more directed to conservation than to destruction. The destruction comes in the wake of construction. Take, for instance, the worship of Brahma, on which lies the very foundation of the Brahmo Samaj. No one in India with any presumption to a bit of grey matter under his hair would call up courage to say that it is not the old old thing that the Hindu lays a claim to. Verily, if India does not [illegible] the latter day growth in India. It is a legacy discovery of the worship of the ONE without a second there would be left very little to her to glory in. So, though surrounded on all sides with idolatry Brahmajnan or knowledge of Brahma is the only possession of India but meant for the whole of the world. We must practise it ourselves before we can have the boldness to offer it to others. Some would say and say not without a modicum of truth that it is not that identical truth that we are practising today. It is not what we find in the Upanishads. Very true. You can not get the very thing in the twentieth century in the same unaltered condition in which you saw it two or three thousand years ago. No living thing can exist and continue to live without taking newer and newer forms. If you believe that our Brahmajnan is no dead matter but a living spirit, you cannot but hold that it has grown in the meantime. Inspite of the Hegelian dictum against us we can very safely assert that India also develops. It can be conclusively shown that from the Rigveda to Rammohan and after there has been a continuous flow in our religion as is expected from a living thing. We cannot drag the 20th century back to the age of the Upanishads, but the Upanishads must be adapted to our age; otherwise the truth contained in it would be cast off as husk. The best way of conservation in this field would be to set the Upanishadic Brahmajnan free from all its accretions or its archaic appendages, to which important work the Brahmo Samaj alone has addressed itself. There are at least two things from which Brahmajnan should at once be freed, viz., Sannyas and Devabad. Brahmajnan must be brought back to our household from the fourth Ashram. We can ill afford to allow the sannyasi to rob us of the highest product of our culture and civilisation. All our degradation can be explained from this one fact. Moreover, the world requires Brahmajnan. We cannot offer it the "kaupin" of the sannyasi. Nobody will think it worth his while to accept it. Brahmajnan is more necessary to the householder than to the sannyasi, because the former has to fight more enemies, internal and external, and consequently he has to be more strongly equipped with armaments. And stronger armour you will not get for the purpose than Brahmajnan. Next about the Devabad of the Rishis. Idolatry is

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from the degenerated Buddhism. But the Rishis believed in the natural forces as so many personalities, there is no gainsaying the fact. This is due to the primitive state of scientific culture in which they found themselves. As the child clothes everything animate or inanimate with a personality like itself, so did the Rishis. It is the reminiscence of the childhood of the race. They were infinitely more helpless before the forces of nature than we are. So we cannot appreciate the necessity that urged them to approach these forces with sacrificial offerings. But that necessity vanishes when with our scientific inventions we can to a certain extent compel these very forces to our service. With the scientific advancement that the world has made since—with our improved knowledge of astronomy and geology, physics and physiology, we cannot believe that these forces are personalities, as no finite personality can exist except in an organism. And with no amount of straining can we force the sciences to prove that the natural forces are organisms, your Annie Besant and Theosophy notwithstanding. And the Rishis had scant moral respect for them either, though they believed in their existence, nor did they care much for the sentiments of the Deva-worshippers. There was very little love lost between the Rishis on the one hand and the Devas and their Bhaktas on the other. In the Brihadaranyaka the Rishi says, that those who worship the Devas are the latter's beasts. As men do not like that the number of their beasts should diminish, so the Devas do not like that people should turn out Brahmajnanis, because then they will not longer pay any allegiance to them, the Brahmajnani being a lost sheep to the house of the Devas. This shows that though they believed in their existence, the matter little concerned them, the theists of old. It was a mere form to them that they believed in their existence. Their adherence to this belief was more a homage to the memory of the past than any thing more real, thereby bringing them to the very verge of non-existence. So the expulsion of the Devas from the modern theists' catalogue of substances is more consistent with the Upanishadic Brahmajnan under modern conditions than their retention would have been. It need not be forgotten that one of the six astika darshanas, Purvamimansa, after a series of cogent arguments, denies personality to the Devas. However, the Devas go as a result of the line of evolution laid down by the Rishis themselves. To complete the degradation of the Devas the Rishis went so far as to declare the former should bring sacrificial offerings to worship the Brahmajnani,—"sarve deva tang valimaharanti." And the modern Brahmajnani has only reduced them to so many ingredients of the worship of his Brahman. Maharshi Devendranath Thakur sang and danced, danced and sang seeing the Lila of his Brahman equally well in the beauty of the full moon, the fury of the forest fire, and the sternness of the stormy seas,—"sarve deva tang valimaharanti."

The next point is the Shastravada, the Scripture theory, of the Brahmo Samaj. It has been well compressed in a single aphorism,—"satyam shastramanashvaram,"—truth is the only immortal scripture. Very early the shastrakaras declared,—

Anantashastram bahuveditavyam svalpascha kalah bahavaschabighnah Yatsarabhutam tadupasitabyam hanso yatha kshiramibambumishram.

What is essential is the Shastra. But how to find out what is essential from an infinite mass popularly called Shastra? The exegetes have not left you in the dark on this important point without which the finding would be worse than useless. They proclaimed it from the housetops that what helps you in the attainment of your salvation is your scripture,—"Mokshapratipadakam shastram." And how do you attain salvation?

"Tamevaviditwatimrityumeti nanyah pantha vidyateayanaya"

Know Brahman and you will get that. That is, the literature that reveals Brahmajnan to you is your shastra. "Satyam shastramanashwaram," we find, is only the yuga edition of "Mokshapratipadakam shastram." The Bramho's is the only shastrabad in the midst of so many new-fangled ones which is consistent with the genius of the Hindu's scripture theory as well as acceptable to the scientific culture of the modern age. As far as the shastra is concerned the Brahmo is guided not by the so-called book revelation but by an idea, and the Hindu, too, offers as his scripture, not a book nor a congeries of books, but an idea only. Books certainly there are: but you are to choose from among their

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contents in the light of that idea. This is exactly the position of the Brahmo Samaj. This much maligned and more misrepresented Samaj has saved the unique scripture theory of the Hindus from the ravages at the hands of the reckless imitators of an inferior type as represented by Christianity and Islam. Those who have taken into their heads and are preaching that the Hindu's shastra consists of an infallible book are degrading it to the lower level of the ordinary shastrabad of the Christians and Mussalmans. A Hindu who twits a Brahmo with the charge that the latter has no shastra is either oblivious of his own position or unacquainted with that of the object of his attack, or ignorant of both. His is veritably the "unbiassed opinion." At the death of the sage of Chelsea an Anglo-Indian Christian journal of Calcutta "unbiassedly" opined that the works of Ruskin, which it had not read, were far superior to those of Carlyle, which also it had not read. Such "unbiassed" opinions can safely be ignored. By this time it is a proved fact, however, that the Brahmo's is the only shastrabad suitable for this enlightened age, which, however, in its turn is the restoration and expansion in the most rational and for the matter of that the most laudable form of the superior type of the shastrabad of the Hindus—one qualitatively different from all its rivals—one that was going to be altogether lost sight of and being deposited in the limbo of oblivion but has just in time been rescued by the Brahmo Samaj to be welcomed by all alike—Hindus and Christians, Buddhists and Moslems—none being excluded from the clasp of the all-embracing scripture theory of the Brahmos.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOWDHURI.

CO-OPERATION AS A MEASURE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

WE have indicated in a previous article in this Review that co-operative organisation removes many of the economic disadvantages inherent in the small industry. While dealing with the cottage industries we have pointed out the scope for co-operative enterprise in each case and the possibilities of improvement by co-operative methods. In this article we shall deal with this question more generally and show what a great future lies before our cottage industries if they are carried on by co-operative methods. There are three ways in which co-operation can relieve our artisan classes :—

I. Co-operative finance providing the artisans with cheap credit

II. Co-operation in the purchase of raw materials, tools and appliances used in handicrafts.

III. Co-operation in the sale of finished goods.

I. Finance—

Wherever our small industries are suffering, the main cause is its want of convenient credit. The poverty of our artisan classes is proverbial, and their poverty is accompanied by great economic disadvantages. Not only are the artisans unable to effect a sale of their wares on account of their poverty, which forbids them to employ travelling agents or otherwise advertise their wares, but the very quality of these wares suffers on account of their financial condition. The artisans are not independent workmen, most of them are hopelessly in debt to the mahajans and all have to work only to order. These middlemen, who are anxious only for their immediate profits and have no interest in the beauty and excellence of the products, encourage the production of plain utilitarian and cheap work. The artisans who are at their mercy have to work solely at their bidding. Under

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such a system, in which the artisans have to lie idle except when they are paid in advance for their products by these middlemen, and in which they have solely to conform to the ever varying tastes of those who have ordered them, the art or industry cannot maintain a high standard for long. Craftsmanship is indeed sure to decline when the artisans on account of their poverty execute only those things which are most saleable. Workmanship cannot exist when there is a demand for cheap production, only the inferior materials will be produced and art will be sacrificed to utility. The only remedy would be a re-adjustment of the relations of capital and labour. The task is a difficult one but it has to be accomplished if we are to hope for any progress. It will be of no use to deprecate the deterioration of our arts, if by leaving the artisans entirely at the mercy of the *mahajans*, we compel them to turn out things solely to their order; or to teach them improved processes when the greater part of the profits they themselves cannot reap. Advances of money, tools or machinery might be made both by the government as well as by private individuals to deserving and selected artisans.

In continental Europe, the governments of many countries have been developing handicrafts by encouraging the artisans with grants of machinery. Thus the Government of Hungary has for some years been supplying machinery to independent craftsmen (master workmen). Between 1899 and 1909, about 1922 craftsmen were supplied with machines of the aggregate value of 3,762,567 crowns. Only in 48 cases the machines had to be declared forfeited, because the craftsmen in question were unable to use them or keep them permanently working. Out of 1922 craftsmen 434 work in iron and metal and 390 in the clothing industry. A considerable number of machines has been supplied also to co-operations, 219 cases in all. The measures taken by the state for the development of industry have been remarkably successful, the proportion of failures being a very small one, whether we take manufacturing industry or independent craftsmen (Alexander de Hollan, *Economic Journal, March 1911.*)

But self-help in the sphere of industry as well is the best help. Thus the establishment of co-operative credit societies amongst the artisans and the grant of loans from them to the artisans on a co-operative basis will be much more beneficial than grants of loans or machinery from government.

Germany is the model as well as the parent country for co-operative credit, and it may be instructive to describe how Germany has been tackling the problem of the poverty of the artisan classes. As early as 1850 Herr Schulze, Mayor of Delitzch, founded in Delitzch-Eilenburg his first loan society with ten members, all artisans, and re-modelled it two years later as a self-supporting institution with capital and shares. He saw that the lack of convenient credit was at the root of the artisan's helplessness, and that this credit could easily be provided if the artisan by self-help organised himself to obtain it. From that year co-operative credit societies were organised in almost all countries in Europe, with notable success especially in Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland and Ireland. Co-operative credit societies are of two kinds, the town credit bank and the rural credit bank. The first is predominantly an association of industrial producers: the second entirely an association of agricultural producers. We will deal with the former, basing our description chiefly on the Schulze-Delitzch model. The Raiffeisen bank is suited for agriculturists and villagers, and runs on fundamentally different lines adapted to agricultural needs and conditions of life.

In the Schulze-Delitzch bank, the necessary funds are raised by share capital and unlimited liability. Each member subscribes one share, and where, as is usually the case, liability is unlimited, one share only. The share is fixed as high as possible, i.e., as high as it can be without shutting out small industrialists, who have credit needs to satisfy. The object of the large share is two fold, the provision of a working capital and the encouragement of self-help and thrift. The large share as well as the unlimited liability constitutes the main basis on which capital is attracted.

In the Italian town banks, the liability of the share-holders is limited. Signor Luzzatti in Italy saw that though unlimited liability was suited to the Germans since the establishment of rural banks with unlimited liability, it was not suitable to Italy where there were greater extremes of rich and poor who could be induced to co-operate on a basis of unlimited liability.

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The profits of the society are distributed in two parts: one part goes to the reserve fund, and the remainder to the share-holders according to the size of their shares. Deposits in the banks are also encouraged and they assume various forms. Loans are granted by the banks against four different forms of security: (a) the security of one or two friends; (b) land mortgage, which is not much offered in banks pre-eminently industrial; (c) deposit of collaterals in the form of scrips or valuables; and (d) character (no security at all except in the good name of the borrower). Another way in which loans are advanced is by cash-credit. Credit is also granted by the co-operative bank in the form of a discount of a trade bill of exchange.* Banks also lend on invoices, on labour bills, and on a variety of similar instruments common among trading and manufacturing folk, but not generally negotiable except as an act of special consideration and at a high discount. To be able to borrow at ordinary rates of interest constitutes a material convenience to the poor people. Thus, a tradesman having money owing to him from a customer need but obtain the latter's acknowledgment of the correctness of the debt—provided that the debtor is "good" or can make himself so by security—to have the account discounted. It is very common for poor people to buy sewing machines with money borrowed from a People's Bank, which practice of course they find exceedingly useful; it secures them all the conveniences of the hire-purchase system" without exacting its extortionate price. It is doubtful if by any method the *banche* have rendered to the humble trading classes and small folk generally more material and more welcome service than by this convenient, popularised banking. Again, banks advance money on any prospective claim sufficiently recognised. The People's Bank of Bergamo has advanced money on coccoons, secured by the undertaking that the spun silk shall not leave the spinner's house till the debt has been repaid. To the small silk-growers this has proved a substantial benefit.*

The above is a very rough description of the machinery of a town bank chiefly for industrialists. The advantages of such banks are both economic and moral. If we compare the private money-lender with the co-operative banker, the advantage of the latter is at once seen. The resources of the private money-lender are limited and he cannot control individual borrowers. They are at liberty to make any use of the loan, productive or unproductive. Thus the private banker runs risks of losses and he recoups himself by charging high rates of interest. In the co-operative bank the borrowers are themselves the lenders. They know and trust one another. Thus the personal security which the small borrowers offer is valued when the other members are satisfied about its genuineness. Hence the rates of interest, charged by the banks, are much lower. Again the co-operative bank combines saving with credit. Thus it fosters thrift among the borrowers. The moral advantages, however, far outweigh the economic gains. The bank trains the people in habits of self-help, prudence and self-discipline. It organises a democratic community in which the weak by mutual aid and co-operation become strong and use their strength to lift others out of weakness. It creates a healthy moral atmosphere in the villages and, as the centre of the intellectual and moral life of the villages, becomes the lever of all kinds of social and educational movements concerning the masses of the people.

There are industrial banks in almost all countries in Europe. But there has been a marked tendency among these banks to deviate from this starting point and to lose what is felt to be an essential, the membership of the small producer. In Germany, the following table represents the classification of members of Schulze-Delitzch Banks by occupation:—

(1)	Independent Agriculturists ...	29·	27.2
(2)	Hand workers	27·9	24·06
(3)	Shopkeepers and traders ...	8·7	9.95
(4)	Wage-earners	11·6	13·47
(5)	Doctors, Chemists ...	6·3	7·32
(6)	Retired persons	7·6	8·21
	Etc.,		

The percentage of handworkers follows that of the agriculturists, and shows a little decline. In Belgium the town-banks created originally to assist the artisans have gradually lost this feature and neglect the custom of the small men. In Switzerland, however, the Swiss Popular Bank is very important, having branches over the whole of Switzerland, and its membership is almost

* Facy.—Cooperation at Home and Abroad.
* Wolff, People's Banks, p. 275

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exclusively industrial.* The Italian town banks have combated the general tendency towards the neglect of the small man by giving preference to smaller loans, where funds are limited.* The tendency towards minimising the importance of the hand-workers as elements in the town-banks is the result of the predominance of the factory over the hand-industry throughout the west and the increase of wage-earners who do not want credit. We have shown in the last chapter that the victory of the big industry is not so universal as is often supposed even in the West. In many industries hand-work has revived and new industries invariably begin on a small scale in the hands of independent artisans. But in spite of the relatively inferior position of the small artisans in the modern industrial world of the West, the aid which co-operative banks are still rendering to independent artisans in different countries in Europe is remarkable.

Co-operative Societies for artisans.

In any country where domestic industries are much more universal than in the West, the establishment of such co-operative banks amongst the artisans is of first necessity. The idea of co-operative credit is taking root in the country but though the movement is fostered under the beneficent care of the government and is fraught with immense possibilities for the regeneration of our indebted peasantry and artisan population, it has not so far been able to affect them to any great extent. The great bulk of the industrial population of the country is almost untouched by it, almost all the existing Societies of the different provinces being composed of agriculturists. In those industries particularly, where the raw material is expensive the artisans, if anything, are more than other workers under the thumb of the moneylenders and will derive the greatest benefit from co-operative credit. Indeed, any hand workers by organising themselves in associations may also obtain credit much more cheaply and conveniently than they now obtain from ordinary money-lenders.

There are indeed very few societies of craftsmen in India. Most of them are in the United Provinces. These are small associations of men of the same occupation, and generally of the same caste. Thus there are societies of weavers of cotton, silk and wool, fruit and vegetable venders, carpenters, leather-dealers, leather-manufacturers, ekka-drivers, boatmen, &c. The societies have unlimited liability: each member is also required to take up one share payable in monthly or six-monthly instalments. In non-seasonable trades the payments are monthly. Thus in many weavers' societies the value of a share is Rs. 9 and the amount of the instalments is only one anna paid every month for 12 years. These weavers' societies have been very successful, and their number is increasing rapidly when once their benefits are understood. In one small town alone (Tanda, in the Fyzabad District) there are 20 societies with 541 weaver menbers, and a central bank for finance and organisation, while another small town (Sandila, in the Hardoi District) has combined with its weaver's credit society a yarn store, which sold last year yarn to the value of Rs. 46,000, and paid a bonus of two pies in the rupee on purchases.* In the Benares silk-weaving industries, indigenous co-operative organisation has been highly successful.

* It should be noted that domestic trades have in Switzerland a much greater extension than in any other country of Europe save Russia. Of the 3,500,000 of the total population in Switzerland, some 100,000 persons are now actively engaged in domestic industries alone, working on their own account or else on that of some among themselves, in 70,873 little establishments, which represent 12.41 of the entire number of establishments of such particular trades. Its service to these industries has thus been indicated by Henry W. Wolff in his People's Banks: "It has proved a godsend to those small industries with whose workshops the Swiss maintain side and valleys bristle,—watchmakers, makers of musical boxes, weavers, woodcarvers, straw plaiters, basket-makers and the like."

* The following table represents the classification of members in the Banche Popolari of Italy.

On an average of 639 banks.

Landed proprietors	6·56 p.c.
Small cultivators	a 4·12
Rural day labourers	4·66
Large manufacturers and merchants	4·77
Small tradesmen and manufacturers	25·25
Factory Hands	8·11
Civil servants, clerks, teachers, &c.,	18·86
Person without an occupation ...	7·67

(Wolff People's Banks, p. 314).

The number of small traders, &c., has proportionately declined.

* Co-operation in India.
Paper read before the East India Association by Sir Frank Lascelles.

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II. Co-operative Purchase and Sale.

As the co-operative bank supplies the artisans with money, the co-operative supply society supplies them with tools, appliances as well as the raw materials required in the crafts. Similarly the sale society takes produce from the independent artisans and sells it in its original form. In Germany these associations of small producers are called Handwerkgenossenschaften. They buy raw materials in common, use machines in common, sell their products in common. The commodities raised belong to individuals. In our country the artisans purchase the raw materials as well as tools and appliances singly. The shopkeepers or middlemen from whom they make these purchases very often deceive them. Again, expenses of transport are also charged which make the prices heavy, especially where the purchases are small, and the distance from the town is great, which are usually the case. If the artisans unite together and their individual requirements grouped together are ordered in bulk, the advantages of such purchase will be obvious: (a) the supplies can be bought cheaper as the purchases are wholesale, (b) the freights are lower, (c) the supplies are of good quality. Again, costly machinery like oil and gas engines which individual artisans can not and will not buy might be purchased in common by the society and hired out to the artisans. Thus various kinds of machinery which the artisans cannot use otherwise might be made cheaply accessible to them. The co-operative society will not only bring the artisans cheaper supplies it will also teach them how to use them, The co-operative society commands confidence from the artisans, and new tools and implements might easily be introduced through the co-operative organisation. The advantages of co-operative organisation are so great that a number of small trades, artisan works and domestic industries in Europe have revived by this means, and recent economists anticipate a recoming of the small industry, if co-operative methods become universal, in spite of the competition with the big industry. Thus Professor Charles Gide has remarked:

"Co-operative association—under the different forms of productive association, societies for the purchase of raw materials or for the sale of finished goods or societies for mutual credit, aided by mechanical inventions that are substituting electric power for steom and enabling us to transport motive power from the place of its generation to the place of its application, will permit new forms of industrial enterprise capable of resisting successfully the encroachments of large-scale industry."

Co-operative societies possessing their own machines, oil and gas engines and providing electric light and power for the artisans (by the employment of a rapid in the river as motive force) will secure the same economies of production and opportunities as to invention and improvement of processes and utilisation of work which regularly enters in the large-scale industry.

In connection with the working of industrial credit societies as well as societies for the common purchase of raw material or for common sale, certain difficulties have arisen. It might be profitable to indicate how these difficulties have been overcome in the West, notably in Germany.

Credit societies for special trades and industries have usually failed in Europe. The idea of forming special credit societies for certain industries has been abandoned. An industrial credit society now comprises the most diverse elements of self-dependent industry, so that all may find in the credit society a ready support.

Co-operative credit societies have now found a secure basis for granting loans in the acceptance of outstanding or recently incurred claims, upon safe debtors, which the borrower transfers to the society. In simple business dealings amongst artisans this form of security however can not often be used because there is the danger of offending a customer by transferring the claim. It may be assumed as a fact that a well-managed credit society can meet all reasonable applications for credit made by its members.

In the case of societies for the common purchase of raw material or for common sale, a combination of the various groups of artisans is advisable or rather essential. The industrial co-operative society is often led to fix the price of raw material, the use of machines, &c., considerably below current prices. But the duty of such a society should be to make it possible for the artisan to perfect his trade and to modernise it on good commercial lines. If the price of raw material, semi-manufactured articles, and the use of machines is fixed under current prices, experience has shown that the resultant economies are not to the advantage of the artisans but that of the customers. This

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important point, however, is frequently misunderstood. Another great danger of the supply societies, lies in allowing too extended credit. It is a matter for serious consideration when artisans get machines on credit whose full employment in the undertaking is not assured.

As regards the common sale societies, it is of course self-evident that they can only be of service in industries which can manufacture for stocking. The area of utility of a common sale society is, from the nature of things, very limited. On this account such societies have to exercise great caution in admitting new members. In these sale societies the warehoused goods are not so much regarded as specie, but rather as industrial produce, the value of which is often decided by the special circumstances and wishes of the purchaser. Whether the associated sale societies should accept the products brought to them on their own account or whether they shall only exhibit them and sell them on account of another is a question that has to be decided on the merits of cases as they arise. Products whose value is largely a question of public taste should not be purchased by a society. It has been found practicable to hire things which have come into a selling society's possession. But here, too, the utmost caution is essential. Specialised knowledge on the part of the manager is essential if the society is not to suffer loss. * The advantages of organising co-operative sale societies for the marketing and sale of the finished products of the artisans are also obvious. The artisans who live isolated from the market and from one another have a very imperfect knowledge of the special needs of the consumer. Their contact with the consumer is also very frequently obstructed by the interposition of middlemen. The co-operative sale society not only intercepts the profits of the middlemen but it advertises the wares effectively and sells them conveniently in the interests of the artisans.

Not only the co-operative banks but also the co-operative supply and co-operative sale societies will revolutionise the condition of our artisan classes with due precautions necessitated by experience in the West if they are introduced in India. There are certain special circumstances which distinctly favour the introduction of industrial co-operation amongst our artisans. Our industrial population is organised into castes, marked by a spirit of association, solidarity and co-operation in social dealings. The caste traditions and the character of the people are thus distinctly favourable to co-operation for industrial purposes. Again the form of industrial co-operation, though very recent in Europe, is structurally akin to the economic methods of our village community. In the village community, the village industrials are paid by the villagers, and the communal ownership of land, typical in the Indian village community, links itself naturally to the communal ownership of machinery and the implements of production as well as of the marketable wares, which is the object of industrial co-operation. Indeed there are the seeds in the Indian soil. The co-operator's labour and cultivation are required in order that this soil may yield a harvest possibly more abundant than that of the West.

Krishnanath College.
July 15, 1913.

Radhakamal Mukerjee.

THE BODY OF HUMANITY

V.

UP to this point I have left on one side the great Islamic civilisation with its centre in Arabia and its crucial position, for the world's history, along the land-barrier of Western Asia. It has divided for centuries the Christian group from the Hindu-Buddhist, and at the same time has markedly affected both.

As in the former instances, with which I have already dealt, Islam also represents in the pages of history a young, vigorous and vital religious movement springing up within an effete and secularized older civilisation. The decaying Asiatic provinces of

* Vide the paper on Credit and Industrial Co-operation read before the International Co-operative Congress at Hamburg, 1910, by M. C. Korthaus, Berlin, Director of the Principal Union of German Industrial Co-operative Societies.

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the Byzantine Empire were the seed ground of the new religion on the one hand; the old Iranian civilisation was the seed ground on the other. The Byzantine provinces still retained, in their decay, the deposit of that wonderful Aryan Hellenism from which Christianity had drawn six centuries before. The new religion of Islam now gave to this a colour and an atmosphere of its own creation, and mingled its spirit with the Persian culture which it assimilated eastward. The civilisation which resulted flourished for centuries from the borders of India on the East to the shores of the Atlantic on the West. It was rich in poetry and romance, in art and science. Its powerful influence upon Western Europe during the early Middle Ages formed one of the turning points in the history of mankind. Indeed, it is difficult to overestimate the debt which Christendom owed to the intellectual stimulus of Islam. The light penetrated even where the religion of the Prophet was most violently opposed. At this period the obligation was almost entirely on the side of Christendom.

In a later religious impulse, which spread also westward over Europe through the conversion of the Ottoman Turks, history seemed at one time likely to repeat itself. The European provinces of the old Byzantine Empire were conquered, and a new Islamic civilisation appeared at the door of the West. Under Suleiman the Magnificent it became a centre of light and learning. But its glory was short lived and it soon fell into decay. Western Europe was by this time itself intellectually awake and prepared to work out its own destiny unaided. From the time of the Reformation onwards, Christendom has steadily made its impress felt upon Islam on the sides of science, culture and administration. The wheel has thus come round full circle.

While the forces of civilisation have thus been assimilated on either side at different periods, the two religions of Islam and Christianity have remained in sharp antagonism and bitter hostility up to modern times. Indeed the whole picture of Muhammadanism, as drawn by the Christian West, has been blurred for centuries by long inherited prejudice and ignorance. All this is only very slowly passing away. It will need at least another generation of patient impartial study on either side before the obscuring medium is cleared away and the true portrait is revealed to the world. I am conscious myself of the difficulty of this part of my subject, and of the uncritical character of much of the historical treatment of Islam. The great German scholars are now in some measure making good that deficiency from the European side. Their work is being appreciated and their scientific method pursued by Muhammadan scholars in India.* These latter are able to correct, from their own more intimate experience, the inevitable mistakes made by the German research workers, in the same way as Indian Sanskrit scholars have been able to modify Max Muller's pioneer efforts. When the process is complete, a much more accurate picture will be drawn than I am able to outline to-day.

On its eastern border Islam's greatest influence has been felt in India itself. The first Muhammadan invaders from Central Asia were fanatical and intolerant. Their puritan zeal was in a measure terribly destructive. It swept over India, at one time, like a devastating flood. But it left behind it a new soil in which the seeds of a more fruitful Hinduism could spring up. From the time of Kabir onwards, the Hindu religion in North India has been less idolatrous and less caste-ridden, than in the South, chiefly owing to the fervent religious protest of Islam. During the early Moghul period, when the purity of Islam was obscured, it seemed as though a fusion of the two religions were destined to take place. Art, poetry and music flourished from Akbar to Shah Jahan to an unprecedented degree. But the fusion, from the religious standpoint, had little permanence or depth. The true spirit of Islam would have been lost, had it continued; and this would have set back, rather than forward, the history of mankind in the Eastern group.

The chief outstanding feature, which may be traced throughout the whole development of Islam, as a world-religion, is its principle of religious democracy. Though this has remained chiefly confined in its scope to religion, it has left its mark upon society and politics as well and may prove of great value in the future. Absolutism in government and slavery in domestic life have, up to comparatively modern times, been continually in evidence in Muhammadan countries, yet both have

* See the recent series of articles by Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh published in the Modern Review.

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been modified by this principle. The slave has often risen to the position of Badshah and even founded dynasties. Again, owing to the purdah system, the social emancipation of women has been more backward than in the West. Yet Begums have moulded history and ruled kingdoms from behind the purdah. Thus the complete equality of all men in the eyes of God, recognised and practised as a principle of faith, has relieved many reactionary customs. If these customs themselves can now be eliminated, this principle of religious democracy may find fresh fields to conquer in the days to come.

The strength and tenacity with which this ideal has been held is all the more remarkable, because in the earliest times the principle itself was most seriously imperilled. The believers who were of pure Arab blood seemed at one time likely to form a caste within the Islamic Church. But though the danger was imminent, it was surmounted ; and the lowest-born African to-day is the equal of the direct descendant of the Prophet within the walls of the mosque and at the time of 'Id. There are no mosques in which the presence of a believer of a different colour or race would be regarded as an intrusion.

On the other hand, one singular feature in the history of Islam demands careful consideration. Its persistence has been so clearly marked, that it appears to be more than a passing phase and in some way wrapt up with the religion itself. Wherever Islam has vitally penetrated an alien race and permanently occupied a foreign country, —whether in Africa, Persia, India or the Malay States,—it has tended to 'Arabise' the mother-tongue of its adherents. It ppears as though the strength and vitaliy of the religion were bound up with the ery language of the Prophet and his Book. Indeed it has often been said to me by enlightened Musalmans that the Quran can never be translated. The very spirit of the Book seems to evaporate, when another tongue, differing from Arabic, is ised. The symbol of this fact, if fact it be, s given in the attitude of prayer adopted by every Musalman in the most sacred moments of his life. He turns towards Mecca. The Haj, or Pilgrimage, to the sacred Arabian shrines, which is one of the five precepts of Islam, points in the same direction. Muhammadanism always starts from and turns back to Arabia. One result of this singular feature has been the formation of a new series of human languages, in parts of the world so distant from one another as West Africa and the Malay Peninsula, which all have Arabic roots. Swahili, Turki, Urdu and Hausa may be taken as types of this process. Almost the only country where this change of language has not been carried out, is China. But the exception here seems to prove the rule; for in China, Islam has never clearly established its own peculiar genius.*

Side by side with this factor, which appears vital, is another feature, which may be less permanent. Not only has language been deeply affected, but national manners and customs have been profoundly changed wherever Islam has penetrated. Islamic law has been held a necessary part of Islamic religion. In the Quran itself there is embedded a code of laws based on Arabic conditions. The attempt to perpetuate these has been made in many countries. Not only the spirit, but the letter of this Islamic law has been regarded as obligatory. The natural consequence has been to 'Arabise', not merely language, but also law and custom. There are signs, however, that this process, which has been of immense social significance in the past, is likely to be modified in future. It does not seem to be so inherent a feature as the language problem.

When viewed in relation to the Body of Humanity this fact of the centralization of Islamic thought upon Arabia has proved both a strength and weakness. It has consolidated the Islamic Church in the past, and given it a marvellous uniformity and cohesion. But it has effected this by cutting, too often, across the lines of national development and indigenous custom. In relation to peoples closely akin to the Arabs in race and culture, the danger has not been serious. Again, in relation to barbarous tribes, with no language or customs worth preserving, the danger has been very slight. But in contact with the highly civilised, non-Semitic races of man-

* Another exception, to a lesser degree, is East Bengal. It should be noted that the eager effort of enlightened Musalmans, in Bengal and other parts of India, to spread Urdu among the believers proceeds from this religious principle. It is not a mere political expedient. Urdu, or Hindustani, is the Indian language which has been moulded nearest to the language of the sacred Book.

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kind, this feature of Islam has continually represented up to the present a hard, unassimilable quality. The future will only accentuate the hardness, if this feature is retained.

An illustration from the history of Christianity may serve to make this last point still clearer: for a remarkable parallel exists. The attempt was made in the Middle Ages to centralize Christianity in Rome, and to stereotype Latin as the language of Christian worship and the Latin Vulgate as the only authorised text of the Bible. But the attempt was unsuccessful from the first; for the Greek Church stood out against such centralization and other parts of Christendom resisted it also in their turn. From the time of the Reformation onwards the danger has been practically surmounted. The Bible is now translated into every living language, and Christian law and custom in the West are no longer bound up with Rome. It remains to be seen if Islam is able to overcome in a similar manner its own internal difficulties, and to harmonize completely its religious principles with national aspirations. On this question a considerable measure of its ultimate value to the Body of Humanity will depend.

When we come, at length, to sum up the effects upon human character produced within the area of Islam and beyond its borders, we notice first a visible dignity and a noble bearing, which has resulted from the puritan simplicity of its creed and its transcendent idea of God. If idolatry, or image worship, has been, on the whole, a factor in the human race leading to superstition and corruption, Islam has proved one of the most potent forces which have checked the evil. Again, there has been a remarkable power in Islam to give a progressive impulse to backward and barbarous peoples, and also to assimilate from neighbouring civilisations their inner spirit. But both these processes seem soon to reach their limit, and a tendency to fatalism has then reacted against further advance.

In spite of the command of the Prophet to acquire knowledge wherever it may be found, the vast mass of illiteracy in Muhammadan countries remains a standing menace to the faith itself, and also a cause of many of the evils which exist at the present time. To some it would appear that the religion had fallen on evil days; but in its past history a power of revival has so frequently been witnessed, that, not improbably, what we are witnessing before our eyes is the purifying discipline which precedes the period of renewed vitality. Such at least in India seem to be the signs of the times.

I am conscious of the inadequacy of what I have written above about Islam. I have only been able to draw upon my own experience, which is very limited, and upon what I have been able to read in English, which is often uncritical. I have endeavoured to be as fair and impartial as these circumstances will allow.

C. F. ANDREWS

(*to be concluded in the next number*)

THE DATE OF BHASA.

TO the students and lovers of Sanskrit literature, the discovery of the lost dramas of Bhasa, has been the most considerable literary event of recent years. The value of the works of this poet consists not only in their being a landmark in the literary history of India, but also in their intrinsic merit.

These dramas represent a type of viril literature hitherto unknown in the realm of Sanskrit *belles lettres*,—so different in spirit and treatment from the artificial dramas of a much later age. It may sound paradoxical, but it is none the less true, that both in feeling and expression, this old dramatist is much more modern than

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either Sriharsha, Bhavabhuti, or Rajashekhar. Bhasa paints a bit of the old world which at any rate does not wear the aspect of fairyland. In simplicity of language and directness of expression, he betrays a strange kinship with modern European poets. Another distinguishing feature of Bhasa is his lively interest in and intimate acquaintance with reality,—a mental characteristic we have been taught to believe to be foreign to the Indian genius. The characters brought on the stage by Bhasa are not heroes or heroines of the conventional type, giving expression to appropriate sentiments in sonorous language; but men and women who, for aught we know, might have actually lived in this world. Inasmuch as his plays are full of life and movement, they afford us enough literary material to enable one to partially build up both the body and the soul of the civilization of his times. Amongst hitherto extant dramas, the *Mricchakatika* has all along been considered *sui generis;* because it gives us a picture, on broad canvas, of the contemporary social life. We now know that the above play is only an enlarged version of Bhasa's *Daridra Charudatta*—which accounts for its uniqueness in later Sanskrit literature. By virtue of this love of reality, and of the sincerity of his art, Bhasa leaves an abiding impression on the minds of his readers, that his dramas are genuine documents of contemporary history. For the above reason, to students of the ancient history of India, it is of the utmost importance to ascertain the date of this dramatist.

According to Mr. Ganapati Shastri, the learned editor of his dramas, Bhasa lived in the 4th century B. C. He bases this opinion on the strength of a solitary verse, quoted in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, which is found in one of Bhasa's dramas. This evidence to my mind is too slight to establish Mr. Shastri's theory. The verse in question,

नवं शरावं सलिलस्य पूर्णं सुसंस्कृतं दर्भकृतोत्तरीयं ।
तत् तस्य मा भून्नरकं च गच्छेद् यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्धेत् ॥

is obviously of a "memorial" character, and might have been one of the popular verses which had lived on everybody's lips for hundreds of years. The introductory phrase अपीह श्लोको भवति (there is the *sloka*) indicates both its popular character and unknown authorship. Even if we admit that the author of the *Arthashastra* borrowed the above verse from Bhasa, we cannot prove thereby that he flourished before the invasion of India by Alexander. The date of the *Arthashastra* has not yet been finally ascertained. An attempt to fix the date of Bhasa by reference to that of the *Arthashastra* would amount to deducing the unknown from the unknown. I do not venture to express any opinion on the probable date of the latter work, but its character makes me doubt the antiquity claimed for it. In my humble opinion it is more likely that the compilation which passes in the name of *Kautilya* embodies the doctrines of Chanakyan statecraft than that it was actually written by Chanakya himself.

In support of his theory about the great antiquity of Bhasa, Mr. Ganapati Shastri adduces the testimony of his language. He has compiled a list of inaccurate uses of grammatical forms from Bhasa's works. I should be very reluctant to believe that an author of his eminence could be guilty of such a fault. Slipshod writing is a literary vice of recent growth, from which the classics are entirely free. Mr. Shastri himself admits that all these apparent mistakes can be explained away. But from the fact that Bhasa's use of certain grammatical forms is somewhat uncommon, Mr. Shastri argues that he was either ignorant of, or ignored the rules laid down in Panini's grammar. From the above argument he arrives at the conclusion that Bhasa belonged to an age when Panini's grammar was either not well-known, or not universally accepted. Mr. Shastri says that there is nothing surprising about that, as Panini was but a pupil of Varsha Upadhyaya, who was a contemporary of King Nanda. That is to say, according to Mr. Shastri's theory, Panini was either a contemporary of Bhasa, or came after him. So far as I know, the only authority for the above opinion, are the following verses from *Kathasaritsagara*:—

अथ कालेन वर्षस्य शिष्यवर्गो महानभूत ।
तत्रैक पाणिनीर्णाम जड़बुद्धितरोऽभवत् ॥
स शुश्रूषा परिक्लिष्ट प्रेषितो वर्षभार्यया ।
अगच्छत्तपसे खिन्नो विद्याकामो हिमालयम् ॥

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तत्र तीव्रेन तपसा तोषितदिन्दुशेखरात् ।

सर्व्वविद्यां मुखं तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणं नवम् ॥

The legendary character of the above is too obvious to require any comments. The tradition preserved in the *Brihatkatha* only goes to show that Panini's new grammar had absolutely displaced the extant grammar, and Panini's work was too great to be ignored by any man of letters. This is what Katyayana is represented to have stated with reference to Panini :—

तेन प्रनष्टमैन्द्रं तदस्मात् व्याकरणं भुवि ।

जिता पाणिनिना सर्व्वा मूर्खीभूता वयं पुनः ॥

In consequence of which, Katyayana having undergone austere penances in the Himalayas, was rewarded by Mahadeva with a revelation of Panini's grammar, which he eventually brought to completion :—

तदेव तेन शास्त्रं मे पाणिनीय प्रकाशितं ।

तदिदानुग्रहादेव मया पूर्णीकृतं च तत् ॥

From the above we can only infer that Panini's grammar, according to popular tradition, was an old work, even in the age of Katyayana, who lived in the time of King Nanda ; and the latter rescued it from oblivion by adding supplementary and explanatory matter to it, and brought it to completion. So instead of jumping to the conclusion that Bhasa belonged to the same age as Panini, it would be safer for us to ascribe the so-called grammatical errors in his works to the carelessness of the scribes.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, following the clue afforded by the *Bharat-vakya* of his dramas, has come to the conclusion that Bhasa was the court poet of Narayana, the Kanva. In my opinion Mr. Jayaswal's theory must stand, until and unless evidence of a conclusive character comes forth to disprove it. I believe there is ample internal evidence in the plays themselves, which can be legitimately adduced in support of Mr. Jayaswal's contention. In this paper I propose to restrict myself to the consideration of such evidence.

Very little is known of the history of the Kanvas—or their predecessors the Sungas. All that we know is that the last Maurya Emperor of Pataliputra, Vrihadratha, was slain by his Commander-in--Chief Pushyamitra, who usurped the throne and founded the Sunga dynasty (184 B.C.—73. B.C.). Pushyamitra was a staunch believer in the Vedic religion and is alleged to have cruelly persecuted the Buddhists. One thing is certain, that he had performed the *Ashwamedha Yajna*, to commemorate his victory over the invading hordes of Greeks led by King Menander and that, *Patanjali*, the author of *Mahabhashya*, was an eye-witness of the ceremony. His son Agnimitra, the hero of Kalidasa's drama—*Malavikagnimitra*, was also a warlike prince, and had succeeded in crushing the king of Vidarbha. History does not record anything of the later Sungas, except their names. The last of the Sungas, Deva Bhumi. was in his turn killed at the instance of his Brahmin Prime Minister Vasudeva, who founded the Kanva Dynasty about B. C. 73. There were only four princes of this family, namely, Vasudeva, Bhumimitra, Narayana and Susharman. The last-named prince was killed by a Shatavahana (Shalivahana) prince, about 23 B.C. So if Bhasa was a contemporary of Narayana, he belonged to the second half of the first century B. C.

The language of the poet, the sentiments he expresses, the society he delineates, all clearly indicate that Bhasa belonged to the early age of the revival of Brahminism and Sanskrit learning, signalised by the great victory of Pushyamitra over Menander, 153 B.C. That the final expulsion of the Greeks from India gave a tremendous impetus to the revivalist movement, is one of the most firmly-established facts of Indian history, and Bhasa was undoubtedly one of that numerous class of thinkers and writers, who were at once the makers and the products of this new age of Brahminic civilization. As a matter of fact, we find in Bhasa all the characteristic features of Renaissance literature ;—namely, its frank joy in life, and its activities, its faith in human capacity, its apotheosis of youth, its love of beauty and strength, and its abiding optimism. The freshness and purity of his style, the picture of social and political "storm and stress" he depicts, his contemptuous references to the Buddhists, and his militant Brahminism, all point to the fact that the poet belonged to a period when Brahminism, ennobled and humanised by the supreme ethical influence of Buddhism, chastened

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and tempered by the strenuous struggle with the vigorous races of the West, rose as it were from its ashes, with new life and strength. I think we could not go very far wrong if we were to infer, from a consideration of the general characteristics of his plays, that their author lived some time between Pushyamitra and Kanishka. But fortunately for us, his plays contain evidence of a more definite character, in support of the above inference.

His references to Sanskrit literature give us some indication of his age. One of his dramatic characters says:—

"भो काश्यपगोत्रऽस्मि, साङ्गोपाङ्गं वेदमधीये, मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रं, माहेश्वरं योगशास्त्रं, बार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रं, मेधातिथे न्यायशास्त्रं, प्राचेतसं श्राद्धकल्पं च—"

All this is very ancient literature, and much of it is lost. But the reference to *Manaviya dharmashastram* proves that Bhasa could not have lived before the 2nd century B.C. There are reasons to believe that *Manaviya dharmashastram* in its present form, was compiled at about the same time that the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali was written (circa 185 B.C.). Bhasa's ignoring the *Yogashastra* of Patanjali, is very likely due to the fact that the new treatise on *Yoga* had not in Bhasa's time superseded the older literature as the authority on the subject. This theory of ours gets further confirmation from the fact that Bhasa knew the book *Ramayana* which according to Mr. Hopkins was written in the 2nd century B. C. I quote below the passage from *Avimarakam* which contains the reference to the *Ramayana*.'—

विदूषकः—चन्दिये किं एदं ?

चेटी:— अय्य, कञ्चि वम्हणं अन्नेषामि।

विदूषकः—वम्हणेन किं कय्यं ?

चेटी:— किमन्नं, भोअनत्थं निमन्तेदुं।

विदूषकः—भोदि! अहं को समणयो ?

चेटी:— तुवं किल अवेदियो।

विदूषकः—किम्स अहं अवेदियो। सुणाहि दाव। अत्थि रामायणं नाम नट्टसत्थं। तम्हिं पञ्च सुलोया असम्पुन्ने संवच्छरे मत्र पटिदा।

चेटी:— जानामि, जानामि। अय्यस्स कुलोइदो इदिसो मेधाविभावो।

विदूषकः—न केवलं सुलोआ एव, तेसं अत्थ वि उनियो। अन्नं च। अवरो विसेसो, वम्हणो दुल्लहो, अक्खरठ्ठयो अत्थयो अ।

In the above passage the *vidushaka* refers to the *Ramayana* as a *Natya Shastra*. The point of the joke is that the *Ramayana* was so little known at the time, that to the ordinary people, for aught they knew to the contrary, it might have been a treatise on dramatic art. That Sanskrit learning in his time was not very widespread even amongst the Brahmin community, is proved by the *vidushaka's* remark that "there are very few Brahmins who could both read and understand the meaning of things written in Sanskrit." Here I must point out that Bhasa's allusion to Natya-shastra could not have been with reference to the treatise which has come down to us as Bharata's Natya-shastra. Because Bhasa systematically ignores one of the best-known and most universally-honoured canons of the later dramatic art,—namely, that no tragic event should happen on the stage. Bhasa's characters die and are killed on the stage, and dead bodies are exhibited there. The above fact takes Bhasa's dramas to that period of our history when Mitradeva, instead of acting it, actually cut off Agnimitra's son Sumitra's head on the stage. The inevitable conclusion is that Bhasa's reference is to some lost work on Natya-shastra. We know that the Sungas were great lovers and patrons of the histrionic art; and it is only likely that some treatise on that art had been in existence in Bhasa's time.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has shown that there is enough historical evidence to justify us in bringing Bhasa's date within narrower limits. Let us see if there is anything in the plays themselves which supports his theory that Bhasa was the Court poet of Narayana, the Kanva. It is a matter of some doubt whether the Kanvas, who are described in the Puranas as "Sungabhritya," ever actually sat on the throne of the Sungas. Dr. Bhandarkar says that the Kanvas occupied the position of the Peshwas with regard to the Sungas, who reigned but did not govern. We find much corroborative evidence in support of the

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above theory in the plays of Bhasa. In his dramas whenever Upendra, which is only another name for Narayana, is mentioned in the *Bharat-vakya*, he is always described as *Prabhu* (lord),—and never as *narapati* (king). I may mention here that Bhasa's dramas are full of the glorification of prime ministers. The real hero of the two plays based upon the Udayana-katha, is not Udayan the king, but Jaugandharayan his minister. And he is depicted not only as supreme in state-craft, but also as foremost in battle. The significance of a Brahmin minister being described as a brave soldier, will appear as we go on.

We do not know how the four Kanvas were related to one another, and to determine their relationship we have to fall back upon speculation. Our theory is that Bhumimitra and Narayana were respectively the eldest and the second son of Vasudeva. The above hypothesis throws a flood of light on the true character of "*Bala-charitam*," which I take as a political drama, written with the object of justifying the action of the Kanvas, in assassinating their lord and master Devabhumi. This drama has as its subject the well-known legend of the killing of *Kangsa* by Krishna, the son of Vasudeva, with the help of his elder brother Balaram. The peculiar fact about *Bala-charit* is, that in this play the hero has not once been mentioned by the name Krishna—but always as Narayana—a very unusual and unconventional thing in Sanskrit literature. That Vishnu in his Krishna-incarnation was quite different from Narayana is stated by Bhasa himself in the introductory verse of this very play :—

सङ्कर्षणः पुराकृतयुगे नाम्ना तु नारायण
स्त्रेतायां त्रिपदापितत्रिभुवनो विष्णु सुवर्षप्रभः।
द्वौ वीर्यामनिभः स रावणवधे रामो युगे द्वापरे
नित्यं यो, अञ्जनसन्निभः कलियुगे वः पातु दामोदरः॥

The natural inference is, that Bhasa deliberately used the name Narayana to indicate that his patron and master was the real hero of the play. The adoption of the story of *Kangsavadha* from the Krishna legend was to give a sort of religious sanction to the heinous crime of regicide, of which Narayana was guilty. The crime was recent, and we can quite imagine that some justification of the act was necessary to allay the popular feeling against it. On this supposition, we can understand why in almost every page of *Bala-charitam*, we find it stated that it was for the protection of Brahmins and cows and for the good of the people that Narayana was going to kill a wicked king. We also find in this drama, that Vasudeva's eldest son is always called Sankarshan instead of Balaram,—the better-known and the more commonly-used name of Krishna's elder brother. Our idea is that Sankarshan was the real name of Vasudeva, the Kanva's eldest son, and Bhumimitra was a descriptive title signifying that he was the friend of Devabhumi the king.

According to a well-known convention in Sanskrit literature, the prime-minister's eldest son is always described as the friend of the Yuvaraja, the king's eldest son. There is an indication in the play itself that Devabhumi was only the Yuvaraja. He had wrested the sceptre from the hands of the old Maharaja, and had thrown him into prison. From our point of view the last scene in the drama is highly significant. After Kangsa had been killed by Narayana, the populace created a hubbub in the street and people began to shout for revenge. The king's clansmen being called to arms, rushed towards the palace, to wreak their vengence on Vasudeva and his sons. Vasudeva, in the meantime, had the old king brought out from prison and placed on the throne; when the king's warriors arrived upon the scene, he addressed them in the following words,—

भो भो मधुरावासिनः। शृण्वन्तु शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः। अस्य खलु दैवैर्व्वन्द्युपरागनोत्पाटनोपटो। सर्वत्रैवपराङ्मुखावलोकिनो वसुदेवभवस्य वासुदेवस्य प्रसादात् पुनरधिगतीराज्यस्यो-ग्रसेनस्य शासननिदानीमवधुयते।"
सर्वे—प्रतिष्ठितमीदानीं देवराजम्।

The phrase सर्वत्रैव पराङ्मुखावलोकिनो वसुदेवादौ can only mean this, that Narayana was not a Kshattriya,—and that as he found that the Kshatriyas had failed in their duty he Narayana, although a Brahmin, had to kill the usurper in order to restore the throne to its rightful owner—the Maharaja. If we take it that the old Maharaja referred to here was Bhagavata, the father of Devabhumi, we get an explanation of the unusually long reign attributed to him in the

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Puranas. The above fact also fits in with our theory that the Kanvas were content to play the role of ministers of the crown, whilst some member of the reigning family sat on the throne.

That Narayana, the son of Vasudeva, was the person who actually killed Deva-Bhumi, is also proved by a remark which falls from the lips of Duryodhana, in another play of Bhasa's, namely "Dutavakyam." Addressing Narayana, Duryodhana says:—

स्यालं तव गुरोर्भर्तुः
कंसं प्रति न ते दया।

The description of Kangsha as the master of Narayana's father, exactly describes the relationship of Narayana's father Vasudeva to Devabhumi.—This play is based upon the story of Krishna's going to Duryodhana's court as a messenger on behalf of the Pandavas. When Narayana is announced by the *Kanchuki*, Duryodhana takes exception to his being called Purushottama, in the following words:—

किं किं कंसभृत्यो दामोदरस्तव पुरुषोत्तमः।
वाहद्रथापहृत विषयकीर्त्तिभोगस्तव पुरुषोत्तमः॥

In the above there is a clear reference to Narayana the Kanva a Sunga-bhritya. He who was enjoying the 'kingdom robbed from *Vrihadratha*,' aptly describes the Kanvas, who were ruling the kingdom robbed as it was in fact by Pushyamitra from the last Maurya king. The above puts it beyond any reasonable doubt that the allusion was to a historical fact. I can cite a large amount of evidence of a minor character in support of Mr. Jayaswal's theory—but the evidence afforded by the last quotation is of such a conclusive character, that it is not necessary for me to burden this paper with further quotations.

I only wish to add that I expect that *Daridra Charudatta* will bear ample testimony to the correctness of our theory; unfortunately the latter drama has not yet come into our hands. If the main story of that play happens to be the same as that of *Mricchakatika*, it will show that *Daridra Charudatta* like *Bala Charitam* was also a political drama, the action of the play leading up to a popular rising headed by a Brahmin youth, against a wicked king, who was killed, and a Gopala Daraka was placed on the throne.

P. CHAUDHURI.

THE GODDESS DURGA

Durga, the Primordial Energy of the Universe.

DURGA, according to Hindu conception, is the all-pervading intelligent Force or Energy in Nature that creates, upholds and destroys. She emanates from Brahma, the Supreme and Absolute, not as His real essence, but as *Maya* or illusion that makes unreal things look like real. She represents in herself the three principles (or *Gunas*) of *Sattwa*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* which are respectively presided over by Vishnu, the Preserver, Brahma, the Creator, and Siva, the Destroyer. She is therefore described in the Hindu Scriptures as the Primordial Force (*Adya Sakti*), the First (*Prathama*), the Ancient (*Puratani*), the Mother of the Gods (*Devamata*), and of the Universe (*Viswamata*) and the immanent, eternal and manifest Energy that surrounds, and, as it were, shuts out the Unmanifest and Absolute, just as the Golden Dawn reveals and yet not reveals the bright and glorious Sun. United with her, Brahma is *Saguna*; divorced from her, He is *Nirguna* or the Absolute. With the predominance of one particular *Guna*, *e.g.*, *sattwa*, the Saguna Brahma is Vishnu who protects and upholds the Universe; and the Energy of Vishnu is then variously

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called Vaishnavi, Narayani or Lakshmi. With the predominance of *Tamas*, the Saguna Brahma becomes Maheswara or Siva who destroys evil and darkness, and then his *Sakti* or Energy is called Durga, Kali, Chamunda, Chandika and Jagatdhatri. With the predominance of *Rajas*, the Saguna Brahma becomes Brahma, the Creator, and then Durga is called Brahmani. Brahma is at the head of all creation, of the powers of good as well as of evil,—the Devas and the Asuras. Brahma, Vishnu and Siva therefore are one and the same being with the Saguna Brahma; and Durga, Lakshmi, Narayani, Kali, Chandika, Jagatdhatri, Brahmani, &c., are the different aspects of the same Eternal Energy, called *Mahasakti*, or *Mahamaya*, which is of Brahma, and yet not Brahma, or the Absolute. You have got to know her before you know Brahma, and the knowledge of her takes you nearer to Him. It is she, or for the matter of that, the Saguna Brahma, that has the power of revealing the Absolute. Therefore it is through her or the Saguna Brahma that the transcendental knowledge of the Absolute is possible. *

The Popular Conception.

Durga, according to popular Hindu conception, is the divine daughter of Himalaya, and his wife, Menaka, a *Manasputri* of Brahma, the Creator. It is said in the Markandeya Purana that though she pervades the Universe, and is co-extensive with creation, yet she manifests and incarnates herself on special occasions with a view to help the Devas in the performance of their divine work. Though thus manifested and incarnated, she is neither limited nor conditioned but is *Nitya* or Eternal. In one incarnation, she became the daughter of Daksha Prajapati and was known as Sati; in another, she became the daughter of Himalaya and was known as Haimavati Uma. In both these incarnations, she became the consort of Siva to serve special purposes, resulting in the ultimate good of the Universe.

Having the creative, protective and destructive energies combined in herself, and being immanent and co-extensive with the Universe, she represents all these energies wherever they may be found to exist. She is the special *Sakti* of every one of the Devas and all created beings from the lowest to the highest.

The Story of her special manifestations in the Puranas.

Durga had several special manifestations on various occasions when her special divine help was needed in furtherance of the work of the Devas. Æons ago, at the end of a Kalpa, when the Sattwik energy of the Universe was low, and Vishnu was asleep in *Yoganidra*, the Asuras, representing the principle of Evil, became more powerful than the Devas, who represent the principle of Good. This dualism of Good and Evil,—of Light and Darkness, is a necessary condition of creation and of its evolution. Mahisasura, the leader of the Asuras, extended and established his sway over the three worlds, drove away Indra and the other Devas from their respective offices and authority, and proclaimed himself the Lord of the Universe. In their distress, the Devas, headed by Prajapati (Brahma), went to Vishnu, and narrating their tale of woe and misery, prayed for speedy redress of the wrongs committed by the Asuras, and deliverance from their yoke. Both Vishnu and Siva became highly angry, and their faces flashed forth fire, and simultaneously the faces of Brahma and the other Devas also flashed forth fire; and lo! the whole firmament was soon aglow with the lustre of a mountain of accumulated fire and light that had emanated from the various Devas! This mountain of fire and light gradually dissolved and revealed the bright and refulgent figure of a wonderful woman with countless arms, whose very sight put heart into the Devas. The latter offered her their homage as well as their weapons, with which she armed herself, and riding on a fierce lion,—a present from Himalaya—she rent the air with her defiant and triumphant shouts. The Asuras were taken aback by surprise at this amazing sight, and soon hemming her round, attacked her and commanded a fight that raged furiously for hundreds of years. The Asura army was, in the long run, beaten and crushed terribly by the Devi, but Mahisasura still fought on with indomitable energy and courage. This fighting lasted only for

* This point will be made clearer later on by quotations from the *Kenopanishad*.

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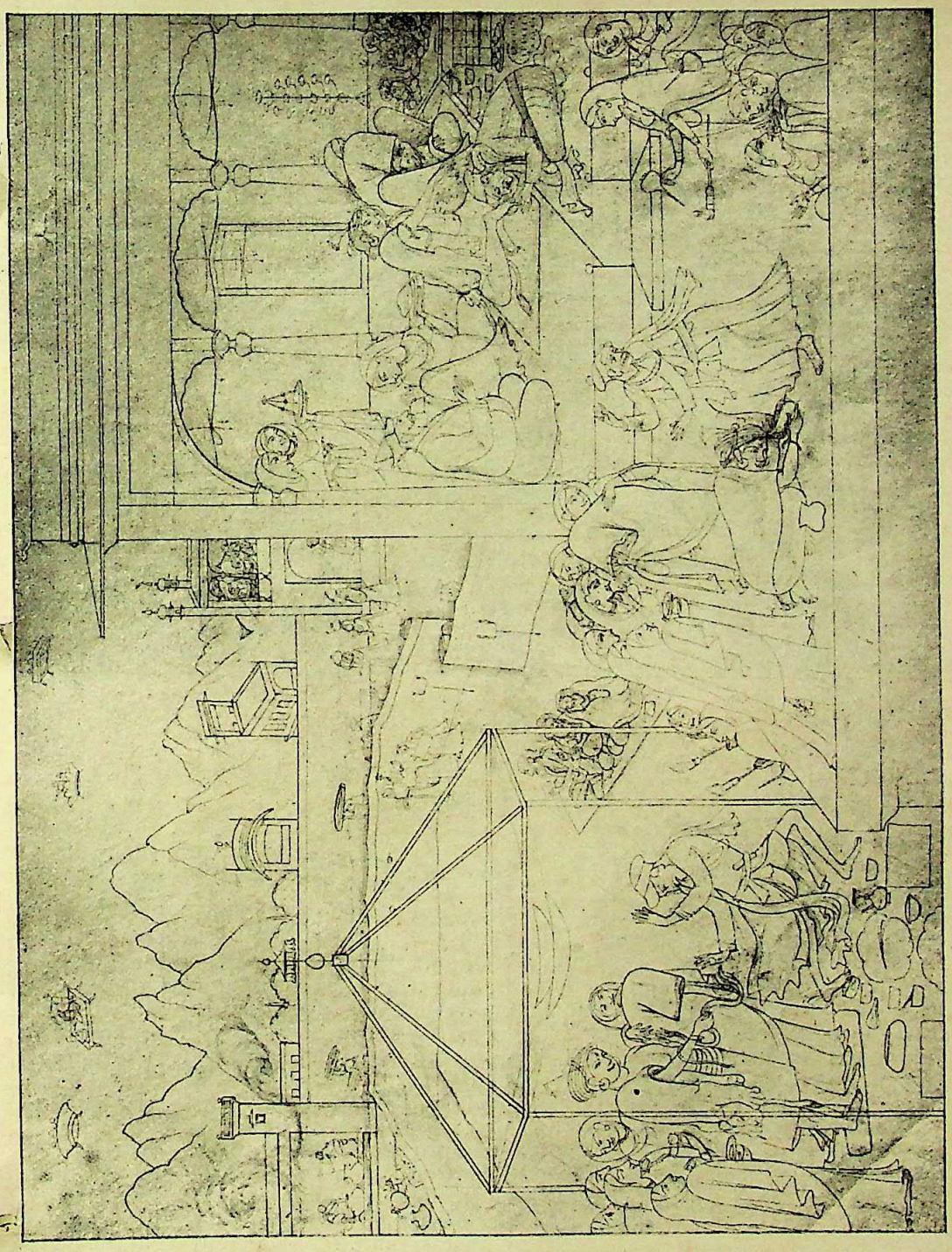


PLATE I

PARVATI'S MARRIAGE.

(Kangra work; eighteenth century)

[S. N. Gupta's collection]

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[Lahore Museum.]

PLATE II

APPEARANCE OF KAUSIKI.

(Guler work; 19th century)

some time, at the end of which he was vanquished and killed by the Devi.

The Devas shouted for joy at this victory and expressed their gratitude to the Devi by singing her praises for her wonderful feat. They also prayed to the Devi that she might protect them in future, should they ever be similarly afflicted. Saying "It shall be so," the Goddess vanished.

The Hindus of Bengal worship her in the form in which she revealed herself before the Devas for the purpose of annihilating Mahisasura and his hosts.

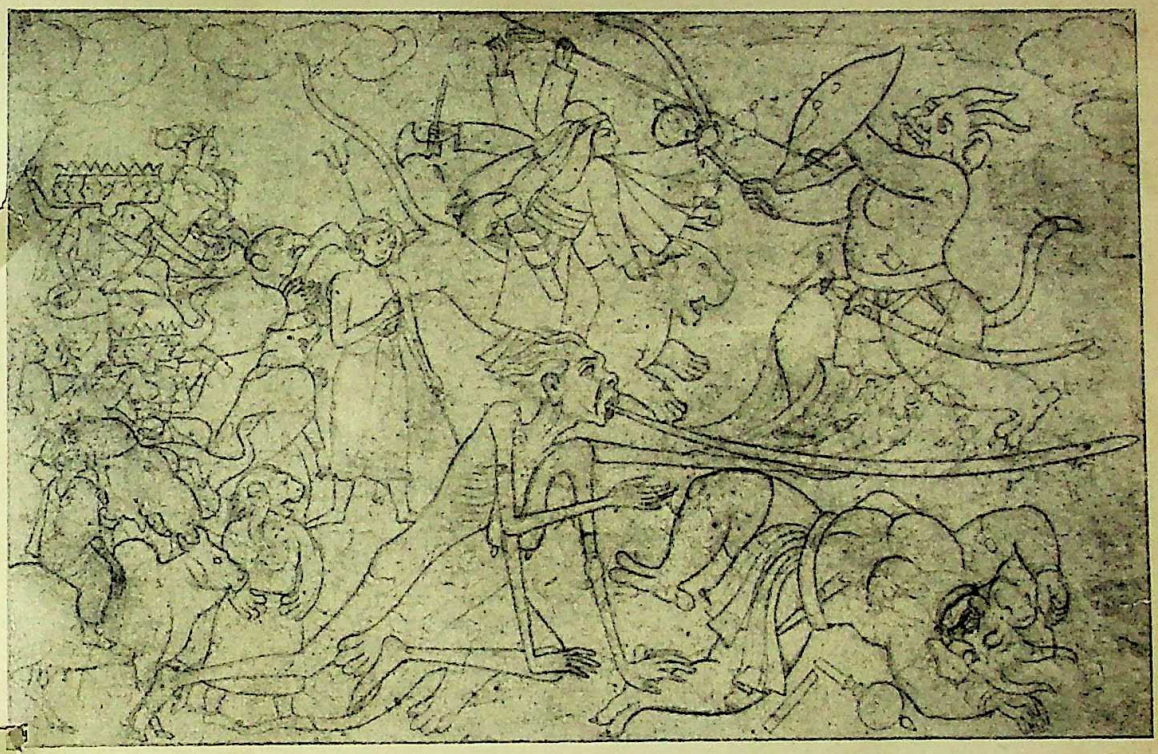
The Devi manifested herself once again when her divine help was needed to kill the two Asuras, Sumbha and Nisumbha, who had become so powerful as to drive the Devas from their offices and authority. The latter, in their distress, repaired to the Himalayas and there offered a collective prayer to the Divine Mother in language which, for beauty, felicity, rhythm and inspiring thoughts, is unique in the entire range of Sanskrit literature.*

Soon after, a charming damsel was seen issuing from the hills and wending her way towards the Sacred Ganges for a bath. She asked the Devas as to who they were offering their prayers to; when lo! from her body issued another beautiful damsel who said that the Devas having been oppressed by the two Asuras, Sumbha and Nisumbha, were praying to *her* for help. Whereupon, the complexion of the first Devi at once turned black, and she is ever since known as *Kalika*. The other Devi, known as Koushiki since she came out from the body

* *Vide* Markandeya Purana Ch. 35. Read also the beautiful Sanskrit Ode [illegible]

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[Collection of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.]

PLATE III

DURGA SLAYING ASURA

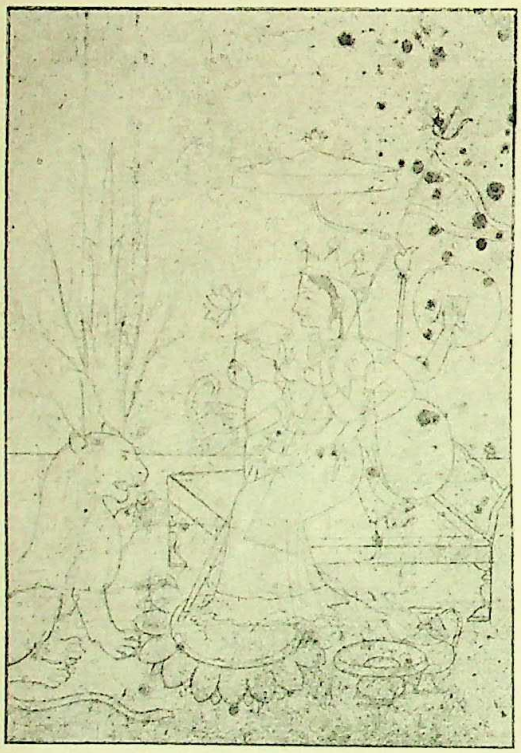
(Kangra work; eighteenth century)

or kosha of the first Devi, began to roam over the hills and dales, casting an effulgence all round by her divine beauty and succeeded in attracting the attention of Chanda and Munda, two valiant followers of the Asura brothers who were at once apprised of her matchless beauty. The Asura brothers immediately sent a messenger, Sugriva by name, to her, with instructions to induce her to come to them, and accept one of them as her husband. The messenger failed in his mission, as the Devi told him that she had taken a vow not to marry any person who could not defeat her in single combat. Sugriva was filled with pity for the silly girl, but he could not help going back and report her words to Sumbha. The latter became highly irate at the girl's impudence, and immediately ordered his general, Dhumralochana to march with an army and forcibly bring the girl before him, dragging her all the way by the hair. The girl, however, proved more than a match for him, for with one scorching look and terrific shout, she instantly reduced him to ashes. Then the Asura army attacked her from all sides. The Devi's lion fought, tooth and nail, and committed quite a havoc in the Asura ranks, ultimately annihilating the army. Sumbha in a rage sent Chanda and Munda with a larger army either to kill her or capture her alive. Chanda and Munda found her seated on the top of a hill with the lion crouching beside her, and a smile curling up her lips. They at once began the attack, whereupon the Devi flew into a rage, and lo! her face suddenly became dark and her brows knitted together in an awful frown, and out from her forehead sprang Kali the Terrible, with deadly weapons in her arms, a string of human heads dangling down from her neck, a tiger-skin wrapped round her loins, her mouth wide open, her tongue lolling out, her sunken eyes rolling and bloodshot,

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and uttering terrific and blood-curdling yells. She at once fell upon the Asura army, devouring whole companies of foot-soldiers, war-elephants with combatants and drivers, war-chariots with horses and warriors—crushing them all with terrific sounds between her teeth, and munching and gulping them down her throat. When the army was annihilated, Chanda and Munda rushed towards her and engaged



[S. N. Gupta's collection]

PLATE IV

DURGA—*Ashtabhuja.*

(18th century Kangra.)

her in sanguinary conflict, which was, however, of short duration. She cut down their heads and laid them before the Devi who was so much pleased with her brave feats that she said that Kali would be known as Chamunda from that day.

Hearing the news of this direverse, Sumbha ordered his whole army to march against the Devi. Footsoldiers and cavalry, elephants and chariots closed round her and Kali, in invincible array. The lion gave out deafening roars, Kali with her wide open mouth yelled, and the Devi twanged the string of her bow and shook her huge bell which clanged in thundering peals. Just at that moment, the personified *Saktis* of all the Devas poured in from all sides, and clustered round her, and stood by her side, ready to engage in fight and awaiting her command. From the Devi's person also emanated countless *Saktis*, fierce in appearance, armed with deadly weapons, and the war-fever burning, as it were, in their very blood. Before commencing the fight, however, the Devi sent Siva to the Asuras, asking them to depart to *Patala* or the dark regions below, and leave the Devas undisturbed in the possession of their authority, and in the performance of their offices. But they felt deeply insulted by this proposal, became all the more enraged and at once began the attack. The sanguinary nature of the conflict can better be imagined than described. One Asura, Raktaveeja by name, gave a lot of trouble, as from the drops of blood shed from his person thousands of fierce warriors sprang up instantly and continued the battle as furiously as ever. Whereupon Chandika (as the Devi is called) ordered Kali or Chamunda to suck up every drop of blood before it fell on the ground. And thus Raktaveeja was at last overwhelmed and killed. Sumbha also was killed after a bloody conflict. Nisumbha now stepped forward to fight the Devi. But his army had been annihilated and he was single-handed. He therefore taunted the Devi, saying that she had no cause for boasting of her victory, as she had been fighting with the aid of *others*, which reflected no credit upon her. Whereupon the Devi smiled and said that there was none in the Universe excepting herself, and the hosts he saw were her own emanations. In the twinkling of an eye, Chandika's hosts were absorped in her person and were nowhere! A terrible duel now ensued between her and Nisumbha; but this lasted only for a while, ending in the death of the latter, which caused great jubilation in Earth and Heaven; and the Devas offered her thanks-givings in grateful and felicitous language.*

Chandika, the Divine Mother, had some other manifestations in the past, and will, it is said, have same more in the future, which we need not dwell upon here.

* *Vide* Markandeya Purana Ch. 91.

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HER STORY IN THE VEDAS.

In the *Kenopanishad* Part III & IV, we find one of her manifestations thus described:

Brahma, the Supreme and Absolute, once caused the defeat of the Asuras who had transgressd the eternal laws that uphold the Universe. The Devas, in their ignorance, thought that it was they who had caused the defeat and prided themselves upon the victory. Brahma, with a view to remove this false notion from their mind and teach them the Truth, appeared before them in all His Glory. The Devas looked upon Him in wonder and amazement but could not make out who that Glorious Being was. They immediately held a consultation among themselves and deputed Agni to go to this Mysterious Being and know Who He was. As soon as Agni advanced near Him, the Mysterious Being asked him his name and power. Agni said that he could burn down every thing on Earth. Whereupon the Mysterious Being asked him to burn down a blade of grass lying before him. Agni exerted all his power to burn it, but ignominiously failed to do so, and returned to the Devas crest-fallen, saying he could not make out who the Glorious Being was. Next went Vayu, but he too failed to move that humble blade of grass and returned discomfeited. Next was deputed Indra but on *his* approach, the Glorious Being disappeared, and in His place was seen the beautiful Devi Uma, decked in gold or (the daughter of the Himalayas).* Indra thought that she might know who that Glorious Being was, and asked her about Him. Haimavati Uma said: "He is Brahma, and it is through His victory that you all have won glory." Then Indra came to know for the first time that the Glorious Being was Brahma. Though Agni and Vayu conversed with Him, they knew not who He was. The glory of attaining His knowledge was, therefore, reserved for Indra only. Hence his precedence and predominance over all the other Devas, and the respect in which Agni and Vayu also are held.†

It is interesting to note here that in the Vedas, it is Haimavati Uma only who vouchsafes the blissful knowledge of Brahma, the Supreme and Absolute, to Indra and the other Devas. In this connection, it will not be out of place to quote here from the *Bhagavatgita* which is said to contain the very essence of the Vedantic philosophy:

The Lord Says:

"The whole world, lying under the spell cast over it by the working of the three *gunas* never truly knows me who am beyond and above the aforesaid *gunas*, and changeless.

"This Divine Maya, emanating from me and comprised of the three *gunas*, is certainly difficult to transcend. Only those who attain me can transcend her.

Surrounded as I am by *Yogamaya*, I am not revealed to all. Hence the ignorant do not know me who am birthless, and eternal."

The *Mundakopanishad* says:

"The Pure and Undivided Brahma exists in a golden *Kosha* (encasing film) which is the most excellent (thing in the world)."

The *Daivi Maya* or *Yogamaya* of the Gita, is the same as the *Hiranmaya Kosha* and *Haimavati Uma* of the Upanishads, and the *Mahamaya* or golden-complexioned *Durga* of the Puranas. One has got to know her fully and obtain her special permit, as it were, to be able to stand face to face with, or even to obtain a glimpse of Brahma, the Supreme and Absolute.

We have read the story of her manifestation in the Upanishad, and now we shall see whether she is mentioned anywhere in the *Rigveda* which is believed to be the oldest Scripture in the world.

Though I have not come across the name of Uma or Durga in the Rigveda, I have reasons to believe that the *Haimavati Uma* of the Upanishads and the Puranas is none other than the *Hiranmayi Usha* or the Golden Dawn of the Rigveda.

Says Prof. Max Muller in his Lectures on the Science of Language:

"The whole theogony and philosophy of the ancient world is centred in the Dawn, the Mother of the bright Gods, of the Sun in his various aspects, of the morn, the day, the spring; herself the brilliant image and visage of immortality."

He further remarks:

"The Dawn, which to us is a merely beautiful sight was to the early gazers and thinkers the problem of all the problems. It was an unknown land from whence rose every day those bright emblems of divine powers, which left in the mind of man the first impression and intimation of another world, of power above, of order and wisdom. What we simply call the sunrise brought before their eyes every day the riddle of all riddles, the riddle of existence. The

* Haimavati Uma.'

* Vide *Kenopanishad* Part III. & IV. The reader is requested to read the Sanskrit texts.

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days of their life sprang from that dark abyss which every morning seemed instinct with light and life.'

Further on he says:

"The Dawn seemed to them to open golden gates for the Sun to pass in triumph, and while those gates were open, their eyes and their minds strove in their childish way to pierce beyond the finite world. That silent aspect awakened in the human mind the conception of the Infinite, the Immortal, the Divine, and the name of Dawn became naturally the name of higher powers." (Vol II. Page 545).

Says Mr. Tilak, in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* (Page 81):

"The Goddess of Dawn is an important and favourite Vedic Deity, and is celebrated in about twenty hymns of the Rigveda, and mentioned more than three hundred times.....These hymns, according to Muir, are among the most beautiful—if not the most beautiful—in the entire collection; and the deity to which they are addressed is considered by Macdonell to be the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry, there being no other charming figure in the descriptive religious lyrics of any other literature."

Usha has been described in the Rigveda as "the first" "self-effulgent" "white-complexioned" though "sprung from darkness" (Rig. I. 123.); as "the Mother of the Gods and of the Sun," "Immortal" and "Undecaying" (Rig. I. 113); as "possessing perpetual youth," "white-robed" "Doer of good" "bright-coloured" "the daughter of Night" and "the leader of the gods, advancing like a warrior armed with bright weapons" (Rig I. 93); as "the wife of the Sun" and "the daughter of Agni" or Prajapati, as explained by Yaska (Rig. I. 71); as "dark-complexioned at first, and white-complexioned afterwards," "the leader of all living creatures" and "the sister of Night" (Rig. IV. 52); as "the daughter of heaven" (Rig. I. 71); as "the ancient" (Rig. IV. 51); as "deserving the homage of all" and "the ancient youthful damsel" (Rig. VI. 61); as "the destroyer of darkness" (Rig. VI. 64 & 65); as "golden-coloured" (Rig. VII. 78); as "the lord of all" (Rig. VII. 79); and as "the one who issued forth after breaking the strong gates or barriers of the Mountain" (Rig. VII. 79,4).

In the above descriptive epithets of Usha in the Rigveda, we find all the attributes of the Pauranic Durga or Uma. She is *Navayauvanasampanna* (possessing perpetual youth); *Sarvabharanabhushita* (decked in gold); *Puratani* (ancient); *Hiranmayi* (golden-complexioned); *Shiva* (doer of good); *Kali* (dark-complexioned); *Asuranasini* (destroyer of the powers of darkness); *Vividhayudhadharini* (like a warrior armed with bright weapons); *Devamata* (mother of the Gods); *Dakshakanya* (the daughter of Prajapati) *Giribala* (issuing forth after breaking the strong barriers of the mountain) and so forth.

In the *Taittiriya Samhita* (Kanda IV, Prapathaka 3, Anuvak II) occurs the following passage:

"This verily is *She* that dawned first; She moves, entered into her. The bride, the new-come mother, is born. The three great ones follow her." (Tilak's translation).

Sayana says that the three great ones are Surya, Vayu and Agni. The three typical deities or Devatas mentioned by Yaska are Agni, Vayu or Indra, and Surya. In Rig. VII. 78, 3, the Dawn is said to have created Surya, Yajna and Agni. These three great ones are identified in the Puranas with Brahma, (Agni), Vishnu (the Sun), and Rudra (the father of the Maruts or Vayu).

Then, in the same *Samhita* occurs the following passage:

"The chief of the bright, the omniform, the brindled, the fire-bannered has come, with light in the sky. Working well towards a common goal, bearing (signs of) old age, (yet) O unwasting! O Dawn! thou hast come." (Tilak's translation).

It should be noted that in the above passage, the Dawn has been described as विश्वरूपा (omniform) which is one of the epithets of Durga also.

I think that we have now had sufficient evidence in the Vedas to identify Haimavati Uma with Hiranmayi Usha. The Pauranic Durga or Uma has been described as the Mother of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, and yet she has been depicted as the consort of the last-named God of the trinity. In the Rigveda also, Usha has been described as the Mother of the Devas and of the Sun, and yet she has been depicted here and there as the wife of Surya. This discrepancy, and apparently absurd and revolting account of both Uma and Usha require a little explanation.

The Sun, in the Rigveda, is identical with Agni (Rig. III, 55, 7 & 9), Rudra and Vishnu, who are only his different aspects in the three different parts of the day. Agni, or Brahma the Creator, is none other than the Morning Sun; Vishnu the Preserver, the Noon-day Sun; and Rudra or Siva, the Destroyer, the Afternoon Sun. The Earth has its *Pralaya* at night, when creation is plunged into darkness, and all living creatures are wrapped up in death-

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like sleep. It is only with the early appearance of the Dawn that they are, as it were, resuscitated into life. Hence the Dawn that appears *first* on the horizon at the end of the night, and reveals creation, and infuses new life into every object, is regarded as the Mother of creation and of the Gods. Very soon after her appearance, the Sun rises and follows her just as a child follows its mother. The morning Sun grows into the fully bright and glorious Sun at noon, when he assumes the form of Vishnu the Preserver ; and the mid-day Sun gradually becomes decadent in the afternoon, like an old man in the evening of life, and sinks down below the horizon, as if into death, but really to be re-born as the Morning Sun the next day, which accounts for the epithet of मृत्युञ्जय (the Conquerer of Death) applied to Siva. It is the Afternoon Sun or Siva that begins the work of destruction and annihilates creation. The Dawn, therefore, as the Mother of the Sun is rightly regarded as the Mother of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Bnt some of the Vedic poets looked upon the Dawn in quite a different light and thought that she was like a young, beautiful and blushing damsel, eluding the grasp of her lover, the Sun, who pursues her through the heavens ; and this aspect of the phenomenon gave rise to the Pauranic legend of Brahma (the Morning Sun) falling in love with his own daughter, Usha, who is the same as Saraswati, and owes her emanation to the rays of the Sun himself. This idea, carried to its legitimate sequence, made Usha or Uma the wife of Siva also. The after-glow of the setting sun in the sky was probably identified with Usha or Uma, the consort of Siva, no longer eluding the grasp of an eager lover, but following the husband to his place of rest, like a faithful and obedient wife.

The golden complexion of Usha or Uma becomes black as she plunges into the darkness of night and engages in conflict with the powers of darkness, the Asuras, who seem to have usurped the authority of the Devas and established their dreadful sway over the world. Vishnu (the Sun) is asleep, and the Devas, assembling in the heavens in the shape of stars and planets, hie in their distress to him for redress. Vishnu awakes and in his wrath flashes forth fire, and all the Devas also flash forth fire which accumulate into a mountain of light, revealing the glorious figure of the thousand-armed Devi, the Haimavati Uma, Durga, or the Golden Dawn. She fights the Asuras and routs their army and at last delivers the world from their dreadful sway.

From a superficial point of view, this appears to be the main idea of the manifestations of the Devi in the Vedas and the Puranas. But the Hindus believe that these heavenly phenomena, observed daily, are but the *replica* in a small compass, or the records in symbols, of great epoch-making events in the history of the creation and evolution of the world. The Vedas, they say, are *Apaurusheya*, *i.e.*, not the production of any human being, but were inspired by Brahma, the Creator, and their pages contain verities that never change nor perish. *As in the past, so in the future ; as without, so within.* Their words are writ large in the heavens, and in the pages of Nature, and can be read and grasped only by seers, endowed with the faculty of divine vision. The sun, for instance, though a heavenly body, is the emblem of the Saguna Brahma, and is worshipped as such thrice daily by every Dwija. The Golden Dawn represents Uma or the Primordial Energy, from which everything has evolved; and the Dark Night is *Kali* or *Kala-ratri,* the sister or the other self of Usha or Uma, who fights with and routs the Asura army. These are mere symbols of great truths, physical as well as spiritual, which have to be realised in life by every man before he attains *Moksha*. Says the *Kenopanishad* (Part II., 13) :

Bhuteshu bhuteshu Vichintya dhirah,
Pretyasmallokadamrita bhavanti.

The sun is also the emblem of Omkara which contains, as it were, the very key to spiritual knowledge and culture. Its very utterance gives one the grand vision of the Manifest Primordial Energy and a glimpse of the Absolute. The following prayer in the *Ishopanishad* is significant :

"O Protector of the world, the door to Brahma (the Absolute) has been shut up by the golden, cup i. e., the Sun. Dost thou remove it to enable me, a follower of the Truth, to obtain His vision."

Durga, then, as worshipped by the Hindus, is the Primordial Energy of the Universe that creates, upholds and destroys. It is through Her that a vision or glimpse of the Absolute and Infinite is possible.

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She is neither the Dawn, nor the Night, nor the Sun, nor any beautiful and wonderful phenomenon of Nature; but she is the very essence on which everything that is subsists. She is the Brahmamaya through which the Universe has been manifested:

नित्यैव सा जगन्मूर्त्ति स्तया सर्व्व मिदं ततम्।

The Hindus try to realise this grand conception of Her in their life by symbolising Her in a figure of clay, and worshipping Her as the Primordial Energy of the Universe—the Mother of the Gods and of all Creation,—the Haimavati Uma that surrounds in a golden haze, as it were, Brahma, the Supreme and Absolute, and has in her power the divine gift of revealing Him to those who are the real and earnest seekers after the Truth.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Satee, wife of Shiva in a former birth, after leaving her body was born as Parvati or Uma the daughter of King Himavat. In this new life too her heart yearned for the Great God and she went through severe austerities to get reunited to Shiva, her husband in her previous birth. Day after day Uma worshipped Shiva and the constancy of her devotion was so great that even Siva's *dhyan* was interrupted and he opened his eyes to meet those of Parvati. Madan Deva, the God of Love, took advantage of this opportunity and he let off his arrow of flowers—*phulasar*—and struck the Great God. Shiva frowned at the audacity of Madan and poor Madan was reduced to ashes.

The little floral arrow however did its work all the same. Through the intercession of the sage Narada marriage was arranged between Shiva and Parvati. The Great God arrived; but when Menaka, the mother of Parvati, saw the bridegroom her heart cried out in utter grief. For behold! Shiva was but an old beggar, addicted to intoxicating drugs! Oh! how could Parvati have wished him for her husband? Oh! how can she marry her Uma—the image of gold—to that ash-besmeared old beggar? Oh! how?

Himavat on the other hand was mortified with fear. His prospective son-in-law had serpents round his neck and arms. How could he approach close to him?

In the meantime however "Poshupati (Shiva) standing on a wooden seat, laughed. And Parvati also softly smiled with her head hung low'—" for she knew who Shiva really was. (Plate I; left). But as the auspicious moment for marriage was fast approaching Shiva at last assumed his divine form. Serene and pure and calm, his countenance was illumined by the rays of immortality. His handsome young face had the rare beauty that never fades, his long-drawn lustrous eyes had the tenderness that holds the gaze of devotees in rapt ecstasy. It was all for a moment and Shiva reassumed his original form of a beggar. And in that moment of illumination Himavat and Menaka and all others realised who the old beggar really was. Himavat fell on Shiva's feet and sought his forgiveness. (Plate I; right upper portion).

Shiva and Parvati became united in wedlock and after taking leave of Himavat (Plate I; right lower portion) and Menaka, they proceeded to Kailasa to live in peace and happiness, getting children in course of time. (Frontispiece).

In her other aspect the Devi is the slayer of asuras and has several names Mahamaya, Chandi, Kausiki, Durga and others. As Mahamya she spread *maya* or illusion and thereby got the two asuras Madhu and Kaitabha killed by Vishnu. As Chandi or Durga she slew the demon Mahisha who had defeated the gods in battle and assumed sovereignty of swarga. As Kausiki the Devi killed the demons Shumbha and Nishumbha. They had once again driven the gods out of heaven. The homeless gods sought the help of the Devi again. They went to the Himalayas and began to sing her praises. When the gods were thus singing the praises of the Devi, Parvati happened to pass by them on her way to the sacred Ganges. "Whose praises are these?" she demanded of the gods. Instantly a beautiful damsel emerged out of her body and said, "It is me whom they are worshipping. They have been defeated and driven out of heaven by the *asuras* Shumbha and Nishumbha." (Plate II)

As the Devi emerged out of the body of Parvati, she received the name of Kausiki. Kausiki subsequently killed the demons and reinstated the Devas.

Durga is commonly represented as *dashabhuja* or having ten arms (Plate III *rajasic* form) and riding upon a lion; but she is also sometimes shown with two, four (Plate III, *tamasic* from) or eight arms (Plate IV). In Plate III the Devi appears both in *rajasik* and *tamasik* aspects. On the left are several gods. The weapons in the hands of the Devi were contributed by the different gods.

SAMARENDRA NATH GUPTA.

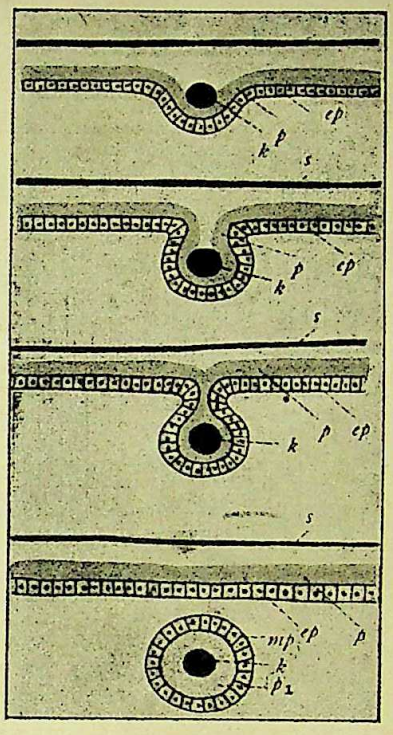
GLEANINGS

Pearls as Sarcophagi

The normal pearl is nothing but the tomb of a worm, built by the enveloping oyster to get rid of its tormentor. The parasite irritates its host, which thereupon secretes a deposit of lime that entombs it. The fact that this deposit is brilliantly beautiful has nothing to do with its utility in the scheme of nature, but a great deal to do with its value in the eyes of man. Hence the oyster, in ridding itself of its irritating guest, only succeeds in making itself the object of search and destruction by a more cunning and more powerful foe. Occasionally other irritants than the parasitic ones will produce results, tho they are not of the same grade; grains of sand and even small objects introduced especially for the purpose may come out as pearls

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HOW PEARLS GROW.

ep, outer skin of oyster; *k*, foreign body; m*p*, matrix-skin of the part *p*, layer of mother-of-pearl; p^1 mother-of-pearl coating of the pearl; *s*, shell.

of a sort; but they are not as pearly as the real worm-coffins. We quote an article contributed to *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart, March 13) by Dr. Wilhelm Berndt, as follows:

"What is a pearl? In itself a prosaic thing enough. A lump of carbonate of lime mixt with organic matter which only through the intimate structure of its outer layers is able to show the wonderful play of color that depends on the so-called interference of lightwaves, similar to the color phenomena shown by the inner surfaces of certain shells ('mother-of-pearl'). From both points of view pearls and mother-of-pearl are identical. Chemically, they are the same; both proceed from the 'mantle' of the bivalve; only the form is different. . . . Where the mantle deposits a layer of white mother-of-pearl, there occur the common, so-called 'white' pearls; where, in some mussels, it deposits in certain regions reddish shell-substance, there we find the wonderful 'rose-pearls.' Brownish-black pearls occur near those parts of the mantle that are connected with the darker upper part of the shell. In numerous cases free round pearls are not produced. Instead of an isolated ball or lump of lime, there is a knotty protuberance on the inner wall of the mussel-shell; the pearl seems united or merged in the shell, and we have what jewellers call 'half-pearls' or 'buckle-pearls.' . . . . . .

"The origins of pearls are of various kinds. It was once commonly assumed that small foreign bodies, grains of sand, coral, or sponge spicules, falling into the mussel between the mantle and the shell, were covered with concentric layers of deposited lime, forming finally a spherical pearl. Such foreign-body pearls unquestionably do occur in nature. . . The Chinese, who are fine observers of natural phenomena, place small images of Buddha in the living mussel, between the mantle and the shell, and thus cover these objects with a layer of pearly substance. These, however, as is also often the case with natural pearls formed around a foreign body, resemble the so-called 'half-pearls' connected with the shell. The origin of the normal pearls is different and more complex, as is shown by the older investigations of Moebius, Filippi, and others, as well as by the more recent studies of Dubois, Biedermann, and many other scientists. In sea-mussels, as we now know in almost all cases, the formation of pearls is dependent on the presence of recognized parasites, belong to the classes of trematode or of cestode worms. . . . 'The most beautiful pearl,' says Dubois with Gallic elegance, 'is thus only the brilliant sarcophagus of a worm.' Many fair ones would be surprised if they knew that they were wearing thousands of dollars' worth of worm-coffins around their necks."

The cestode worms, we are further told, seem to be responsible for the finest grade of pearls, the trematode worms for others. Pearls are found also in some fresh-water mussels, and it is not so certain that parasites are responsible here. Possibly these are formed around tiny fragments of the shell. The writer goes on to say:

"Pearls are similar in many respects to organisms: they can 'sicken' and 'die.' Sick pearls lose their luster, become spotted and dull. In the Orient the treatment of such pearls is a mystical process belonging to wise men who hand down the knowledge of it from father to son. Authentic literature on this subject is lacking. Probably the pearls have suffered from careless handling, possibly also from indisposition of the wearers, involving some acid reaction. It is commonly said that pearls must not be too long left unworn, because the natural oil of the skin aids in preserving them."

—THE LITERARY DIGEST.

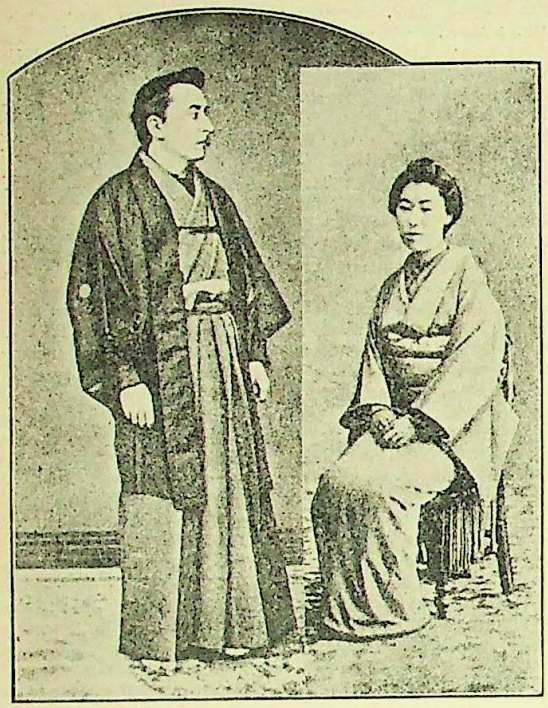
Koizumi Yakumo.

Koizumi Yakumo was the name given by the Japanese to the late Lafcadio Hearn, when he married a daughter of the country, became naturalized as a citizen and was absorbed by the Japanese race. When Hearn first settled down in Japan he hesitated to ally himself with a civilization so different from his own; but he soon so fell a victim to the charms of the country and its people, that he could no longer resist the attractions of the fair maidens of the land. After marrying and finding a little family growing up about him, fatherlike he felt that as his children would probably never reside outside of their native country, they ought to become citizens of Japan, and so he decided to become himself a citizen of the Empire. At this time he was a professor in the Imperial University, Tokyo, where he enjoyed some special privileges accorded to foreigners; but when too late, he discovered that his Japanese citizenship would legally deprive him of these privileges, financially if not socially, he was deeply disappointed and grew somewhat bitter. But, "*shikata ga nai*" there was no help for it.

Hearn's life and experience in Japan have more than once been told, and even made the subject of disputatious comment; but the one thing of which no one can have any doubt is that Japan was the true source of his best inspiration and the fullest nourisher of his

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LAFCADIO HEARN AND HIS WIFE.

genius. Hearn wrote an excellent style in faultless prose before he came to this country, but he never displayed the consummation of true literary art till touched by the soul of old Japan. Hearn had in him that blend of bloods that easily absorbs the Japanese spirit as a flower takes in the sunshine. Born in the Ionian islands in 1850 of an Irish father and a Greek mother, he felt within him the pull of the Greek seas and the glory and light of the Theocritan uplands, which, with the eternal melancholy of the Keltic fire, inspired his brilliant mind to poetic insight and artistic excellence. It was indeed happy for Japan that she should have become the theme of such a genius. I know it is the fashion of some to decry Hearn as but a visionary interpreter of the land of his adoption, but from what other writer can one get so true and noble an impression of all that is best in Japanese art, poetry and civilization? His conceptions are depreciated as mere poetry, but after all, is not the poet the truest interpreter of things? The contention of Matthew Arnold that all true literature is "a criticism of life," is justified in the writings of Hearn. The philosophic and moral aspects of Japanese civilization were never appreciated by western minds till Hearn depicted them in colours that charmed in all eyes, and sung them to a music that enthralled all hearts. With all due deference to those who differ, it may be said that they who fail to perceive and understand the poetic and spiritual life of a civilization, can never truly appreciate the nation. Hearn did this for Japan as no other has ever done it; and for this Japan and the world owe him an incomparable debt of gratitude.

Those familiar with the life and genius of Hearn will remember how for years he knocked about the world before falling upon Japan, the true source of his inspiration. Both in America and the West Indies he found enough in nature and man to keep him thinking, but it lacked for him the glow and charm of the East. From the beginning of his career as a journalist he was distinguished by an unapproachable style and a matchless prose that were everywhere welcomed by critic and public alike. His first writings on the West Indies were articles contributed mainly to the American press; but he soon came before the public with a volume entitled "Gorubo Zhebes," consisting of Creole proverbs in 6 dialects. This little brochure of 36 pages was sufficient to indicate a writer of rare literary genius, but one who had not yet found his proper field. Hearn could not truly find himself in browsing on the pungent herbage of Creole wit and impudence. He felt the call of the Arcadian hills, and yielded to a temperament inclining to the misty vagueness of the orient; and soon we find him taking up his residence in Japan, where he produced his first book of real importance, "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan." But the land of the gods had not yet fully absorbed him, and he writes tentatively of its country and people with the amused indulgence of one to whom the people appear as adults at play, amusing themselves like children. But in time the strangeness of the painted lanterns with their esoteric devices, the wierd shadows of the paper windows, the red *torii* gleaming through blue haze and purple boughs, and the fierce gods, cease to amuse him, become part of him, and he sinks into the Buddhist dream.

Hearn's first attempts at living in Japan were as a teacher of English, first at Matsue and then at Kumamoto, where he seems to have been on the best of terms with his pupils, taking a personal interest in them, from a psychological as well as an individual point of view. His literary success soon won for him the fame he deserved as a master of picturesque prose, and he was appointed to a lectureship in English in the Imperial University, Tokyo. There he kept for the most part to himself, and the public saw very little of him. To most of us he seemed a mysterious character whom no one could see except by dropping into his classroom during a lecture, and hearing his perfect exposition of some phase of literature, lost, we fear, on most of his audience. He, in fact, avoided foreigners and appeared even to have an unnatural prejudice against them, a weakness sometimes marring the sentiment of his otherwise faultless paragraphs. He had the misfortune of losing an eye in youth, and in later life the sight of the other was greatly impaired; and these physical defects doubtless had an unfavourable influence on his social as well as his artistic life. Obliged to give up his academic post in 1904, he died a few months later and was laid to rest among the tombs he had so often described.

Much has been written of him since his death, but little of it has had any significant bearing on the true import of his life. His life and personality appear to have absorbed the interest of his critics and biographers, with little or no appreciation of his art, the main purpose for which he lived. After the long biography and the carping of the critics are forgotten, history will remember Hearn for two things, his incomparable style and the illumination he has thrown upon oriental civilization. To take the last first, it may be said that, despite all argument to the contrary, Hearn had the true qualities of a faithful critic and interpreter of Japanese civilization. He, indeed, attained unto Sainte Beuve's ideal of the critic; one who is able to love those whom it is his lot to judge. With Brunetiere and Taine, Hearn appreciated the Importance of the *milieu*, not only in literature, but in art and civilization generally. Indeed so much was

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he absorbed in this respect that he was unable to escape the accusation of prejudice against the occident, and an almost fanatical antagonism to Christianity. If this defect at times mars the soundness of his verdict, especially in regard to social ideals. we can make all due allowance for it, and, in the larger field of art and literature, take Hearn at his true worth. Few foreigners have so intelligently grasped the native conception of *Yamato Damashii*. It is, indeed, safe to say that one gets more idea of the real meaning of Japanese civilization from Hearn's "Japan: An Interpretation," than from all other books written about the country and its people. Lamb's "Imperfect Sympathies" would never have applied to Hearn during most of his life among the children of the gods, with whom he seems to have made himself one. Hearn's philosopho-poetic view of things is nothing if not artistic, while his intimate knowledge of historical sociology lends a touch of scholarship to all he wrote. He drank deeply, too, of the inexhaustible springs of Japanese poetry, not so much of *verse*, as of *life*. He appreciated the evolutionary process of a nation still in the stage of pictured speech. The similes and metaphors of the civilization never ceased to absorb him. He hears a far off and inexpressible music in the plaintive notes of the blind *masseur* in his nightly round along the lonely streets, in the almost impossible *samisen*, and even in the shrill multitudinous tumult of *suzumushi* (night insects). The brown, bare feet of the toiling peasant have for him a beauty, and the dainty little hands and white-tabied feet of the *musume* are to Hearn as angelic revelations. And at the same time, through all Japanese civilization, he constantly heard the undertone of a far off cry, the cry of humanity through numberless ages in its struggle with time and circumstances, and felt in each unit of the race the accumulated virtues and vices of the immeasurable past.

In reading Hearn one has to be constantly on guard lest his exquisite style which beautifies all it touches, lead one to forget the under side of things, especially in matters moral and religious. While no one holds Christianity to be all that Hearn said of it, still less will Buddhism bear all the glamour with which he gilds it. In the inscriptions and devices on the rotting wooden tombs over the huddling graves in a Buddhist cemetery Hearn finds an enthralling interest, things in [illegible] and gloom, and, to have devoted most attention to ther the pathos of ty of these turn on love episodes, and shestones at Jizo, for female courage and constancy. So babies, as relove element prevail that many their little ones not term these plays, *Shinju-mo-* average tourist to-day victims die for love from the haggish forms and faces of the middle-aged peasant women of Japan; but Hearn remembers their poverty and suffering, and sees in the wrinkles of their faces, the dry beds of old tears. A most conspicuous feature of visible Buddhism is its bells, the tones of which are invariably sweet but melancholy. Contrast their effect upon Hearn with that on the foreigner who wrote:

Hark the boom of Buddhist bells!
Slowly, slowly, how it swells
Full afar through Shiba dells;
Every dull repeated tone,
Like an endless sob and moan,
Sends a shiver to the bone.

But Hearn, reposing under the shadow of the great bell at Enoshima, writes: "Then they set the beam swinging strongly, and a sound deep as thunder, rich as the bass of a mighty organ, a sound enormous, extraordinary, yet beautiful, rolls over the hills and far away. Then swiftly follows another and lesser and sweeter billowing of tone; then another; and then an eddying of waves and echoes. Only once was it struck, the astounding bell yet it continued to sob and moan for at least ten minutes." Hearn admits that when he realized that the bell was 650 years old, he could not resist sympathy with the faith that hears in it the voice of the gods.

Hearn's succeeding volumes, "Out of the East," 1895; "Kokoro," 1896, "Gleanings from Buddha Fields," "Exotics and Retrospectives," 1898, "Ghostly Japan," and "Japan: An Interpretation," all go still deeper into the mysticism of the Buddhist cults and the spirit of ancient and modern Japan, and tend in some respects to show how far the wisdom of the east is removed from that of ihe west, in theory though not in practice. Hearn feels himself in an environment that frees him from the illusions of time and sense, and he sees life as it is: as the Buddhist sees it, labouring under the spell of the impermanency of things. "Kokoro" (heart) has wonderful and pathetic tales, exquisitely told, of Japanese life in feudal days. Here one sees how the pathos of the Japanese heart is covered and hidden under the Japanese smile, as nature's nakedness is clothed with green and flowers. "Ghostly Japan" opens with a dream, or rather a nightmare truly in agreement with the title, describing a scene more terrible than Browning's "Child Roland to the Dark Tower Came," a man under a spirit guide is engaged in a life and death struggle to climb a slippery mountain side, and when at last he succeeds, he finds it is a mountain of *skulls*, all of which were at some former time his own in the innumerable stages of his pre-existence.

Important as is the position Hearn must forever occupy as an interpreter of Japan, time will longest remember him as a literary artist of high quality. His is a style simple, Anglo-Saxon, picturesque and musical in the extreme. Its pathetic and rhythmic qualities are inimitable in modern prose. And when one considers that these incomparable sentences were wrought out at white heat through long and weary hours of blindness, the result is all the more remarkable. Hearn's Japanese friends picture him sitting on the floor in his little native house, by a low table, his one eye close to the trembling paper, as he traced, sentence after sentence, his exquisite paragraphs, never satisfied with any turn of phrase or cast of sentence untrue to sound and sense. Herein we behold an artist who conceived a high ideal and fought his way towards a realization of it. In a letter to one of fellow-feeling Hearn writes: "What you say about the disinclination to work for years upon a theme for pure love's sake, touches me, because I have felt that despair so long and so often. And yet I believe that all the world's art—work—all that is eternal—was thus wrought. And I also believe that no work made perfect for the pure love of art can perish, save by strange and rare accident. Yet the hardest of all sacrifices for the artist is this sacrifice to art, this trampling of self under foot. It is the supreme test for admission into the ranks of the eternal priests. It is the bitter and fruitless sacrifice which the artist's soul is bound to make. But without the sacrifice can we hope for the grace of heaven? What is the reward? The consciousness of inspiration only? I think art gives a new faith. I think all jesting-aside, that could I create something I felt to be sublime, I should feel also that the Unknowable had selected me for a mouthpiece, for a medium of utterance, in the holy cycling of its eternal purpose, and I should know the pride of the prophet that has seen the face of God."

—JAPAN MAGAZINE.

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The Shakespear of Japan.

Chikamatsu Monzaemon, who by his countrymen has been called the Shakespeare of Japan, is unquestionably the most prominent figure in the history of Japanese drama. It was his ingenuity and zeal, combined with a marvelous histrionic genius, that caused the Takemoto theatre to outshine all its rivals. The *Takemoto Za*, which hitherto had amounted to no



THE SHAKESPEAR OF JAPAN.

more than a marionette performance, under his master hand became the foundation of the modern stage in Japan. Its literary progenitor was the Taiheiki play, a drama chanted or recited in public by men who made this their profession. This in time was succeeded by a recitation of dramatic stories to the accompaniment of fan taps to mark the time or to give emphasis. Later on these taps from the fan were supplanted by the music of the three-stringed guitar, introduced from Loochoo. A favourite story for this purpose was what is known as the *Joruri*, which appeared toward the end of the Muromachi period. These were love tales, which became immensely popular over the whole country. Out of these arose the later *Kabuki Shibai* or common theatre, and afterwards the *Ayatsuri*, or marionette theatre, the most famous of which was the *Takemoto Za* at Osaka under Chikamatsu.

The origin of the great dramatist himself remains a disputed question. Most of his biographers contend that he was born of *Samurai* stock in the little village of Hagi and Choshu, the birthplace also of the late General Count Nogi. The date named is about 1653. Tradition has it that in boyhood he became a priest; but the history of his youth is as obscure as is that of Shakespeare himself. Chikamatsu in certain of his works intimates that at one time he was a retainer of more than one noble house, and that for some reason, probably insubordination, he made himself free and became a *ronin*. In this respect, therefore, his early waywardness was not unlike the youth of Shakespeare. The *ronin*, or masterless *samurai*, were the terror of mediaeval Japan, and it is significant that Bakin, the most eminent Japanese novelist, as well as this her most famous dramatist was of those who renounced their class.

After leaving the service of the Kyoto nobles Chikamatsu took to writing stories for the dramatic performances at the capital. One of these, the *Kaijin Yashima*, evidently was suggested by the old *No*-drama. This was about the year 1685. In 1690 we find him associated with the marionette theatre in Osaka, and from that time till his death in 1724, he produced in rapid succession a number of dramas, which, whatever their faults, leave no doubt of his having possessed a fertile and inventive genius.

To many students the works of Chikamatsu at first sight do not appear like dramas at all, but simply romances with an unusual proportion of dialogue. All the *Joruri* contain a large narrative element of a more or less poetical character. The poetic part is chanted to music by a chorus, while the narrative is declaimed as the puppets perform. The dialogue, which is often subordinate, merely forms a thread to connect the scenes represented by the puppets on the stage, and makes up for what is lacking in stage scenery. There is no doubt, however, that the works of Chikamatsu are real plays. They have a well marked movement of plot from the opening scene up to the final catastrophe; and they abound in highly dramatic situations and appear designed with a view to spetcacular effect. At any rate the stage of Japan had never before seen anything like them; and so they won for their author the credit of being the creator of the Japanese drama.

Most of the plays of Chikamatsu may be classified as *Jidai-mono* and *Sewa-mono*, that is, as historical plays and dramas of life and manners. The majority of them are written in five acts, though a few are three-act plays. There are critics who hold that the number of acts for the other was greatly impaired; at Nagasaki, [illegible] defects doubtless had an unfavour- marvelously [illegible] his social as well as his artistic life. theatre of those [illegible] his academic post in 1904, he died that there must have been [illegible] laid to rest among the also must remain an unproved [illegible]

Chikamatsu was a very voluminous writer, the modern edition of his plays comprising fifty-one in a volume of a thousand closely printed pages; and yet these are said to have been but a portion of his writings. In length they are about the same as those of the great English dramatist, and some of them are said to have been written in a single night. The dramas of Chikamatsu deal with all manner of subjects, and show a wide knowledge of the history and institutions of Japan and China, and also of Buddhism and Shinto.

The Japanese people have an unbounded admiration for the works of their greatest dramatist, and have no hesitation in comparing him to the master of the English stage. Certainly there are some resemblances between Chikamatsu and Shakespeare. In both, comedy frequently treads on the heels of tragedy, and prose is often intermixed with poetry. The

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language of monarchs and nobles is allowed to alternate with the speech of the common people. In both dramatists, there is a disposition toward the historical play. Both reveal a marvelous facility of language and both are tainted with the grosser element rejected by the more refined tastes of later times. But whatever may be said for Shakespeare, it must be held that Chikamatsu is very far removed from the classical. The portraiture of character is somewhat rudimentary, the philosophy of life is considerably wanting in originality and depth and there is a preponderance of blood and murder that tends to reflect up on the audiences of his time. Chikamatsu loved to make the blood of his hearers curdle and their flesh creep, and they loved to have it so. As to the quality of the poetic portions of the plays of Chikamatsu there is no comparison with Shakespeare at all. Though there is metre, rhythmical cadence, fit language and some play of fancy, there is real poetry in but a very modest degree. Moreover, the habit of playing on words and using pivot words in his poems, must be regarded as a serious blemish from a literary point of view, though these characteristics added much to the

Limiting himself, as by the people of the time. which is an infinite series of repetitions Chikamatsu must wisest of living poets, as he is artistic the dramatic faultless. He has left by the way all the matters of colored and fantastic and splendid things which others have done their utmost to attain, and he has put into his poetry the peace and not the energies of life, the wisdom and not the fever of love, the silences rather than the voices of nature." Other poetry was like

Prim little nosegays in a garden nook; but that of Chikamatsu is like a wealth of wild flowers in fields and woods.

In studying the plays of Chikamatsu it must be borne in mind that character is usually made subsidiary to events, and personality to such virtues as loyalty and filial piety. Stress is constantly laid more on an interesting variation of events than upon the depiction of great character, the latter being for the most part of the traditional or conventional cast. The audience of the day naturally called more for an interesting alternation of events than for any profound revelation of personality; and Chikamatsu gave them what they wanted. The people as a whole preferred the historical plays, but it is probable the author himself preferred the plays of life and manners, as he seems to have devoted most attention to them. The majority of these turn on love episodes, and show admiration for female courage and constancy. So much does the love element prevail that many have been wont to term these plays, *Shinju-mono*, or plays in which the victims die for love. It is said that Shakespeare has not produced more than ten great characters in all his plays; and on this score it may justly be contended that Chikamatsu has not produced five. There is no doubt that his plays had a powerful influence over the audiences of the day; and stories are still told of how lovers died together after hearing and seeing one of his *Sewa-mono*.

One of the most famous dramas of Chikamatsu is the one entitled: *Koku-senya Kassen*, Kokusenya being a famous pirate who was the son of a Chinese by a Japanese mother, and who played a great part in the wars of the Ming dynasty in China.

Act I

The scene opens at the court of Nanking, where the last of the Ming emperors is seen surrounded by his ministers. An envoy from the king of Tartary appears with presents, and requests as his queen the favourite concubine of the monarch. As the lady is about to yield an heir to the throne there is much hesitation, and the envoy appears offended. One of the ministers tries to pacify him, and to emphasize his remonstrances digs out one of his own eyes with a dagger and presents it on an ivory slab to the envoy, who receives it with due respect as satisfaction for the insult. The envoy departs and the scene changes to the apartments of the Emperor's younger sister. His majesty now appears, accompanied by two hundred youthful inmates of the harem, half of whom bear branches of plum blossom and half of them cherry blossom. They draw up on each side of the stage. The Emperor tells his sister of the noble sacrifice of his minister in yielding an eye, and tries to persuade her to accept the offer of marriage previously made by the minister, suggesting that the matter be decided by a battle between the plum and the cherry female squadrons. The Princess agrees to this, and puts herself at the head of the plum party who, acting in collusion with the Emperor, allow themselves to be defeated. Now a knight rushes in, clad in full armour, and remonstrates with the Emperor for thus setting an example of settling disputes, that might prove disastrous to the empire, and charges the minister who dug out his eye, with treasonable motives. Just then there is a great noise of drums announcing the arrival of a Tartar horde surrounding the palace. It now turns out that the real object of the Tartars is the prevention of an heir to the Ming throne. The knight's wife now appears with her infant in her arms, and leaving the child behind, flies with the Princess. The knight makes a sally and drives off millions of the enemy. In his absence the Emperor is murdered by a traitor. The knight returns, and seeing the dead emperor, resolves to save the future mother of the heir to the throne, and with his own child tied to his spear, he flies with the Imperial concubine to the seashore. The woman on the way is shot by one of the enemy, but her child is saved, the knight killing his own child and leaving it in place of the heir, so that the enemy will not pursue him.

Act II

The scene now changes to Hirado in Japan. Kokusenya, with his wife are gathering shellfish on the shore, and see a boat drifting over the sea towards them which proves to contain the Princess who thus came adrift from China. He hears her tale, and leaves her in charge of his wife, to set out for China to restore the Ming dynasty, he himself being half Chinese. He meets a tiger on the way, and with his aged mother on his back, he attacks and overcomes the beast singlehanded. He collects an army, removes their pigtails and gives them Japanese names.

Act III

At the head of his newly recruited force Kokusenya arrives before the castle, and sends in his old mother to intercede for assistance; but Kanki, the master, complains that he cannot have the reputation of having being influenced by a woman, which, when Kokusenya hears, he bounds over the castle moat, and confronts Kanki, when the women commit suicide to leave the men freedom to follow their schemes.

Act IV

The scene now returns to the knight with the imperial child in a secluded place among the hills of China. By a Rip Van Winkle episode the heir to the Ming throne suddenly becomes eleven years old, whose

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voice sounds "like the first song of the nightingale heard in some secluded valley where snow still lies." Kokusenya's wife and father with the Chinese Princess from Japan now appear; the enemy attack them but they offer a prayer, in answer to which a bridge of cloud forms across the ravine, by which they escape into the mountain beyond. When the enemy attempt to follow, the bridge is blown away by a puff of wind, and the five hundred pursuers fall to the bottom of the abyss and are killed.

ACT V

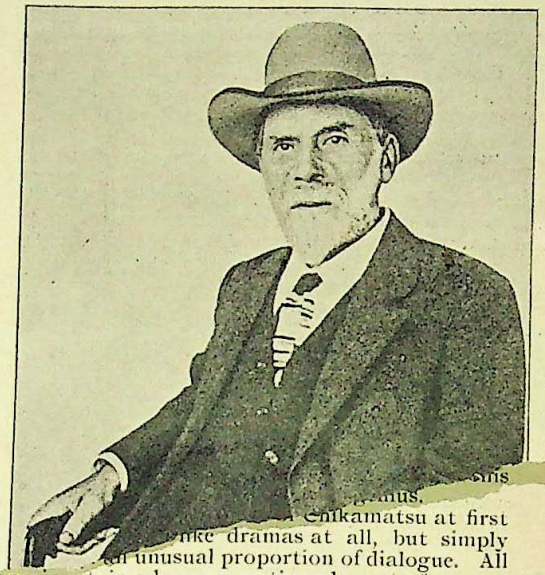
Kanki, Kokusenya and the knight now hold a council of war, and while they are talking, a message comes from Kokusenya's father to the effect that as he is now 72 years of age he cannot hope to be of further use, and has resolved to die facing the enemy. They rush off to prevent this. The scene now changes to Nanking. The old father appears before the gate and challenges the enemy to single combat. The Tartar king appears on the battlements and orders the old man to be seized and brought into the city. Kokusenya and his men appear before the walls. He is about to spring at the Tartar king but is restrained by a knight putting his sword to the throat of Kokusenya's father. The knight pretends to be going to give Kokusenya over to the Tartar king, but in the midst of the discussion, springs at the king and b[illegible] him a prisoner. The officials and guards of the [illegible] are killed and the monarch is brought a prisoner ove[illegible] to Japan. Thus the play ends in general rejoicing.

The above summary gives but slight indication of the significance of the play, the manner of which is much better than the matter. It also gives no idea of the extraordinary amount of copious and picturesque language and sententious oratory that charcterizes the play, diverting the hearer's mind from the improbabilities of the story. Thus in the midst of much that is absurd there is a language and bearing worthy of tragic heroes. At all times there is admirable attention to the dramatic force of situations, and an indulgence in impressive dialogue that adds to the brilliance of the dramatic achievement. Whatever else the plays of Chikamatsu may be, they are not dull. Chikamatsu has done something to prepare the Japanese mind for epic poetry; and it is a wonder that no poet has yet arisen to the occasion. The *Kokusenya* is still one of the stock pieces of the Japanese theatre.

JAPAN MAGAZINE.

The New Laureate.

A little surprize was arranged for the literary world by Mr. Asquith in the appointment of a Poet Laureate whom few, if any, had considered a possibility. The London illustrated papers came out with full-page group of pictures of Kipling, Noyes, Phillips, Hardy, Masefield, Watson and Mrs. Meynell as likely aspirants, and then Mr. Asquith handed the laurel to Mr. Robert Bridges. "There will be disappointment in some quarters," observes the New York *Evening Post*, referring mainly to those who "have hoped for a new order and expression." Poetry they think, ought to "leave off singing of Arcady and pretty, outworn loves." Moreover, Mr. Austin was "obscure" enough in all conscience, and there was no need of picking another equally unknown. The New York *Times* comforts itself with the fact that Mr. Bridges is assuredly "a finer poet, with a higher and clearer conception of the poet's art, than the late Mr.



[illegible] Chikamatsu at first [illegible]nke dramas at all, but simply [illegible] unusual proportion of dialogue. All the *Joruri* contain a large narrative element of a more or less poetical character. The poetic part is chanted to music by a chorus, while the narrative is declaimed the puppets perform. The dialogue, which is often [illegible]ely forms a thread to connect the

DR. ROBERT BRIDGES, THE NEW POET LAUREATE OF ENGLAND.

Austin." But it finds he "has delivered no message to his age," and, worse doubts if he has such a massage to deliver. Almost the only individual thing said of him is that "he entertains interesting theories of prosody and he has written verse in the seclusion of his Oxford home, to express his own leisurely and frequently exalted moods." As he is 69 years old, "nobody will expect him to sound a trumpet note of warning, or sing a song of praise which will touch the British heart."

Mr. William Stanley Braithwaite, however, who provides us with an annual appraisement of current poetry, gives us, in the Boston *Transcript*, some reason why Mr. Bridges is well chosen:

"Since the deaths of Swinburne and Meredith, occurring in the same year, and but a few weeks apart, no English poet had a juster claim, despite his obcurity and by every reason of his indisputable achievement than Robert Bridges to be recognized as foremost among living English poets. Mr. Asquith, in appointing this retiring Oxford poet to the laureateship, made a choice, regarded from a purely poetic standard, that seems inevitable. The English-speaking world can impute no motive outside of the art itself to the Prime Minister for his appointment. No candidate for the post, at this time, ever wrote with a more absolute disregard of fitness for the function that the office carries. From a busy professional and humane career in London he passed, nearly thirty years ago, to the quiet seclusion of Oxford, where he has lived since, devoting himself to poetry and music. His life clothed in privacy, his poems went into the world under the same sheltering influence in their original editions. Very much as the outer world has taken little heed of the man, the critics of discernment have been content

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to acknowledge the fine and perfect quality of his work, but very rarely to exercise their judgment upon it. Only the most sensitive could adequately appraise and interpret it. Arthur Symons and Lionel Johnson have done it justice. 'This poet,' says Symons, 'collectedly living apart, to whom the common rewards of life are not so much as a temptation, has meditated deeply on the conduct of life, in the freest, most universal sense; and he has attained a philosophy of austere, not unsmiling content, in which something of the cheerfulness of the Stoic unites with the more melancholy resignation of the Christian; and, limiting himself so resolutely to this sober outlook upon life, tho with a sense of the whole wisdom of the ages:

Then oft I turn the page
In which our country's name,
Spoiling the Greek of fame,
Shall sound in every age:
Or some Terentian play
Renew, whose excellent
Adjusted folds betray
How once Menander went.

Limiting himself, as in his verse, to a moderation which is an infinite series of rejections, he becomes the wisest of living poets, as he is artistically the most faultless. He has left by the way all the fine and colored and fantastic and splendid things which others have done their utmost to attain, and he has put into his poetry the peace and not the energies of life, the wisdom and not the fever of love, the silences rather than the voices of nature."

For an account of the new laureate's life, we turn to Joyce Kilmer's article in the New York *Times* of July 20:

"He comes of a distinguished English family, being the son of John Bridges, of St. Nicholas and Walmer, in Kent, and a kinsman of the Rev. Thomas Edward Bridges, D. D., who was from 1823 to 1843 President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. At Eton, and later at Oxford, Mr. Bridges was noted for his scholarship, but he found time to distinguish himself in athletics. He was an enthusiastic cricketer and oarsman. In 1867 he was placed in the second class in the Final School of Littteræ Humaniores. After leaving the university he spent a number of years in foreign travel, familiarizing himself, to an extent unusual for an Englishman, with life on the Continent and in the Far East.

"On his return to London he became a student of medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, receiving, in due course, the degree of M. B. at Oxford. He then began the practise of his profession, being regularly attached to the staff of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and of the Children's Hospital in Great Ormonde Street. Retiring from practise in 1882, he married and left London for his beautiful rural estate at Yattendon, in Berkshire. Since that time he has devoted himself exclusively to literature, and particularly to poetry.

"It may be that one of the reasons for the smallness of the company of Mr. Bridges's admirers is his devotion to the most technical and abstruse problems of versecraft. His book, 'Milton's Prosody,' is, in the words of Dr. Herbert Warren in 'Robert Bridges and Contemporary Poets,' one of the most minute and illuminating contributions ever made to the study of English metric generally, and especially to that of Milton's blank verse. Influenced largely by the work of the late W. J. Stone, of Radley College, he has written a large number of poems in the classical meters, poems in which the quantities of the syllables, rather than their accents, are the essentials. Of this extremely difficult sort of writing which can never be thoroughly appreciated except by those intimately familiar with Greek and Latin poetry, a good example is the 'Peace Ode,' written in June, 1902, on the conclusion of the Boer War. It is unrimed and in Alcaics.

"When we think of Alfred Noyes's stirring celebrations of peace and of the hearty songs in which Rudyard Kipling and Henry Newbolt have glorified British victories, then Mr. Bridges's Alcaics seem little but academic exercises.

"Interesting to students of the subject as are Mr. Bridges's experiments in classical meters, it is on his work done in the familiar English rhythms that he must depend for popular esteem."

Mr. C. K. Shorter, who had been advocating the appointment of Mr. Hardy in the London *Sphere*, takes a glance at Mr. Bridges which shows that when he speaks of the appointment he will not throw his hat in the air. Mr. Shorter writes:—

"There can really be no difference of opinion about Dr. Robert Bridge's place in English poetry. Among the men poets of to-day he is unquestionably one of the most entirely poetical. His only rival in fine lyrical quality is Mr. W. B. Yeats, whose true work in poetry is concentrated in some ten or twelve poems, most of the copious writing—plays and verse—which are to be found in the fine edition of his works that was published some years back by Mr. A. H. Bullen being of a markedly inferior quality.....

"If the office of laureate is to be confined to a man—which, I know that it must, whether I agree with the idea or not—there can not be a question but that Dr. Bridges has done the most perfect lyrical work among them, and I shall at least have the satisfaction that the first editions of all his books (which are in my possession) will be greatly enhanced in value by the appointment.

"But the post of poet laureate, now shorn of all its trappings of office, its need for odes on state occassions and the like, which Dr. Bridges is no more likely to write than Mr. Yeats, should obviously be given to our greatest man of letters, to the man who is not only a fine poet and prose writer but also a great figure in English literature, which it can not be pretended that Dr. Bridges is."—LITERARY DIGEST.

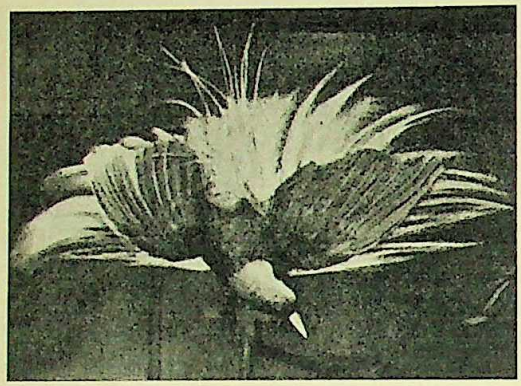
World-wide Bird-Slaughter

While we lament the disappearance of our wild birds here in the United States, and are trying to check it by legislation, the same ruthless slaughter, ending in the total extermination of one species after another, is going on in all parts of the world. Trade, backed by fashion, has a "pull," apparently, that can not be withstood by laws, nor appeals to pity, nor the outcries of scientific naturalists. So the goose that lays the golden egg continues to be killed, for after a feather-yielding bird has been exterminated no more feathers of this kind are to be had. The feather-dealers, like the French king, however, seem to be content that the deluge shall arrive after they have enriched themselves sufficiently. A writer in the *Tour du Monde* (Paris, March 15), abstracting an article contributed to the *Journal Suisse* by Mr. De la Rive, an expert in this subject, asks whether we are to go on until every bird has vanished, or whether there is some way out. We read:

"To state the problem is not to solve it, but we may point out what the solution ought to be. The

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BIRD OF PARADISE

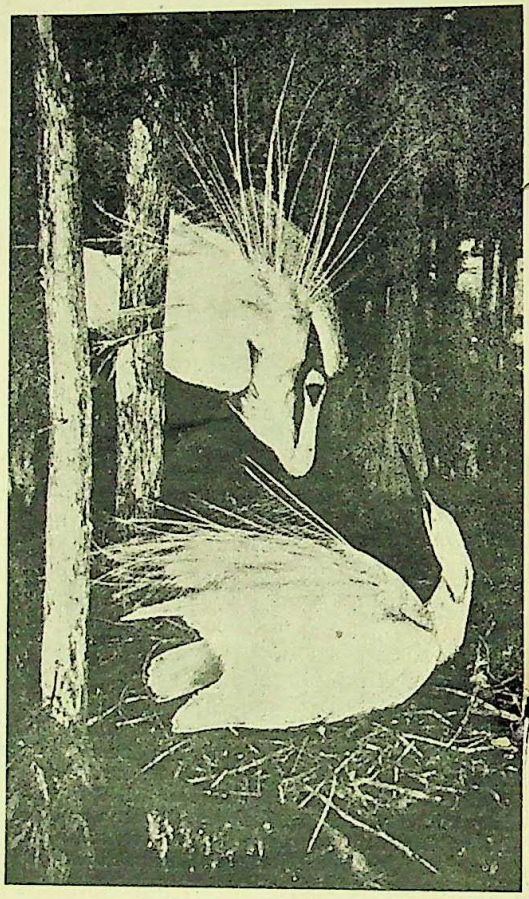
bird constitutes part of our common heritage and the hour has come to seek to preserve it, not only in Europe, where insectivorous species have long been protected by law, but throughout the world, which is seeing one marvel after another disappear. The feather-dealers oppose all restrictions and declare that their activity plays little part in the diminution of winged life on the globe. The bill now pending in the British Parliament, looking toward the prohibition of the importation of certain species . . . has provoked lively opposition on both sides of the Channel. London is the market for the raw feathers, but Paris is where they are manufactured; and if the sale is suppresst, the industry will suffer. The argument has its value, but is there no remedy?

"The feather trade, quite inactive thirty years ago, has recently taken on an extraordinary extension. As conquering civilization has opened new regions to European exploitation, the sale and exchange of tropical and other species have become more intense. No measure of control has stopt the hunter in these new lands, and he has had his own way.

"The United States offer an example of what man's destructive powers can accomplish when nothing prevents. The American Ornithological Society called attention, in 1885, to the necessity of effectively protecting the winged fauna of the continent . . . Ornithologists have told of the extermination of the herons, ibises, spatuals and pelicans in Florida, of the grebes and swans of Oregon, and of the seashore birds. Legislation has finally interfered, but there are no more herons, and the shore birds have been preserved only by creating island reserves. . . . . .

"The English and French merchants assure us that in Venezuela the white heron is rigorously protected, and that the feathers shed at molting time are collected under the nests by the natives to be exported to Europe. Nevertheless...investigation shows that protective measures in Venezuela exist only in the district of Apure, and that feathers are not gathered at molting time for the very good reason that they are then so dirty and bedraggled ('dead', as it is called) that they have practically no market value."

The rarer the bird the more it is sought, and the less its chance of escaping extermination. The sad



Egrets in a South Carolina cypress forest.
They are almost extinct in this country.

MASSACRED FOR MILLINERY.

story of the New Guinea bird of paradise as told by Walter Goodfellow, an English traveller, is typical. Several species, including the blue paradise-bird, have already been exterminated, and others are nearly gone. The pursuit is carried on systematically, the birds being swept from one section after another. The Dutch Government's efforts at restrictive legislation have failed, owing to the strong opposition of the traders. Exportation of these birds is forbidden in British possessions, but there is much contraband trade. The same is true in the French and German colonies. "So long as the European outlet remains open," says the writer, "thus it will be." A remedy proposed by Mr. De la Rive is to substitute as far as possible the feathers of domesticated birds, such as the pigeons, for the wild birds. This may relieve the trouble somewhat, but there can be no tame substitutes for some of the creatures most in demand, and therefore nearest to extinction.—THE LITERARY DIGEST.

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THE DATA OF ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar

(from the *Nitisastra* of sukracharyya).

CHAPTER I.

Relativity of the Nitisastras to the physical environment

THE Greek Philosopher Plato was for some time tutor to a king of Syracuse in Sicily. Machiavelli the Florentine diplomat who has bequeathed his name to a school of politicians was the author of a work that proved to be the Bible of kings and princes in mediæval Italy and Europe. The '*Schoolmaster*' of Roger Acsham was written for the princesses of an English royal family. The sage Sukracharyya or at any rate, his *nom de plume*, belongs to the same gallery of world's *Rajgurus* or royal tutors. And his *Nitisastra* or 'Treatise on morals' is dogmatically asserted to be the sole authoritative* Textbook on Political Science that should be used by Hindu kings and statesmen. It would, therefore, be interesting to find out for which Hindu Court or Courts this manual was intended or which supplied data for the rules and generalisations embodied in it.

Even superficial students of *Sukraniti* do not fail to perceive that the Executive Judicial system, military administration as well as other incidents of social, economic and political life described in it indicate a high degree of development and are adapted not to simple village-republics and tribal commonwealths or city states that we meet with in certain periods of Indian and European history, but are the outcome of the complex requirements of 'country'-states or Imperial organisations. Ancient and Mediaeval History of India furnishes the following more important types of political life that have evolved in connexion with the magnificent kingdoms or empires of the Hindus:—

1. The Maurya Empire of Chandragupta and Asoka (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.) embracing modern Afghanistan, the whole of Upper India and Southern India excluding the extreme south (Chola, Pandya, Kerala, Satyaputra and Ceylon).

2. The Gupta Empire (4th century A.D.) which was brought to an end by the incursions of the Huns.

3. The Empire of Harshavardhan (7th century A.D.) in Upper India during the later part of whose reign Houen Thsang, the great master of the Law from China, travelled in India.

4. The Empire of the Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas in the Deccan* (fifth to fourteenth century A.D.)

5. The Empire of the Cholas in Southern India* beyond the Deccan (ninth to fourteenth century A.D.)

Says Mr. Vincent Smith in his Introductions to Mr. Aiyangar's work '*Ancient India*,'

"The Chola dynasty, was singularly prolific in kings of more than ordinary capacity, from the middle of the ninth century to the end of the reign of Kolottunga in A.D. 1118. It is clear from the details on record that the administration of the kingdom was 'highly systematised' from an early date. For instance, there is abundant evidence that the lands under cultivation were carefully surveyed and holdings registered at least a century before the famous Domesday record of William the Conqueror. The re-survey of 1086 was exactly contemporaneous with the English record.

The Cholas were great builders; builders not only of cities and temples but also of irrigation works."

6. The Empire of the Pals at Gauda in Bengal (8th to 11th centuries A. D.)†

* Chapter IV. Section vii. M. 851-6 (*Stkraniti*—Oppert's Text.)

* For an account of the Pallava, Chola, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and other kingdoms in South India, see Aiyangar's *Ancient India*. pp. 31-38, 158—191.

† For an account of the hegemony of the Pals in Northern India as successors of Harshavardhana to Imperial titles and pretensions see the Bengalee publications of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi.

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synchronous with the ascendancy of the Chalukyas in the Deccan and the Cholas in the South.

7. The Kingdoms of the Rajputs which beginning in the 9th or 10th centuries have continued their existence even now.

8. The Kingdom of Kashmir or the Garden of India which was ruled by Hindu kings till about the middle of the fourteenth century.

9. The Kingdom of Vijaynagar, called the 'Forgotten Empire' of the South in Musalman times, the only important seat of Hindu culture in Mediaeval India 14th—10th century A. D.).

10. The Empire of Maharastra under the Peshwas (18th century A. D.) whose administrative system has been elaborately described by the late Mr. Justice Ranade in his *Rise of the Maratha Power*.

These larger and more celebrated kingdoms and empires of the Hindus have flourished through over two thousand years of recorded history and in conditions of physical environment as varied as possible in a country like India, the 'epitome of the world.' The types of political organisation, therefore, that Indian history presents must be more or less diversified in character to meet the requirements of people living under diverse geographical and topographical influences. And one naturally expects a diversity of political codes or *Nitisastras* or manuals of governmental rules. Inspite of the oneness and basic uniformity of Hindu life throughout India the text book of political life evolved in the extreme north, say Kashmir, is not likely to be that exactly adjusted to the needs of the Dravidians of the extreme south. Or again the rules and regulations which the Marathas framed for themselves in the west of India towards the close of the Mussalman period could not be copied *in to to* from a chapter of the *Nitisastra* that was taught, say, to the Pal Kings of Bengal in pre-Mussalman times. Politics like everything else of human life are the results of adaptation to the circumstances of time and place; and the history of a people has ever been powerfully influenced by geography and topography of its habitat.

An analysis of the geographical fact and phenomena occurring in the Hindu *Nitisastras* or treatises on morals (social, economic and political) is therefore likely to be an important factor in assigning each to the proper sets of physical circumstances under which it was composed. There is no difficulty about the *Arthasastra* of Chanakya or Kautilya the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya who for the first time in Indian history conceived and executed the plan of a vast Empire, the limits of which it has not been possible for any monarch to reach or exceed. But the difficulties with regard to the other extant (or published) treatises are immense, especially because we do not know of any other political fabric that has left its own Statute-Book. *Kamandaki Niti*, and *Sukraniti* are the two exclusively Socio-economic and Socio-political treatises that we have come across up till now. But accounts of economic and political theories as well as practices are to be met with in almost every branch of Sanskrit literature. Some of the *Puranas*, *Manusamhita*, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Panchatantra*, and Smriti Sastras are especially rich in the subject matter of *Nitisastras*.

There are no doubt, some 'floating' ideas which are common to almost all these treatises and seem to have been the stock in trade of every writer on *Niti*. These verbatim reproductions or occasional modifications of texts and adaptations are not difficult to explain. The language of the learned world was the same throughout India. Education was imparted orally, and ideas were transmitted for generations from mouth to mouth. Besides, the incessant political changes of the times promoted a uniformity of culture. Dynastic revolutions, territorial expansion and contraction, transfers of royal seats from place to place, emergence of new areas into political importance, constant transformations of the "old order yielding place to new"—all these tended to produce an elasticity and flexibility of the Indian mind ever ready to receive new impressions by facilitating *rapprochement* and intercourse among the people. But beneath these unities and uniformities of culture are to be found the varieties and diversities which are the characteristic products of particular epochs and areas. A close study of the political maxims embodied in the various branches of Hindu literature is calculated to yield not only a history of the *development* of polity and political speculation in India, through the ages, but also a record of the varying geographical influences bearing upon it.

The problem, therefore, of assigning a particular political

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kingdom or empire cannot be solved before, in the first place, the political history of India is ransacked so as to give more or less complete pictures of the administrative machinery and economic organisation of the various kingdoms and empires of the Hindu world, and in the second place, the whole field of Indian Literature, both Sanskrit and Vernacular, is ransacked wide and deep to discover socio-political and socio-economic treatises, and their contents minutely analysed and elaborately indexed in the interest of comparative studies. The present work is an attempt at placing some of the data of socio-political life gleaned from one such treatise.

Section 1.

Sukraniti as a source of geographical information.

The work of Sukracharyya is not a historical kavya like the *Raj Tarangini* or Annals of Kashmir in Sanskrit by the poet-historian Kalhan, which, according to Mr. Stein,* "is not only the amplest but also the most authentic of our sources for the geography of Kashmir," and 'by far the richest source of information' for its historical geography. It is not an *Itihasa* † 'which narrates past events in and through the pretexts of the actions of the kings'. The description of courts and palaces, forts and temples, or the foundation of towns, villages, estates, shrines, mathas and other religious structures by particular kings, or the narrative of expeditions, warfares, sieges, &c., undertaken in quest of territorial expansiou are quite uncalled for in the *Nitisastra*, and do not give opportunities to the author for describing the physical background of the hero's exploits by referring to the relief, mountains, rivers, character of soils, seasons, weather, climate and such other natural agencies that promote or retard the activities of man. It is not even a *Purana*‡ also which according to the orthodox definition must contain "an account of the creation, the destruction, the dynasties, the cycles or epochs and the incidents or events under each dynasty". There is thus no scope in it for popular story-telling and attractive descriptions likely to catch one's imagination or rambling from subject to subject and charming digressions about the plants, animals, physical features, geological facts &c. that come in the way. Nor is *Sukraniti* an ordinary kavya * like say, the *Raghuvamsam* of Kalidasa, which must "appeal to the various tastes and give rise to pleasure" according to canons of Hindu literary art and may be diversified in style by images, similes, metaphors and other forms of *alamkara* or figures of speech as well as enriched by historical narratives or matter of fact descriptions, fanciful pictures or details of men and things according to the genius and sense of proportion of the writer. But *Sukraniti* is in verse only because almost every bit of Sanskrit literature is so, there being no scope for flights of imagination or embellishments of style.

The physiography, topography, mineralogy and meteorology of a place that are more or less expected in works like these have no natural place in a *Nitisastra*. Among the thirty-two vidyas or sciences mentioned by Sukracharyya in the third section of the fourth chapter of his work there is no mention of Nitisastra. But the scope he has defined for his Sastra at the commencement of the treatise and the manner in which he accomplishes his task lead one to believe that *Nitisastra* is either identical with, or a species of, the more generic vidya, the science of *Arthasastra*,† which is defined to be that "which describes the actions and administration of Kings in accordance with the dictates of Sruti and Smriti, as well as the means of livelihood in a proper manner," and is thus politics and economics combined. It is what in modern phraseology would be called a 'normative' science dealing with what 'should be' as opposed to what is or has been, since it dictates and prescribes 'duties' for kings, princes and statesmen. In such a work we cannot expect anything but the 'generalisations' or what appear to be generalisations regarding kingly functions deduced from the experience of many states in the past and the present, and therefore references to particular or individual men and places are few and far between, incidentally called for in the interest of illustration.

* Stein's Raj Tarangini vol. 2, P. 366.

† Sukra IV, iii, 102-3

‡ Sukra IY, iii, 104-5

* Sukra IV., iii., 110-111.

† Sukra IV, iii, 119-20

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The very scope and nature of *Sukraniti*, therefore, prevent it from being a source of geographical information, and the author or authors of the work have conscientiously done their part by avoiding all unnecessary or superfluous details except such as are directly and indirectly relevant to the socio-economic and socio-political topics. In studying the geographical environment of the locality in which the work was composed or the court was situated one has, therefore, to pursue the same method that is used in the study of Shakespeare, who always hides himself and eludes the reader's grasp. It seems almost a hopeless task to catch the personality of Shakespeare or Kalidasa because in them there is 'Nature's plenty.' It is an interesting fact about Kalidasa that to-day he is claimed by all the four quarters of India as belonging to each. Kashmir and Malabar, Guzarat and Bengal, the extreme north and the extreme south, the extreme west and the extreme east—all vie with each other in finding from the internal evidences of the works of Kalidasa that they are the product of a man born and bred in their surroundings.

The geographical facts and phenomena in *Sukraniti* have to be studied therefore not only to fix upon the locality in which it might have been written but also for the knowledge that the poet of the Sukra cycle or authors who chose to adopt the *nom-de-plume* of Sukracharyya have incidentally displayed regarding the plants, animals, minerals, rivers, forests, soils, seasons &c. of India and the world outside it.

Section 2.

General Geographical Facts.

1. The Quarters and Divisions of India.

The directions of the world as indicated by the points of the compass have been mentioned several times in the course of the work. In connection with the construction of the capital city* and the royal residence or palace and officer's quarters, &c., Sukraniti is very particular about the directions, northern or southern, eastern or western, that are to be specially set apart for particular rooms or houses. Thus towards the east the king should have houses for the washing and cleaning of clothes, &c. The northern rooms are set apart for chariots, arms and weapons, &c. The museum is to be situated towards the north of the palace. And so on. Or again, the northern and southern sides are to be long, twice or thrice the eastern and western sides. The palace is to have sides of equal length in all directions and to be high southwards and low northwards. The rooms of the rest-houses may face the north or east. In Hindu treatises on buildings the directions must be mentioned with particular care because each is supposed to be presided over by a deity, (e.g., Kuvera or the god of fortune is the lord of the north, Yama or Death is the lord of the south, and so on). Hence each direction has a special value affixed to it over and above the ordinary secular significance which arises from the fact that human life and comfort are affected by the sun, the wind and other natural agencies. The subject has been elaborately treated in that celebrated mine of information regarding things Indian, called the *Brihat Samhita*.

Besides this mention of directions which according to Hindu tradition is mainly of a social and religious character *Sukraniti* contains references to the north, south, east, west and middle as points or regions which take the reader out of the purely local surroundings of a particular spot. The geographical horizon of the poets of the Sukra cycle can be inferred to a certain extent from one of the functions of the *Sachiva** or Head of the War Office among the Executive Councillors of the state, which is described to be that of studying the men who are sent eastward and westward on missions. This mention of 'eastward and westward,' however, does not furnish any solid ground as to the particular regions meant, for it has been done in connexion with a general statement. But the references to the 'north and west' as the land of the Yavanas† who "recognise authority other than that of the Vedas," to the 'southern' countries where Brahmans‡ are not condemned, if they marry maternal uncles' daughters, to 'Madhyadesa' where artisans§ are beef-eaters and deviation from the normal customs is not regarded as a sin, to the

* Sukra I., 425-515.

* Sukra II., 181-190
† Sukra IV., iv., 74-75.
‡ Sukra IV., v., 94.
§ Sukra IV., v., 25-96.

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'north'* where the women are touchable when they are menstruated are not only the facts of pure and simple geography but create in the minds of the readers the shrewd suspicion that the author of these lines does not belong to the particular regions mentioned, and that these must lie beyond the pale of "normal" rules and regulations of social life. In fixing upon the author's home, therefore, one would be naturally tempted to exclude these regions from one's consideration.

It is difficult to make out which regions are specified in these references. The description of India as a country of the *Navakhanda*† or Nine Divisions was first used by the astronomers Parasara and Varahamihira and was afterwards adopted by the authors of several of the Puranas. "The names of the Nine Divisions given in the Mahabharata and the Puranas differ entirely from those of Varahamihira; but they agree with those of the famous astronomer Bhaskaracharyya." But "the division of India into five great provinces would appear to have been the most popular one during the early centuries of the Christian era, as it was adopted by the Chinese pilgrims, and from them by all Chinese writers. According to Vishnu Purana the *centre* was occupied by the Kurus and Panchalas; in the *East* was Kamarupa or Assam; in the *South* were the Pundras, Kalingas, and Magadhas; in the *West* were the Saurastras, Suras, Abhiras, Arbudas, Karushas, Malavas, Sauviras, and Saindhavas; and in the *North* the Hunas, Salvas, Sakalas, Ramas, Ambashtas and Parasikas." This account of India in the Vishnu Purana does not include what are comprised by the modern Deccan and Southern India. But "the same division of five great provinces was adopted by the Chinese pilgrim Houen Tsang in the seventh century, who names them in the same manner, as north, south, east, west and central according to their relative positions." The extent and area of each of the five great provinces which according to the tourist's report contained altogether eighty kingdoms are not the same as those in Vishnu Purana; and Houen Tsang's India is larger than that of the Purana. From Cunningham we quote the following lines which give the territories included within the five great Provinces of India in the seventh century A. D.

"I. *Northern India* comprised the Punjab Proper, including Kashmir and the adjoining hill states with the whole of Eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus, and the present cis-Sutlej states to the west of the Saraswati river.

II. *Western India* comprised Sindh and Western Rajputna with Kactch and Gujarat, and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narbada river.

III. *Central India* comprised the whole of the Gangetic Provinces from Thaneswar to the head of the Delta and from the Himalaya mountains to the banks of the Narbada.

IV. *Eastern India* comprised Assam and Bengal Proper including the whole of the Delta of the Ganges together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam.

V. *Southern India* comprised the whole of the Peninsula from Nasika on the west and Ganjam on the east, to cape Kumari (Comorin) on the south, including the Modern Districts of Berar and Telingana, Maharashtra and the Konkan, with the separate states of Haidarabad, Mysore and Travancore or very nearly the whole of the Peninsula to the south of the Narbada and Mahanadi rivers."

Mr. Cunningham believes that the tradition of the Five Great Provinces was very popular in ancient India, at any rate among the educated classes. And if the authors of the Sukra cycle followed that tradition in referring to the land of Yavanas and the other regions of customs that would be regarded as immoral and heinous according to the normal standard of life and manners obtaining in the country for which their work was being written, the treatise excludes practically the whole of India from its purview and would have to be referred to some spot in *Eastern India*. But is it probable that the authors have used the *pratyaguttara* (north and west or north-west?) the *madhyadesha*, the *dakshinatya* and the *uttara* in the technical sense of the terms as given in either Vishnu Purana or the Chinese pilgrim's accounts? The question involves larger issues and cannot be decided before the following problems are solved:—

(1) The Ethnology of the Yavanas and their Philosophy.

(2) The regions and races which allowed beef-eating to artisans and artists and fish-eating to men.

(3) The regions and races which allowed the marriage of maternal uncles' daughters by Brahmanas.

(4) The regions and races which did not consider female menstruation as a pollution.

* Sukra IV., 5., 97.

† Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1871) p.p. 5-8.

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(5) The regions and races which did not object to the drinking of wines by women.
(6) The regions and races where unchastity was not regarded as a sin.

Yavanas.

If we are to determine the geography of the Yavanas after solving the question of their race and religion the problem will not be solved at all. The *Yavanamata** or the philosophy of the Yavanas has been described in *Sukraniti* as the thirty-first *Vidya* "which recognises God as the invisible creator of this Universe and recognises virtues and vices without reference to *Sruti* and *Smriti* and which believe that *Sruti* contains a separate religious system." This description of Yavanism as a non-vedic monotheistic religion is 'too wide', and as Mr. Oppert discusses in his short Preface to the Text of *Sukraniti Sara* published by the Madras Government in 1882, may be made to apply (1) to the Mosaic religion (2) to Mahometanism (3) to Christianity (4) to the religion of the ancient Persians; and even (5) to the religion of the Hindus "who contend that they only revere the god-head in one particular manifestation, but that they do not admit of a plurality of gods." But Mr. Oppert's contention that *Yavanamata* may refer even to Hinduism is certainly erroneous since no form of Hinduism ignores *Sruti* and *Smriti* and believes that Sruti contains a separate religious system—conditions essential to Yavana philosophy. In any case to argue definitely from the tenets and doctrines of this creed as to the race and nationality of the people professing it is impossible. As for the abode or habitat of this race it is mentioned that they are 'pratyaguttaravasinah.'† This word may be interpreted in two ways according as the compound is taken to be of the *Karmadharaya* type or of the *Dwandwa* type. In the first case, the Yavanas are a people who live in the north-west. In the second case they live *both* in the north and in the west (*pratyak*). Mr. Oppert takes it in the first sense. I take it in the second. But either way we are not left any the wiser regarding the religion or the people indicated by the term. For in different ages different peoples professing different faiths, Jewish, Hellenic Christian, and Mahometan, have been inhabitants of the regions implied by the north, west, and north-west. The pre-condition for fixing the precise ethnology of Yavanas, therefore, is the date of *Sukraniti*, which for a long time yet, is sure to be 'begging the question.'

Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E. in his second volume of *Indo-Aryans* after a protracted disquisition arrives at the following conclusions regarding the Yavanas:

"That originally the term Yavana was the name of a country and of its people to the west of Kandahar,—which may have been Arabia, or Persia or Medea, or Assyria—probably the last.
(2) That subsequently it became the name of all those places.
(3) That at a later date it indicated all the casteless races to the west of the Indus including the Arabs and the Asiatic Greeks and the Egyptians.
(4) That the Indo-Greek Kings of Afghanistan were also probably indicated by the same name.
(5) That there is not a tittle of evidence to show that it was at any one time the exclusive name of the Greeks.
(6) That it is impossible now to infer from the use of the term Yavana the exact nationality indicated in Sanskrit works."

Beef and Fish.

If the above discussion does not leave us on any solid ground as to the geographical facts and phenomena of India, the precise delimitation of areas within which certain abnormal social and religious customs are allowed is none the less easy. Take for instance beef-eating which has been described as the peculiar custom of the artists and artisans of the madhyadesa, or fish-eating which is described as the special characteristic of the people generally of the same tract. Both in Vedic and subsequent Indian literature the slaughter of animals for food has been repeatedly mentioned. Principal P. T. Srinivas Iyengar writes in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Madras*:

"Horses (A.V.vi. 71.1), bulls (R.V.i. 164.43), buffaloes (R V. 29.7), rams (R.V.X.27.17) and goats (RV.i.162.3) were killed on slaughter-benches (Suna R.V.x.86.18), cooked ia caldrons (R.V,iii, 53,22) and eaten. The eating of fishes and birds must have also prevailed."

Dr. R. Mitra also is strongly of opinion that beef-eating was universally allowed in ancient India and proves it by referring to *Uttararama-charita*, *Smritis*, *Manusamhita*, *Asoka's edicts*, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Charaka*, *Susruta*, *Kalpa* aad *Grihya Sutras*.

* Sukra IV, iii, 124-126.
† Sukra IV, v, 74-75.

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"Aswalayana emphatically ordains that no *madhuparka* should be celebrated without flesh meat." 'The author of the *NarasinhiyaPrayoga-parijata* has copied verbatim Aswalayana's rule about the necessity of eating beef at the Madhuparka ceremony, but qualifiel it by a quotation from the *Adityapurana* which says that in the present kali age the madhuparka should be celebrated without slaughtering a cow. The quotation has been given at length by Parasara, Hemadri and other compilers." "The Vrihannaradiya Purana follows the above very closely."

Both these *Upapuranas* are according to Dr. Mitra not above eleven or twelve hundred years old. The author of the *Nirnayasindhu* argues:

"The slaughter of large bulls and large sheep for Brahmans versed in the Vedas, though duly ordained, should not be done, being detested by the public.

Dr. Mitra's explanation of the prohibition of beef-eating lies in the fact "that when the Brahmans had to contend against Buddhism, which emphatically and so successfully denounced all sacrifices, they found the doctrine of respect for animal life too strong and too popular to be overcome, and therefore gradually and imperceptibly adopted it in such a manner as to make it appear a part of their *Sastra*."

The lines in Sukraniti, therefore, referring to the custom of beef-eating as confined within a certain class of people in certain tracts of India called madhyadesa must have been written by a person, if Dr. Mitra's theory is to be accepted, who lived in an environment that had long been disciplined in the sentiments and traditions brought on by the ascendancy of Buddhism. Madhyadesa, therefore, should mean the land that forsook these hnmanitarian ideals long before other parts had become callous to them. Eastern Indi†a as described in connexion with Hiouen Tsang's travels was the land that received Buddhistic influence earlier and more powerfully than other parts of India, and it may be surmised that the author of the lines referred to was writing from his home in Eastern India about the *Central India* as described in the Chinese itinerary when he was thinking of beef and fish as food.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri in his Introduction to Mr. Nagendranath Vasu's *Modern Buddhism* thus bears testimony to the strength of Buddhism in Eastern India:

"Yuan Chuang tells us that there were ten thousand Sangharamas with a hundred thousand Bhikshus in Bengal. To support this vast mendicant population at least ten millions of lay families were required, and they would be all Buddhists. * * More than three fourths of the population of Bengal were Buddhists. Full one hundred years after Yuan Chuang the original five progenitors of the present Radhiya and Varendra Brahmans in Bengal came from Kanoj. Their religion was not a proselytising one. In the middle of the twelfth century Ballala Sen took a census of the descendants of these five Brahmins and he found only eight hundred families in all. They lived mostly on grants of lands made to them by the Rajas. * * * But they rarely interfered with other people's religion. * * * The masses were almost entirely left in the hands of the Buddhists, both married and unmarried. * * * The monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramshila, Jagaddala and other places were the best seminaries for the diffusion of Buddhist learning and Buddhist religion. It was from these monasteries that Tibet, Burma, Ceylon and Mongolia received their Buddhist preachers and Buddhist authors and translators. * * * In the twelfth century there were the following forms of religion in Bengal and in Eastern India:—

1. Brahminism. It was followed by 800 families of Radhiya and Vasendra Brahmins and about a hundred families of other Brahmins, the descendants of many Kayasthas who came from the west and those of the lower classes who served the families.
2. Hinayana. This was followed on the West of the Ganges and especially in Tamluk.
3. Mahayana. It was a religion of the higher class Buddhist monks and higher class Buddhist laity.
4. Vajrayana. This was the religion of the middle class man and the married Buddhist clergy.
5. Nathism, which was professed by the Yogis who had numerous followers amongst the Buddhists and a few among the Brahminists.
6. The Sahajiya cult. It had numerous followers below the middle-class Buddhists and some among the lower class Brahminists.
7. Tantrism. It had its followers among all classes, but among the higher classes it was a subsidiary form of worship, among the lower it was the chief form.
8. The Kalachakrayana. It was purely Buddhist and more a religion of fear than of love and was followed by the lowest classes."

This evidence of Pandit Sastri is borne out also by facts regarding the worship of Shiva revealed in *Adyer Gambhira* or a history of the socio-religious festival of Gambhira by Mr. Haridas Palit of the District Council of National Education, Malda. This work gives an account of the various forms in which Buddhism has manifested itself through the ages in Eastern India, the stronghold of that faith.

* Indo-Aryans, Vol. Pp.354-88.

† See the contributions of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No 1. 1895, and Proceedings of the Society for December 1894. Pandit Sastri has explained "*how the religion which existed in Eastern India in such splendour from 600 B.C. to 1200 A. D.*" has under the influence of new conditions continued to exist there in new names under various guises even to the present day. This latter aspect of the question has been discussed by Mr. Nagendranath Vasu also in his *Modern Buddhism.*

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That Buddhism was decaying in Central and Southern India while it flourished vigorously in Bihar and Bengal would be evident from the following extracts from Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*.

"The Brahmanical reaction aginst Buddhism had begun at a time considerably earlier than that of Fahien's* travels (405—11 A.D); and Indian Buddhism was already upon the downward path." "Buddhism was visibly waning in the days of Harsha and Houen Tsang. * * * It had certainly lost its dominant position in the Gangetic plain which it had once held. * * * The sacrificial form of the Hindu religion received special attention. * * * Buddhism as a popular religion in Bihar, its last abode in upper India, south of the Himalayas, was destroyed once and for all by the sword of a single Mussalman adventurer (1193 A.D.)."

Aecording to Dr. Mitra, therefore, the prohibition of beef and meat as food and the consideration of people taking to them as following an abnormal practice must be ascribed to the influence of Buddhistic environment in Eastern India as I have suggested above.

Maternal Uncle's Daughter.

The marriage and other social customs mentioned above do not raise many difficulties. Among Marathas and Madrasis, even to-day, Brahmans may marry maternal uncle's daughters—an abnormal custom according to Sukra. The tradition is preserved in a familiar Sanskrit sloka 'dakshine matuli-kanya, uttare mansabhojanam' which describes the southern custom regarding marriage together with the northern regarding meat as food. The term Dakshinatya, therefore, used in the *Sukraniti*, for the abode of such Brahmans as follow this abnormal custom, refers both to what is now called the Deccan plateau as well as Southern India, as it did according to the division of India into five great provinces in Houen Tsang's time. There is no doubt that the Northerner (or East Indian?) Sukra refers to the Deccani (Chalukya, Rashtrakuta), Andhra (Telugu) and Chola (Tamil) Brahmans of his age.

Wines.

As for what Sukracharyya considers to be the abnormal practice of the drinking of wines by females definite information on the point is not easily available. Dr. Mitra has proved the practice to be universal by references to the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Buddhist works, the works of Kalidasa and Magha, Puranas and Tantras. But the fact that it should be regarded as exclusively the practice of the female sex of a particular country cannot be satisfactorily explained in the present state of our knowledge regarding the social life of ancient and mediæval India. Sukra may therefore be taken at his word when he mentions the north as the locality of the custom. And there is no objection to referring this north to the northern division of Houen Tsang. The same arguments apply to the non-observance of menstruation as ceremonially unclean and yield the same conclusions about its locality,

The unchastity of women* has been referred to several times in Vedic and other Hindu literature. But it is not easy to locate it somewhere as the area in which it is particularly connived at. Sukra's statement that it is the characteristic of the women of Madhyadesha may, therefore, be taken for what it is worth. And in the absence of positive evidences for or against, this madhyadesha may be taken to be the *Central India* of the Chinese pilgrim.

The study of the directions and divisions of India mentioned in the Sukraniti leads to a tentative hypothesis as to the home of the authors of the Sukra cycle. We have to fix upon a region *with reference to which* the writer may simultaneously mention the north, west, central and south, as the quarters or divisions where certain customs and practices obtain which "deserve penance† and punisnment" in the normal region that sets the standard.

No Southerner would regard a southern practice as out of the way and beyond the 'norm.' The same consideration applies to the westerner, northerner, &c. The only region or quarter that has not been mentioned must therefore be the land of Sukra's 'normal' social life, and this is the Eastern.

The argument from the 'abnormal' practices leaves no doubt as to the normal region in which the treatise was composed. As to the spot also with reference to which the quarters of India and the positions of the regions are mentioned, there can be no difficulty in placing it in Eastern India, if

* Second Edition, pp. 283, 287, 318, 370. See also Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, p. 362.

* Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India*. pp. 67-68.

† Sukra IV. v. 99.

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we suppose that north, west, centre and south were being mentioned in the technical sense of the terms as used by Houen Tsang. The Easterner versed in technical terminology would mean by north not the Tibetan Himalayas, but the Punjab and Kashmir, Himalayas, &c., by the west not the modern U. P., but Sindh, Rajputana &c., by the central the regions marked out by Houen Tsang comprising U. P., Behar, C. P. of modern times, and by the south the whole of South India beyond the Narbada. The *madhya* (centre) would thus always be the centre of India, the North always the North of India, the *Dakshinatya* or South the whole of Southern India.

But one might argue that if the technical meaning of the terms be taken there can be no objection to the author of the lines referred to being a southerner also, say a Chola or an Andhra, belonging to any part of India, for he is at liberty to use the terms in the same sense from all places. The objection is refuted by the other consideration about the normal and abnormal customs just discussed. Thus though the southerner may call the man of the Punjab and Kashmir, &c., northerners in the special sense, and the other parts of India excluding Rajputana, &c., on the West and Bengal, &c., on the East by the special name of central India, and describe himself as a southerner in the technical sense given with reference to the whole of India (which is not likely), it is not at all probable that he would look upon the southerners or his own countrymen as illustrating a social practice that is beyond the 'norm.' The same consideration goes against the author being a 'north'-man or a 'Madhyadesa'-man.

2. Other Lands.

Whatever be the value of the hypothesis as to the author of *Sukraniti* being an Easterner as understood by the Chinese pilgrims and also by the Indians of the early Christian era, one thing is clear. The geographical knowledge displayed by Sukracharyya is not confined to a particular area. The poets of the Sukra cycle are not home-bred men, their horizon covers the whole of India. They can think at once of the four quarters of the motherland. This has been apparent from the discussion in the preceding section.

That they were cognisant of 'new men, strange faces, other minds' and did not think exclusively of the local area that was the scene of their activities would be indicated by several passages in the Sukraniti which mention, though indefinitely, regions, religions and languages other than their own. Thus among the qualifications of the clerk or scribe* is mentioned that of "knowing of the differences between countries and languages." The statement that the system of measurements † varies with countries points to the same experience of the writer beyond his own 'country.' The practice of undertaking distant tours is suggested by the advice that "in foreign lands the following six are useful to men—wife without child, good conveyance, the bearer, the guard or guide, the knowledge that can be of use in relieving other's miseries, and an active servant‡." This practice of travel and life abroad is also indicated by the idea that "the man§ who is not in a strange land enjoys happiness." The prohibition of foreign travel¶ to Sudra females except in the company of the husband similarly points to this. The comfort of living in the home and the discomfort of life and work abroad have been mentioned as factors which influence the soldiery also. Thus "alienation of soldiers‖ is brought about by constant life and work in foreign lands." The rule about 'travelling allowances' is another sign of experiences beyond the little 'platoon.'

These references, however, do not furnish any geographical information worthy of note. Nor do they point to anything like an all-India sentiment or knowledge or any extra-Indian experience. These are but vague and indefinite hints about things that are not purely local.

3. Definite names.

It has been mentioned above that as sources of positive geographical information, *Nitisastras* are not very valuable. This is sufficiently borne out by the fact that only the following five names occur in

* Sukra II., 347-348.
† Sukra II., 777-778.
‡ Sukra III 595-597
§ Sukra III 647
¶ Sukra IV 9-10
‖ Sukra IV vii 366-367

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Sukraniti, a work of 4966 lines: (1) Simhala or Ceylon, (2) Gandaka, (3) Dakshinatya, (4) Madhyadesa, (5) Khasa.

Ceylon * has been mentioned as an island, and its people are described as expert in making artificial pearls which should be carefully examined by customers before purchase. The connextion of Ceylon with general Indian history is immense and has been commercial, political, as well as cultural. Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji † has, on the authority of Buddhist texts belonging to a period of a thousand years from 600 B.C., given evidences "which point to a complete navigation of the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean and the flow of a steady and ceaseless traffic between Bengal and Ceylon, Madras and Burma." Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of the Mysore Education Service in his *Ancient India*, a scholarly work on the early history of South India, has used old Tamil literature to prove the connexion of the Ceylonese with the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas in particular and Indian culture in general. Mr. Cunningham's account of Ceylon in *the Ancient Geography of India* also throws fresh light on the Subject:

"The famous island of Ceylon is not reckoned amongst the kingdoms of India, and it was not visited by the pilgrim (Houen Tsang) on account of political disturbances. * * * In the seventh century of our era Ceylon was known by the name of *Seng-kia-lo*, or *Sinhala*, which was said to be derived from the lion-descended *Sinhala*, whose son Vijaya is fabled to have conquered the island on the very day of Buddha's death in B.C. 543. Its original name was *Paochu*, or "Isle of Gems," in Sanskrit *Ratnadwipa*."

The Gandaka* has been mentioned as a source of gems which may be made into images. The neighbourhood of the Gandak is famous in Buddhist history as it contains the environs of Kusinagara, the scene of Buddha's death. At the time of Houen Tsang's visit the walls of Kusinagara were in ruins. According to Cunningham the spot where Buddha obtained *Nirvana* "lies to the north-west of Anrudhwa, and to the west of the old channel of the Chota Gandak† or *Hiranyavati* (golden) river;" and "the spot where his body was burned" lies to the North-east of Anrudhwa and to the east of the old chanel of the *Hirana* or chota Gandak." We must look for *Vaisali* to the East of the Gandak." The position of the Gandak may be inferred from the following description.* "The utmost limit that can be assigned to the joint districts (Vaisali) is not more than 750 or 800 miles in circuit from the foot of the mountains to the Ganges on the South, and from the Gandak on the west to the Mahanadi † on the East" "According to Houen Tsang the country of the Vrijis was long from east to west and narrow from north to south. This description corresponds exactly with the tract of the country lying between the Gandak and Mahanadi rivers, which is 300 miles in length and 100 miles in breadth."

I have not been able to trace the tradition of gems being found in the bed of the Gandak to any literary source. Perhaps the name of the river as *Hiran* and *Hiranyavati*, which means golden, may have something to do with it. Small pieces of stone which are worshipped as Vishnu are still found in the bed of the Gandak, and they are highly appreciated.

The following is taken from the note on page 3 of *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Superintendent, Madras Government Museum: "The Salagrama stone is a fossil ammonite, found in certain rivers, e.g., Gandak, Son, &c,. which is worshipped by Brahmans. The Salagrama is often adopted as the representative of some god, and the worship of any god may be performed before it."

Dakshinatya * has been mentioned in *Sukraniti* as the land where Brahmans marry maternal uncle's daughters. This has been discussed previously in connexion with the directions and divisions of India. It may be mentioned here that the term does not describe any one portion of India south of the Vindhyas, e.g., the Bombay Deccan and the Madras Deccan but the whole peninsula, and comprises all the nine separate kingdoms, exclusive of Ceylon, included in Houen Tsang's Southern India,

* Sukra IV, ii. 124.

† A history of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity of the Indians (Longmans, 1912), p.p. 29, 30, 34, 42, 44, 67, 70, 103, 113, 133, 140, 142 &c.

* Sukra, Iv. iv, 507-308.

† Ancient Geography of India (1871), p. 432.

* Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 444, p. 448.

† The Mahanadi is the modern Mahananda flowing through the district of Malda which contains the sites of ancient Gauda and Pandua, and not the Mahanadi of Orissa.

* Sukra IV., v. 94.

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i.e., "the whole of the peninsula to the south of the Tapti and Mahanadi rivers, from Nasik on the west, to Ganjam on the east," What is now known as the Deccan plateau or at any rate, the Bombay section of the Deccan, had in Houen Tsang's time, the special name of *Maharashtra* and could not be described by the term *Dakshinatya*. Maharashtra † was only one of the kingdoms of the *Dakshinatya* or Southern India as described by Houen Tsang, and lay to the south-west of Harshavardhan's empire as Ganjam to the south-east.

The following lines from the third section of the *Early History of the Deccan* by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar prove the antiquity of the word *Maharashtra* as a separate name for a particular region of peninsular India :—

"Whether the name Maharattha or Maharashtra had come into use in the time of Asoka does not appear clear from this, but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era admits of little doubt. In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhaja, Bedsa and Karli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Maharathi and the female Maharathini.....of the old Prakrits the principal one was called Maharashtri because we are told it was the language of Maharashtra. Varahamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Maharashtra as a southern country."

In explaining the etymology of the word "Dekkan" and its denotation, the same authority says:

"The word Dekkhan represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Dakshina meaning 'Southern' used to designate the portion of the Indian peninsula lying to the south of the Narmada. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Dakshinapatha or "the southern region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the Periplus calls that portion of the country Dakshinabades * * * Dakshinapatha or Dakshina was the name of the whole peninsula south of the Narmada. Among the countries enumerated in the Markandeya, Vayu, and Matsya Puranas as comprised in Dakshinapatha are those of the Cholas, Pandyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura and Malabar."

Dakshinatya is therefore not identical with Maharashtra, as the popular notion seems to be, and in which Sir Bhandarkar has taken it for his celebrated *Early History*. The history of peninsular India or the Dakshinatya has been written from original sources by Mr. Aiyangar in *Ancient India*, * from which the following is quoted below :

"When Yuwan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) travelled through the country in A. D. 640 we find India marked out into three clearly defined political divisions. Harshavardhan.....ruling over Hindusthan to the frontiers of Assam; Pulikesin II of the *Maharashtra* at Badami with his younger brother at Rajamahendri; and Narasimhavarman Pallava at Kanchi." "These two dynasties (Chalukya and Pallava) with their capitals respectively at Kanchi and Badami (near Bijapur) continued the struggle for empire and were seen fighting constantly on the Tungabhadra-Krishna frontier."

The probable site of *Madhyadesa* also has been discussed in connection with the directions and divisions of India. I have taken it in the technical sense of the term as understood in Houen Tsang's time. "It extended from the Sutlej to the head of the Gangetic Delta and from the Himalaya mountains to the Narbada and Mahanadi rivers. It comprised all the richest and most populous districts of India with the single exception of the Gangetic Delta or Bengal proper. Of the seventy* separate states of India that existed in the seventh century, no less than thirty-seven, or more than one half, belonged to central India." Manusamhita, however, defines Madhyadesa to be the land between the Saraswati (that loses itself in the sands) on the west and Allahabad on the East, and between the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhyas on the South. The tract is thus smaller in extent than Houen Tsang's area. But, as previously explained, it is difficult at present to specify the region meant by the authors of the Sukra cycle. It is clear, at any rate, that it cannot denote the land of aboriginal hill tribes in the central India of modern times simply because beef-eating, fish-eating and unchastity have been mentioned as some of the characteristics of its people.

In the *Sukraniti* Khasa† has been mentioned as the country of an abnormal social custom where "people marry the widows of their brothers." The following extract from Stein's *Rajatarangini* throws considerable light on this people: "In the South and West (of Kashmir) the adjacent hill-regions were occupied by Khasas.

* p 224, 43.

* Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 328. The text has "seventy"; but the number actually described is eighty-two, from which deducting Persia and Ceylon, the true number of kingdoms is eighty.

† Sukra iv, v, 98.

† Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 14.

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Their settlements extended as shown by numerous passages in the Chronicle in a wide semicircle from Kastvar in the south-east to the Vitasta Valley in the west The hill states of Rajapuri and Lohara were held by Khasa* families; the dynasty of the latter territory succeeded to the rule of Kashmir in the eleventh century. I have shown elsewhere that the Khasas are identical with the Khakha tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitasta valley below Kashmir and in the neighbouring hills belong. We have already seen that the Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hill-men." "Owing to its position on the most direct route to the Punjab, Rajapuri was necessarily often brought into political relations with Kashmir. When Houen Tsang passed through it, the kingdom of Rajapuri was subject to Kashmir. From the tenth century onwards we find the chiefs of Rajapuri as practically independent rulers." It is, however, not possible to make out the antiquity of the word Khasa since Houen Tusang does not give any account of the hill-tribes he passed through. It may be mentioned in passing that the word occurs in the copper plate of Narayana-pala† discovered at Bhagalpur recording a gift for the "dispensation of medicines to the sick, and food and shelter to the indigent."

PANINI OFFICE, ALLAHABAD.

* Stein's *Rajatarangini*, Vol. 2., pp. 430, 433.

† Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. pp. 267—74.

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Mahes Chandra Ghosh.

Chart of Natural Orders in Botany. By Manilal K. Desai, B.A, Bombay. Price 4 annas.

This is a sheet containing a synopsis of forty-six Natural Orders of plants, evidently selected for the students of the Bombay University. There are no noteworthy features, excepting perhaps the old idea of presenting orders on one sheet with the help of numerous symbols which are, however, mostly ill chosen. There are indications of carelessness in giving the diagnostic characters and selecting plants illustrative of the orders. The misprints are too serious and numerous to be passed over even by a diligent student. For instance, under Solanaceæ (which occurs twice as Solonaceæ) we read among other things, C5 *accrescent* in (Chili); A2 celled, *apical porous*; Os, 2 or 5 celled; &c. Now the calyx is not accrescent in Chilli (or Chillie), anther is porous only in genus Solanum, and ovary is very rarely five-celled. We cannot safely recommend to the students the chart as it is.

J. C. Ray.

Philosophic thoughts revealed through Pranayamam and Higher concentration with Practical Hints, by V. Nagalingaiah Devara, B.A., Sub-Registrar, Pakala. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras. Pp XX—129—XXXVIII. Price twelve annas.

The book is "Dedicated to Lord Sree Krishna, the Source and Inspiration of All Knowledge."

Some of the Vedantic doctrines are expounded in the book. In the last chapter (chap. iii) the author gives hints on Food, Exercise, Control of Thoughts,

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Pranayamam, Revolving of Higher Thoughts in the mind and the Higher Concentration and Higher Pranayamam.

M. C. Ghosh.

HINDI.

Upanishadon ki Bhumika. Part I. by Shree Indra Vedalankara of Gurukula Kangri. Printed and published by the Sadhdharma Pracharak Press, Delhi. Crown 8 vo. pp. 99. Price As. 6.

The book treats of the origin of the Upanishads, their language, their value and popularity and their position in the Sanskrit literature. A chapter has also been devoted to their annotations. In conclusion, the author pleads for a dispassionate study of these fountains of true philosophy, which elicited enthusiastic eulogy from a philosopher like Schopenhaur. He is of opinion that interpretations of the texts of the Upanishads from sectarian standpoints mar their meanings. The printing and get-up are good and the style of the book is grand. There are not many printing errors. The price is not much in consideration of the rather original nature of the compilation.

Yogmargopadeshika, by Pandit Shivadatta Sharma. To be had of Ganga Ram Ubana, Secretary, Arya Samaj, Nasirabad Raj. Demy 16 mo. pp. 34. Price As. 2. Price for 4 copies—As. 6.

This pamphlet enumerates the different miracles performed by the practice of Yoga and gives scientific explanation for a few. Though short, the description is interesting. The language is correct.

Dharma Shikshavali. Part II. by Babu Ram Chandra, B A., Head Master, Anglo-Sanskrit School, Umbala. Printed at the Lahore Machine Press. Crown 8 vo. pp. 14—174. Price As. 6.

This is a supplement to the Part I of the book by the same author reviewed in a previous number of this journal. All the stages of a man's life and all the classes of men have been reviewed and the different duties appertaining to such pointed out with appropriate quotations. The views of the author are sound and judicious. As to the religious principles enunciated in the book, the author seems to make a fitting compromise between the Sanatana Dharma and the Arya Samaj. The language is pure and simple, and for the printing errors an elaborate list of errata is subjoined.

Aitihasik Striyan, by Kumar Devendra Prasad, Jain of Arrah (E. I. Ry.) and to be had of him. Printed at the Narsingh Press, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta, Crown 8 vo. pp, 90. Price As. 8.

This book will constitute a splendid and very useful literature for females. Lives of eight illustrious Indian heroines have been portrayed in simple and current language. Appreciative remarks have been made here and there about the Jain sect, but the book will unquestionably prove useful to members of all sects and creeds. In the similar other editions which the author proposes to publish, he might enlarge his horizon and take as his subject females of more modern times as well. In this attempt he might get considerable help from a book entitled Sati Charitra Sangraha and published in two parts by the Bharatjiban Press of Benares ; in which case, however, the biographies will require to be enlarged with the aid of fresh materials and researches, as the number of biographies in them being large, each has to be necessarily short. In the publication under review the bulk of the lives is proportionate to the importance of the subjects, and this is desirable. The language is nice and the get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. We wish the publication great success which it amply deserves.

Sohamtattva, by Pandit Jwala Datta Sharma of Kisrauli, Moradabad and printed at the Dharm Divakar Press, Moradabad. Foolscap 8 vo. pp. 105. Price as. 8.

This is a Hindi translation of the Bengali book of the same name by the famous Bengali athlete Sree Shyamakanta Bandyopadhyay who has now turned an ascetic and passes his time in meditation and spiritual culture at Bhowali in the district of Nainital, near the Himalayas. The book contains the author's philosophy of soul and religion. The author seems to be a Vedantist, but his views are characteristically original. The translation has been mainly idiomatic, but stray grammatical and idiomatic errors are found here and there, *e.g.* पड़ी की समान चहुं ओर on page 4, line 17. The printing mistakes have been noted in the list of errata. The price though a little high is justifiable in consideration of the fact that readers of books containing abstruse subjects like these are not many.

Brahmanotpatibhaskar, by Pandit Batuk Prasad Misra Bhaskara of Sarai Govardhan, Benares City. Printed at the Hitchintak Press, Benares and to be had of Saravavarin Bhaskara Book Depot, Benares. Royal 8 vo. pp. 7+839. Price Re. 1-8.

This treatise deals with the origin of the Brahmans. An authoritative account as to how the different subsects of the Brahmans grew up has been given. The true and current principle upon which the Gotras and Pravaras of the different castes can be known, has also been pointed out and in doing this the author has not slavishly followed other books of a similar nature. In fact in accordance with the orthodox views a difficulty arises only in finding the Gotras of the Brahmans : as to other castes they have to follow the Gotras of their preceptors who are Brahmans. The whole subject has been elaborately and independently dealt with in the book, the original Sanskrit of the author being given with the Hindi translation. The printing and get up are good.

Salaion ki Bunavaten, by B. Shyam Lal. Printed at the Vilveshwar Press, Sadar Bazar, Meerut and published by the General Publishing Co., Meerut. Crown 8 vo. pp. 82. Price as. 4.

This is a handy book on the art of knitting and will prove very useful in girls' schools. The pages are no mere translations of books in other languages, but are written on original lines by one who first learnt knitting himself. This has made the treatment of the subject clear and unambiguous. Indeed there would be no difficulty in following the contents of the book on the part of those who have the least insight into the subject. The publishers are to be congratulated on their attempts for female enlightenment.

Yatharth Varnavyavastha, by Pandit Bhawani Datta Panday, Head Master, Mayfield Pathshala, Simla. Printed at the Bombay Machine Press, Lahore. Crown 8 vo. pp. 60. Price as. 2½.

It treats of the noble basis for correct and reasonable

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caste distinctions and gives out that the distinctions now in vogue are founded on ignorance and superstition. The arguments brought forward are often convincing. The book is really an attack against the caste system and authorities have been cited in support of the author's views.

Chhaya, by S. Jayshankar Prasad. Printed at Shree Lakshmi Narayan Press, Jatanbar, Benares City, and to be had of Babu Ambika Prasad, Saray Govardhan, Benares. Crown 8 vo. pp. 74, Price As. 6.

The book consists of five short stories, the last of which entitled "Madanmrinalini" being somewhat detailed. The contents of the book will form interesting reading. The writer has been, at some places, skilful in the analysis of human actions and his descriptions are not devoid of merit. The treatment has been simple and natural. The book is No. 2 of the Sahitya Sumanmala Series. The printing and paper leave nothing to be desired. The stories have the merit of being original and not translations.

Shree guru Ramcharitam, by Shree Ramlal Sharan and Shree Balakram Vinayak. Printed at the Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow and published by B. Ramjagdeosharan, Agent, Goruckpur Bank Ld, Gonda Demy quarto pp 117. Price not mentioned.

This is a biography of the famous ascetic of Ayodhya, named Shree Swami Sitaram Paramhansji who died a glorious death about four years ago at the age of 78. The Swami was born at Chowbepore near Chitrakut of a respectable Brahman family. When about to be married, he left his home at dead of night after paying pious respects to his parents who were asleep. Since then his time was passed in devotion and religious meditation, principally guided by his religious preceptor, Shree Swami Shilmani Ji. The book recounts the various miraculous events of the heroe's life and gives a vivid picture of his profoundly religious attitude. The illustrative verses that are to be found here and there are most adeptly chosen.

M. S.

English-Urdu.

The Student's Practical Dictionary. English-Urdu Edition. Published by Babu Ram Naryan Lal, Bookseller and Publisher, Allahabad. Demy 8 vo. pp. 1003 and 18. Price Rs. 2—8.

This Dictionary which has passed through several editions and a revised and enlarged edition of which has now been issued removes a long-felt want of the students and the public in general. The meanings of English words are first given in English and then in Urdu written in Persian character. We have carefully gone through the pages of the book and find that the Urdu renderings are not merely explanatory, but have been skilfully chosen with due regard to their appropriateness. Urdu words taken at random have not as in the case of other similar Dictionaries, inserted. The English meanings are also given in simple and unambiguous language. At the end of the book a list of foreign (Greek, Latin, French etc.) words and phrases used in the English Literature have been added with English and Urdu meanings. The book will prove eminently useful not only to the students who have Persian as their Second Language, but to those Europeans who go up for Urdu Examination ; and in the case of the latter, it can safely replace high-priced and antiquated publications. The printing and binding are nice and the Antique type has been used to demarcate the main words.

M.S.

English-Persian.

Translation from English into Persian, by Syed Husain Ali, B.A., Head Master, Arabic Department, Calcutta Madrasah, and Printed at the Nababibhakar Press, Calcutta, and to be had of the author at 32—1, Ekbalpore Road, Kidderpore, Calcutta Crown 8 vo. pp 224. Price As. 12.

This book will help considerably the students taking Persian at the Matriculation Examination in translating easy English sentences into Persian. The rules have been illustrated by concrete examples and with this object the translation of an English passage sas been *followed* by rules in the form of Notes. In the second part of the book, test passages have been given with hints and aids for translation, while an appendix contains Matriculation papers for translation from English into Persian from 1910 to 1913, along with hints for their translation. The current Persian as used in the modern Persian magazines has been used to the exclusion of the Persian of the ancient writers. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

Urdu.

Ram Putra, compiled by Mr. R. S. Narayan Swami. Printed at the Imperial Book Depot Press, Delhi, and to be had of Messrs. Amir Chand and Sons, Prem Dham, Bara Daruba, Delhi. Demy, 8 vo. pp. 208. Price: Paper cover—As. 8, Bound Edition—As. 12.

This book contains the letter written by Swami Ram Tirtha, M. A,, on various occasions, both when he was a student and a professor as also when he turned an ascetic. Lectures of a great man go a great way in helping us to compile his biography; they often tell things which a hundred events of a man's life do not disclose. The compilation is no doubt valuable in this respect and we must commend the author in following the English writers and publicists in this respect. It goes without saying that a good deal can be learnt from the letters. The printing is fair and the binding very good. Every letter is preceded by a heading which tells us its subjects, which is, in several cases, a moral, religious, or psychological one.

Ram Varsha Part I, by Do. Printed at Do. and to be had of Do. Crown 8 vo. pp. 247. Price Paper cover—As. 5, cloth bound—As. 5.

It contains the poems found in the note-books of Swami Ram Tirtha and compiled therefrom. These poems have been published in the Hindi character as well, but those in which Sanskrit words preponderated have been omitted from this edition, while others, mainly Urdu poems, have been added in this Urdu edition. The sense of each poem has been given at the end of it in prose. The printing and binding are like that of the aforesaid publication.

M. S.

Bengali.

Sthapati Vijnan or Engineering in Bengali, in two Volumes by Rai Sahib Durgacharan Chakravarty L.C.E. published in 1315 and 1317 respectively.

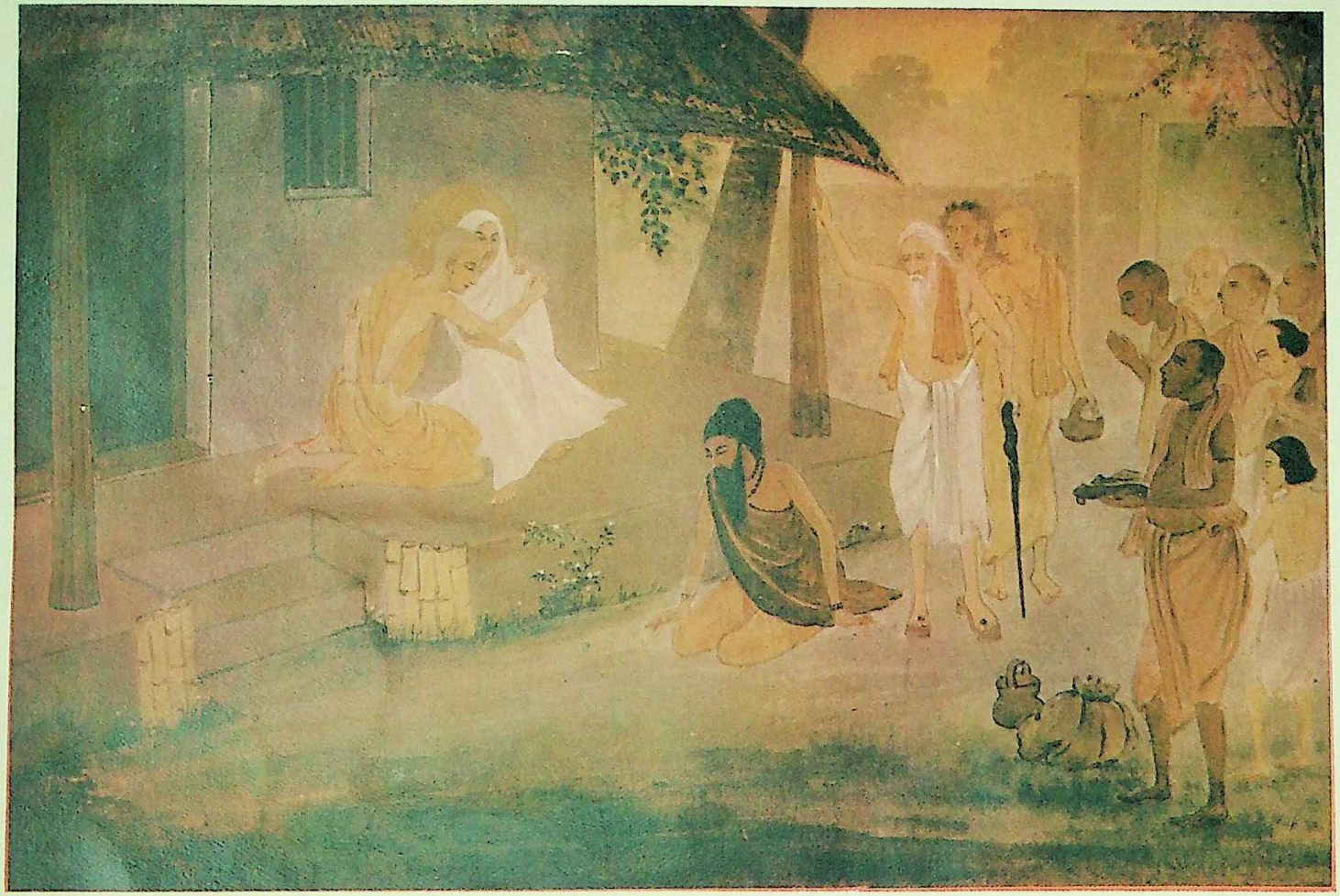
The first volume is the second Edition of his first attempt titled Viswakarma 88 pages, demy 16, price eight annas.

The second volume is also the second edition 51 pages, demy 16, price six annas only.

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CHAITANYA BIDDING FAREWELL TO HIS MOTHER.

By the courtesy of Babu Gaganendranath Tagore, the artist.

COLOUR-BLOCKS AND PRINTING BY
U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

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Vol. I consists of short descriptions of Brickwork, Soorkee, Lime, Cement, Concrete, Plaster, White-washing, Woodwork, Painting, Brick masonry, Arching, Cementing, Roofing, Flooring, Foundations, Bridges, Roads, and five Tables specifying some useful recipes.

Vol. II deals with designing Buildings, Specification and Estimate, Masonry Bridges and Culverts, Iron Bridges, Pontoons, Lift Bridges, Girder Bridges and Excavating Tanks and Wells.

The author's object is that these will be valuable to those who have connection with houses and buildings. It serves, no doubt, to some extent the author's purpose and I recommend this book to the general Bengali Public who will derive benefit from it. The language is easy and the mode of conveying meanings is simple.

The Government of Bengal may patronize by purchasing some copies and make it a text-book in elementary school classes.

The general Bengali public ought to encourage the publication of such professional treatises in engineering and other branches of arts and industries.

I must not forget to mention here that the author deals with the above subjects rather too briefly and it is somewhat disappointing not to find the work up-to-date. In house connections, I fear, the jack arches on the girders under pucca flat roof are simply mentioned; their construction, etc., are not explained at all. The concrete and the footings in the foundations ought to have been dealt with more at length. The re-inforced concrete roofing might have been added.

On excavating wells it would have been more useful to know what wood should be employed in well-curbs; how the iron curbs are constructed; what soil would be the best and so forth.

In preparing estimates the reader would have been more benefited, had there been a detailed estimate and abstract of a dwelling house.

In designing buildings the author would have done more service had he given a plan, section and an elevation of a decent dwelling house, also of a bungalow-fashioned building.

The latest principles of sanitation, drainage, water-works, a little of irrigation, bathing ghats and embankments might well have been added.

These points are here mentioned simply to encourage the author that he might deal with them more ably in his future editions; as well to bring new authors in the field to supply the much deplored wants in the several fields of engineering, agriculture and industries in Bengali Literature.

In conclusion, I heartily congratulate the author on his coming into the field with his Sthapati Vijnan and wish him every success.

Swami Vijnanananda
Alias H. P. Chatterji, L. C. E.,
Allahabad.

ENGLISH.

Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings. Translation by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. M. C. Sarkar, 75, Harrison Road, Calcutta, Luzac & Co. London. Rs. 2. 3s. net).

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has rendered a signal service to English readers by translating the sacred book of the Chaitanya-charit-amrita (Madhya Lila) into the English language. His translation is lucid, clear and simple and the book is remarkably well printed. A translation of this most famous work was urgently needed. We may hope that Professor Jadunath Sarkar will continue his worthy labours and translate the Adi Lila and the Anta Lila as well. As historical documents of a religious society of the middle ages in Bengal they are of surpassing value. As religious books they are the key to a great deal that is obscure in mediaeval Hinduism. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has done wisely in beginning with the Madhya Lila. It gives the clearest picture of the Saint and his teaching, and is full of intense human interest from beginning to end. It has a further importance as, in its original Bengali form, it forms a landmark in Bengali literature and has done much to set a type of language understood by the people for later authors to follow. The Bengali language was always in danger of being overshadowed by Sanskrit, when put to literary use, and it was of incalculable importance that a popular religious movement should have used Bengali and not Sanskrit as its vehicle of expression.

When we turn to the subject of the book, the picture drawn of the Saint is one of extraordinary beauty. Through the obscuring mediam of marvels and legends, a truly human figure comes before us and attracts our own love, even as it attracted the love of his first disciples. Such a passage as that given on page 9 is clearly a transcript from life.

'Comforting His mother, He bowed at her feet, walked round her, and then set off. The cry of lamentations rose in the Acharya's house, but the Master quickened His pace, heedless of it. Adwaita followed Him some distance weeping, when He turned back with clasped hands, solaced him, and spoke these gentle words, "You should comfort my mother and look after the congregation, for if you give way to grief they will die!" Embracing He turned Adwaita back, and passed on freely. To the bank of the Ganges He went with the four, and then to Puri by way of Chhatrabhog.'

For another passage where the Saint comes to the house of one, who had been the host of his own guru, the scene is described as follows:—

'Then the Master took the Brahman apart and asked him secretly, "You are a Brahman noble-minded, simple and old. Whence did you acquire such wealth of love?" The man replied, "When Madhavendra Puri came here on his travels, he was pleased to be my guest; he made me his disciple and ate of my cooking. That great soul revealed the (concealed) Gopal, who is worshipped at Govardhan to this day." At this the Master touched his feet, but the Brahman in alarm fell down at the Master's feet. The Master explained, "You are my *guru*, and I am almost a disciple to you. The *guru* should not bow to the disciple." The Brahman in fear and surprise asked, "Why do you, a *Sanyasi*, use such language? But stay! Your fervour makes me infer that you are connected with Madhavendra Puri (by the tie of initiation). He was filled with love of Krishna: nowhere do we find even the savour of such love except among those connected with him."'

The passage shows clearly the humility of the saint and his refusal of the divine honours which his disciples were ready to heap upon him. There are many other passages of a similar type.

When we come to gather up our reflections on the whole book, our first impression is that of the amazing wealth of the religious spirit in mediaeval India and its response to the apeal of love. A people with hearts so warm and tender as those depicted in the course of this biography were bound to play an important part in human history when their love came

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to rise. They differ entirely from those hard races of the world which have to be disciplined and moulded for centuries before spiritual truth can find an entrance.

But while this supremely beautiful emotional character has its great strength, it has also its great weakness, and there can be little doubt that the excessive play of emotion introduced by the Saint, Chaitanya, into Bengali worship, combined with its concentration on the figure of Krishna, brought a reaction and exhaustion with it, during which impure elements (which are so wholly absent from the story of the Saint himself and his followers) gained the upper hand, and the moral bases of society were undermined.

There seem to be two elements which make the play and interplay of Bengali History,—on the one hand, the piercing intellectual element, speculative, logical, rationalistic. This is seen in the development of the Buddhist movement and also in later ages. It has reappeared in modern times. On the other hand, there is the high-wrought emotional element, im aginative, warm, mystical. This is seen in the Chaitanya-revival.

It seems to be the task of Bengal of to-day to harmonize these two great elements of national character. There is needed in Bengal something of that wonderful proportion of the Greek mind. This proportion is seen already in some of the greatest Bengali thinkers and prophets of recent times. Its influence may pass gradually from these to the bulk of the people. This would be a healthy development. On the other hand the 'intellectual' and emotional elements may be allowed to drift apart to the great detriment of both. The publication of this life of the Saint, Chaitanya, at this time, when the intellectual current is running so strong, may help to emphasise the parallel influence and importance of the cultivation and the discipline of the emotional life.

C. F. ANDREWS.

GUJARATI.

Suvarna Kumari, by Chaturbhuj Mankeshwar Bhatt, Vakil, Sadra, published by Somalal Mangaldas Shah, printed at the Gujarati Panch Press, Ahmedabad, Card board cover, pp. 185. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1913).

The recent Aryan Brotherhood dinner at Bombay, where the high and low caste members of Hindu society sat down in one row to partake of food carried by Brahmins, was the cause of a storm of some dimensions in the several castes concerned. Some diners were excommunicated and all those who did not undergo Prayashchitta (Penance) were not taken back into caste. This incident set the writer of this novel reflecting; he is in favour of the fusion of sub castes, and he considers the divisions of one man's caste into several, unmeaning. His panacea for the cure of this evil is Education and the prevention of child marriages. In presenting two different pictures of the present Hindu society—an Indian at Charing Cross and one in the back woods of the country—the author alludes to the forces at work, just now, and he thinks the resultant is bound to be something happy. The story is well told, and the style is so simple, that no effort is required to follow the plot and main incidents of the tale.

The Ten Rules of the Aryasamaj published by Arya Vaida Mayaram Sundarji, Jetpur, Kathiawar, printed at the Jaina Printing Press, Rajkot. Paper cover, pp. 30. Price Re. 0-2-0 (1913).

With the aid of Sanskrit passages taken from the Vedas, the ten Rules of the Samaj are set out, for general information, in this little book. The style is both florid and unattractive.

Kamini and Kanchan, Parts 1 to 3, by Chhaganlal Narayan Bhai Meshri Nandod. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Clothbound pp. 312. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1913).

This is a novel based on the moral precepts of Ramkrishna Paramhansa, and Babu Haran Rakshit. As its name implies, it portrays a picture of the evil influence of women and gold. Its different Chapters are of varying literary quality. The young author has a good command over the Gujarati language, and the chapter which relates the incident of the failure of the prostitutes to deviate the Saint from his straight path, is written with ability.

Suvashini Sarla, Part I. by Chandravadan Ikhansahib. Printed at the Jaina Printing Press, Surat. Cloth-cover, pp. 124: Price Re. 0-9-0 (1913).

An adaptation of Reynold's Parricide. The first Part of this work shows that the translator does not lack in commond of the vocabulary of the language. It is a small book, and would be found useful for whiling away an idle half hour.

Somnath nun Shivling, by Chunilal Vardhaman Shah, published by and printed at the Prajabandhu Office, Ahmedabad. Thick card-board, three-coloured attractive cover, pp, 232. Price Re. 1-4-0

This book is a gift to the subscribers of the Prajabandhu, a weekly newspaper. The novel treats of the sack of Somnath by Mahmud Guzanavi. There is a sad lack of historical fiction in Gujarati, but books of this nature would go a long way towards remedying this defect. Historically sound in outlines, the novel in a most intresting way narrates the adventures of Mahmud, and king Bhima of Guzarat. The interest is so well sustained, that one does not like to put down the book till one has finished it. An easy style contributes much towards the merits of the work.

The Annual Report of the Bhatia Mitra Mandal, for samvat year 1968: We regret we do not review such reports.

Hridaya Rang, third ray, by Bhaishanker Kuberji Shukl, of Morvi. Printed at the Satya-Narayan Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth binding, pp 128. Price Re 0-8-0. (1910).

This is a collection of certain poems written in the modern style by the author, and a drama, called Bhishma Vrat Charit Natak, which is written in the old style. The verses are good and intelligently written but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that at times there had been a slavish copy of the style of others.

Bala, by Rammohunray Jaswantray, printed at the Satyavijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper-cover. Pp 536. Price Re 1-4-0. (1913.)

As an earnest worker towards the uplift of the cause of female education and instruction, and as the life and soul of the "Sundari Subodha Mandal," the

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writer of this social novel with the motto of "Love and Labour" is well-known in Gujarat. This book is a continuation of his "Yogini." It is a collection of pictures, in which the lives of our young men and women, are painted in three stages, conservative or old, intermediate and modern. As such pictures, they are all right, the portraiture is correct, and at times vivid. The object, also, of the author, viz, to draw the attention of the reader towards social service, is also well brought out. In many places, there are heard loud echoes of "Saraswati Chandra," but the writer makes no secret of the influence under which he is writing. But inspite of some of these merits, one cannot shut one's eyes to the choppy nature of the outturn. Episodes, having nothing in common with one another, are strung together in a loose way; homilies and sermons crop up in places where they just serve the purpose of distracting the attention of the reader from the sequence of events, and give the book more an appearance of a collection of sermons than a narrative of incidents. But this is in keeping with the later style of "Saraswati Chandra." The pleasure that one derives from the perusal of a novel, pure and simple, *e. g.*, the work—"Somnath nun Shivling"—reviewed above,—is therefore wanting here.

Navrangi Balako, by Bhogendra Ratanlal Divatia B.A. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thin paper-cover. Pp. 86. Unpriced. 1913.

Mr. Bhabamdas N. Mohvata B.A. LL.B. has set apart a sum of Rs. 1000 in memory of his father for the encouragement of Gujarati literature. Out of the interest on the amount, this little book is published. It is an adaptation of Tolstoy's "Those Girls." Those who have read that little delightful children's book will not fail to appreciate the value of this adaptation. There are very few book in Gujarati, which can be called children's book. Juvenile Literature is still uncultivated in Gujarati, and hence we heartily welcome all attempts in that direction.

Manas Ketali Jamin no Malik Hoi Shake (How much land can a man own ?) published by the Indian Opinion at the International Printing Press, Phœnix, Natal, South Africa. Paper cover pp. 36. Price £ 0-0-3 (1913).

We have had to review before some pamphlets like the little one under review, published at Natal. They also were adaptations of Tolstoy's novels. This one is as good as its predecessors. Mr. M. K. Gandhi is a wellknown follower of the late Russian *Rishi*, and that is the reason why the Printing Press at Phœnix is busy turning out these leaflets.

(1) *Dukhman Vidabhyas, by Ratnasinh Dipnik Parmar. Cloth-bound, pp 148. Price Re. 0-5-0 (1913)*

(2) *Katha Guchcha, Part I. by Shivprasad Dalpatram Pandit. Cloth-bound, pp. 144. Price Re. 0-5-0. (1913).*

(3) *Bharat na Sant Purusho, by same. Cloth-bound, pp. 306. Price Re. 0-5-0. (1913).*

All three printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature.

The first book is a well-executed translation of George Craik's "Pursuit of knowledge under difficulties." The second is a bunch of short tales adapted from Bengali, and this work is done so well that the interest of the reader never flags. The third is a collection of the lives of thirteen saintly Indians, like Narada, Dattatreya, Sankaracharyya, Ballabhacharyya, Chaitanya, Dadu, Bhaskarananda and others. Many sources have been tapped by Mr. Pandit for this work and the result is a charming book.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Mimosa and Man.

Dr. Bose has shown that there is no sharp dividing line between the nervous life of plants and animals, and in one respect it seems that the life of the plant Mimosa exactly reproduces the life-history of human nations. Every school-history in India dilates on the inestimable blessings of the *Pax Britannica*, the great security of life and property which we enjoy under British rule, and the solicitude with which a benign foreign bureaucracy protects us from all harm. The Education Department of the Government of India has set before itself the ideal of an atmosphere of pure study, free from all unsettling influences. But the elaborate machinery devised by our wise rulers for protecting us from contaminating influences in every direction has stunted our growth and diminished our moral stature. The blighting effects on life of so complete a seclusion and protection from the world outside have beeu illustrated by Tennyson in his *Palace of Art* and by Rabindranath Tagore in his *Achalayatan*. The "cloistered virtue" of moralists found no favour with the great defender of liberty

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of speech—John Milton. Hymns to Adversity are one of the favourite subjects for poets. England's greatest psychological poet has welcomed each rebuff that makes life's smoothnesses rough. And now comes the Scientist and indirectly adds his valuable testimony to that of poets and philosophers against the evils of spoon-fed growth and the necessity of roughing it for securing a healthy development of all our faculties, as the following extract from Dr. Bose's recent address at the Presidency College will show:

"One significant result was that while a plant carefully protected under glass from outside blows looked sleek and flourishing, yet as a complete and perfect organism it proved to be a failure. the nervous system was found atrophied or paralysed. But when a succession of blows was rained on this effete and bloated specimen, the internal condition of the plant improved. It became more alert and responsive, and was able to send out excitatory impulses with enhancing speed."

The Pay of the Home Civil Service.

It appears from Whitaker's Almanac that the Home Civil Service get £ 1,000 a year or Rs. 1,250 a month after thirty years' service. The Indian Civil Servant gets at least double this amount after thirty years' service. Yet he seeks to excite pity as a wofully underfed creature.

Prof J. C. Bose thirty years ago.

Referring Dr. J. C. Bose's researches on the transmission of nervous impulse in plants, recently published by the Royal Society, Professor Homersham Cox writes to us:

"It is thirty years ago since I heard Dr. Bose express the views he has now demonstrated experimentally. I can remember distinctly that at the time I was struck by his ability and his amiable character."

This goes to show that great discoveries are not made in a day. Even when by the exercise of scientific imagination a man of genius feels almost intuitively that a certain fact must be true, he has often to toil on for years through baffling failures and establish the truth of what he believes by a series of oft-repeated successful experiments. That is one reason why genius has been defined to be an infinite capacity for taking pains.

Total Abstinence and Physical Fitness.

In the latest annual report of the American Temperance Society is a paragraph dealing with physical fitness, which should be widely read all the world over. It is as follows:—

"The American athletes who astonished the world by their wholesale victories in the Olympic games at Stockholm were trained under a rigid system which eliminated beer and tobacco as well as strong spirits. A poll of the men themselves is said to have shown that practically the entire team—including all of the point-winners of importance—were total abstainers not only while in training, but at all other times."

The Religious Sense.

Sir Alfred Lyall, the great Anglo-Indian scholar, seems to have been an Agnostic. Yet in his old age he wrote, in a letter printed in his recent biography:—

"It is my conclusion—based upon a rather wide observation of religions in various parts of the world—that to the vast majority of mankind some form of Theistic religion is a matter of primary mental necessity. It is inherent in their constitution, and without it they would suffer serious impoverishment. I am convinced that if the religious sense—that feeling of spiritual aid and support which is expressed in Prayer—were generally to disappear, mankind at large would fall to a lower moral level."

The Dumb Speak.

Deaf mutes from all over the world assembled at the Sorbonne for the third Deaf and and Dumb Congress. There were thirty English and ten Scottish delegates. The United States was represented by a score of deaf mutes, and there were German, Austrian, Italian, Belgian, Scandinavian, Spanish, Portuguese, Swiss and Japanese among the delegates. The Congress celebrated the bicentennial of the Abbe de l'Epee, founder of the French system of educating the deaf and dumb. All the delegates presented their reports in sign language. A speech by a Turkish deaf mute, with an extraordinary deftness of gesture, was a triumph of the art. The programme included a theatrical performance by deaf mutes and a commemoration with sermon at the Church of Saint Roch, where the Abbe de l'Epee is buried.

Lord Carmichael at the Swadeshi Mela.

In the course of his opening speech at the Swadeshi Mela Lord Charmichael is reported to have observed that Government cannot be expected to furnish capital to finance Swadeshi industries,—that must come from the people themselves; what

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Government can be expected to do is to equip the youth of the country, seeking an industrial career, with the requisite knowledge and training. While we cannot admit that under no circumstances should a government be expected to advance capital for industrial concerns, we are prepared to judge of the real attitude of our Government towards the industrial exploitation of India by indigenous agency, by the extent to which it gives effect to the principle laid down by His Excellency. No one can dispute the fact that Government has up to the present made no considerable effort to give the people technical education. Sympathetic speeches may make good reading for a certain class of people, if they do not deceive themselves therewith; but sympathetic achievements are certainly much better.

The Calcutta University Lecturers.

In their reply to the Senate's letter on the question of the appointment of University lecturers, the Government of India observe:

> It is stated that the principle that persons who have taken a prominent part in politics should not be made lecturers is now applied for the first time, that Dr. Suhrawardy had previously been appointed and that no exception had been taken to his appointment, that it wasin appropriate to negative the recommendations of the University on a new principle, that the principle itself is too comprehensive, and that the order will seriously hamper the action of the University in the appointment of lecturers. I am to observe that the principle is not a new one. It has long been applied to Government servants. It was enunciated in eloquent language and with the widest application to teachers and professors by the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor in his Convocation speech of 1910.

But University lecturers are not Government servants. The opinion of the Vice-Chancellor is his own individual opinion; it is not necessarily identical with the opinion of the University. Moreover, in the course of the recent debate on the question, Sir Asutosh Mukerji made a clear distinction between the case of college professors and University lecturers and professors. It is useless to argue from a three year old address of the Vice-Chancellor when we have a more recent and explicit pronouncement of his on the subject.

Another passage in the Government's letter runs as follows:—

> The Government of India are bound in duty to prevent by every means in their power the exertion of unsettling influences upon students. They cannot ignore the mischief which has already been wrought among the pupils of certain schools and colleges in Bengal. They are anxious to co-perate with the Senate of the Calcutta University in the interests of the students and the higher intellectual life of Bengal.

There is an air of great plausibility about this passage. But it is only plausible and nothing more. If young men climb trees, run, jump, ride or swim, they may become lame, or die of heart failure, or break their necks or get drowned. But for this reason what wise man ever prevented them from exercising their limbs in various ways, some of them very risky? Many of the very things that may injure or kill the body of man are necessary for its sound upbuilding. Similarly, some of those influences which may unsettle the mind of man are indispensably necessary for the training of his intellect and the formation of his character. You cannot breed sturdy citizens in a glass-house. That this is recognised as true, in all civilised countries, is evident from the absence there of political restrictions on students and their teachers similar to those that are sought to be imposed by the Government of India. The lower animals act from "instinct." But man is expected to have character, and character implies the liberty to go wrong; as citizenship implies the possibility of making political mistakes. But we forget we are only the "fellow-*subjects*" of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, we are not expected or meant to be their fellow-*citizens*.

Government expect instructors of youth to exert wholesome political influence on students. Wholesome influence of any kind can be exercised by precept and example. If you inculcate the virtue of truthfulness, you must also denounce lying and be truthful yourself. Similarly, if a teacher of youth wishes to keep them from mischievous politics, he must both teach sound politics and criticise unwholesome political doctrines *after describing them*; and, what is more, he must exemplify in his own personal life the pursuit of wholesome politics. But this, Government will not allow.

The officials are anxious to keep our boys from unsettling influences. But are these influences only political? To orthodox people, social reformers and religious reformers are people who exert mischievous unsettlinng influences. Orthodoxy must taboo science too; for science unsettles

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the minds of students by producing in them unbelief regarding the old religious legends and myths. Bureaucrats must taboo history: for it may unsettle learners' minds by descriptions of struggles for civic rights, revolutions, wars of independence and so forth. Too eager a pursuit of games and sports or visits to theatres where the actresses are immoral women do not produce an atmosphere of pure study. And so on and so forth. Will Government, therefore, so circumscribe the physical and mental activities and movements of the students as to protect them from all possible unsettling influences? Or is it only political influence that they fear? In that cas it may be necessary to enforce some such arrangements and regulations as the following (1) All schools and colleges should be removed from the neighbourhood of villages and towns. (2) They should be purely residential, not a single day scholar being admitted. (3) The history of no country should be taught; as history is *old* politics, and there is no country in which there have not been revolts, revolutions and changes of dynasty and forms of Government. (4) If geography be taught, there should be no mention in the text-books of forms of Government. (5) In text-books of literature there should be no references to or biographies of heroes, politicians, statesmen, patriots, &c. (6) The students should have no access to newspapers or periodicals, not even to the *Pioneer* or the *Civil & Military Gazette*, or the *Englishman*: for these, too, sometimes criticise the bureaucracy and contain Reuter's telegrams regarding such items as Sir Edward Carson's preparations for a rebellion in case Home Rule becomes law, President Wilson's desire to grant independence to the Filipinos, the Chinese Revolution and rebellion, &c. (7) The packing paper used to wrap things bought for students' hostels, should in no case be old newspapers: for these latter may contain unsettling news, leaders, &c. (8) When students go home during vacations, their journeys to and fro should be performed in Railway carriages reserved for them and under police escort. (9) Before they enter their homes, all new and old newspapers, histories, &c., should be removed from them by a thorough search of the premises, and effective means adopted to see that such unsettling materials do not enter these houses so long as they are occupied by the students.

This list is by no means exhaustive. Anglo-Indian bureucrats are far more clever than our humble selves. Many more devices may occur to them.

Many of our contemporaries have expressed surprise that, whereas a man of 21 can become a member of parliament in England, a man of the same age here is thought to be of too tender an age to be exposed to the unsettling influence exerted by a politician lecturing, *e. g.*, on the Hindu laws of inheritance. It is forgotten that we are the Eternal Baby among nations; even our nonagenarian Grand Old Dadabhai Naoroji is really a white-haired baby. We never come of age.

The Government letter speaks of the mischief already done among the pupils of certain schools and colleges in Bengal. But in official circles a very exaggerated view of the mischief done prevails. And pray who was ultimately responsible for the mischief? Was it not Lord Curzon? He has done more mischief than the worst agitator among us. And we can safely say that in any other country a hundred times more mischief would have resulted from the doings of a man like him, than has been the case here. Every dacoity is not committed by the *Bhadralog* class; every dacoity committed even by such people is not a political dacoity. "The situation in parts of England", says *The Tribune*, "is not much different from that in Bengal. Mr. Montagu Sharp, the Chairman of the Middlesex Sessions on August 5, said in his charge to the jury that many educated men were being convicted of house-breaking and burglary. The 'Pall Mall Gazette,' which draws attention to this fact, says that Mr. Sharp went further and pointed out that from February 1910 to November 1911, he found that out of 200 cases of house-breaking and burglary no less than 83 per cent. were by men who were classified as 'of good education.' " We deeply deplore even the comparatively small number of cases where the minds of young men or boys have been unhinged. But we are happy to find that as the result of the public movements of recent years, for one pest of society we have got hundreds of devoted servants of society, who have proved their worth during bathing festivals and national calamities.

We are sure British officials will not

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attach any importance to what we write. But if they do not think that human nature in India is entirely different from human nature in England, they may well ponder on the views of a late Conservative statesman of their own country who held the offices of Indian and Foreign Secretary, as summarised by the *Leader* of Allahabad.

Sir Stafford Northcote, the first Earl of Iddesleigh, told the under-graduates of Edinburgh that the healthful expression of a genuine interest in political affairs was very much to be commended among the educated youth of a nation. 'I value so highly' said Sir Stafford, 'the training of our youth for political life that I would rather see among you a little exaggeration, and even a little temporary misdirection of your partisanship, than a dull indifference upon questions of high importance, or a selfish insensibility to the interests of your native country.' He spoke of the loss sustained by a state by the withdrawal of its youth from active political life, and went on to say:

"It may be reckoned among the greatest advantages of university life and of the university course of education, as compared with isolated private training, that it calls forth and encourages this generous public spirit at an age when men are particularly open to noble influences, and under circumstances which afford them peculiar advantages for prosecuting those studies which lie at the foundation of a sound political education."

'With us,' said Sir Stafford, one of the greatest of our Secretaries of State, 'the object of the 'university is not merely to protect scholars but to form citizens ; and' he went on,

"our sons should be encouraged to look on the sight of the great vessel of the state labouring among the turbulent waves and the whitening breakers not with indolent indifference, nor with tame self-gratulation over the ease and safety of their own position, but with noble sympathy and with a generous longing for the time when they too may take part in the toils and in the perils of the voyage."

'*The university is one which has some special advantages for the study of political life,*' said Sir Stafford. The students must 'act, and labour and dare, and not sit still.'

Progress of Chemistry in Bengal.

It was a stimulating address which Dr. P. C. Ray delivered last month at the Calcutta Chemical Club. He mentioned the original contributions to the science of Chemistry made by students.

Since we met last year, some 60 papers have been communicated to the Chemical Societies of London and New York, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Zeitschrift fur Anorganische Chemie, Zeitschrift fur Electrochemie and Zeitschrift fur Physikalische Chemie. It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the contributions of several pupils in the Chemical Laboratory of the Presidency College are meeting with welcome and hospitable reception in the columns of the above journals. Our hearty thanks are due to the Publication Committee of the Chemical Society and to Professors Noyes, Richard Lorenz, Paul Askenasy, Ostwald and Drucker for their ready and ungrudging help in the matter of the publication of our papers.

I have all along held and am never tired of reiterating my views that those who pursue chemistry in India at the present state of its progress must not expect to reap immediate benefit in the shape of rich pecuniary rewards. To a sincere and devoted student, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake always carries its reward. A man of science is a member of a privileged class—to him has been committed the sacred task of unravelling the mysteries and secrets of nature. Attracted by the glamour of a material civilisation we hope we shall not forget our noble heritage of plain living and high thinking.

The hope expressed by Prof. Ray will owe not a little for its fulfilment to his own example of plain living and high thinking and of the devoted pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

Dr. Ray went on to quote specific instances to show

that those who, after taking the highest degree of our University in Science, have spent two or three years in original investigations at the Laboratory of the Presidency College, have never had any serious cause of complaint even from the worldly point of view.

A notable feature in connection with the recent contributions from our Laboratory is that they mostly include researches carried out by the students while preparing for the M. Sc. degree and not by those who are known as "Research Scholars."

It is my pleasant duty to give special prominence to the researches of Messrs Rasik Lall Datta, Nilratan Dhar and Jitendra Nath Rakshit. Messrs, Datta and Dhar have also won high University distinctions and I hope they will, in due time, be able to add one or more feathers to their cap. Mr. Rakshit however, stands by himself. He is a "plucked" B. Sc. and, having failed to secure the University hall-mark, would naturally be looked down upon as an unclean pariah. By a singular piece of good fortune I happened to "discover" him, and, as you may be aware, his association with me in the investigation of the "Amine Nitrites" has been productive of happy results. He also found ample time to earry on work on his own account and we are looking forward with eagerness to the publication of his fairly elaborate paper on potassium and sodium acetamides in the next issue of the Chemical Society's journal.

We do hope some means will be found to confer a degree upon so distinguished a student as Mr. Rakshit without his being called upon to pass an examination.

We are glad to learn that

under the fostering care of Professor Watson some of the students of the Dacca College, notably Messrs. Anukulchandra Sarkar and Jatindra Mohan Datta, have shown marked ability in carrying on original researches. During the year under review, some 4 or 5 papers have been contributed from the Dacca Chemical Laboratory by Professor Watson and his pupils. Professor B. K. Singh's paper on the Resolution of Azonium Compounds is also an important contribution.

Prof. Ray concluded by saying :—

In my "History of Hindu Chemistry" I have devoted a chapter to the discussion of some of the causes which brought about the decline of scientific spirit in

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India, and how during the period of intellectual stagnation which set in, our unhappy land was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Descartes or a Newton. We hope we have slept off the torpor of ages and that it will be ours once more to extend the bounds of knowledge.

The Indian Educational Service.

In his last budget speech Mr. Montagu said: "The old era of hard and fast division between the governors and the governed on racial lines has disappeared for ever." That is the reason why we find almost every week some British or Colonial graduate appointed to the Indian Educational Service, to the exclusion of the natives of India. This service has begun to invade the schools, too. "The Secretary of State has appointed Mr. L. T. Watkins, M. A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to the Indian Educational Service as Headmaster of the Government High School, Peshawar." As generations of Indian headmasters have proved their entire fitness for such posts, it is not at all necessary, except for politico-racial reasons, to import Europeans on high salaries for them.

There is no doubt that if the revenues of India admitted of the payment of sufficiently high salaries to the gatekeepers of Indian schools and colleges to attract European graduates, reasons could be easily found for their appointment to such posts to the exclusion of Indian durwans.

The Failure of the People's Bank.

The failure of the People's Bank of Lahore has involved many a man in heavy loss and spelt utter ruin to many others. The man or men whose criminal greed or negligence has brought about this calamity should not be allowed to go unpunished; and everything possible should be done to secure to the shareholders and depositors as large a percentage of their money as practicable. At the same time on occasions like this, we should refrain from undue self-depreciation. We must not think that the People's Bank failed because it was managed by Indians; for both in India and abroad many banks managed solely by Europeans have failed. But there is no doubt that we should be extremely careful in the management of such concerns, both in the public interests, as well as because such enterprises among us are in their infancy.

The Women's Medical Service.

It has been decided to have a Women's Medical Service in connection with Lady Dufferin's Fund. A large grant-in-aid has been promised by the Secretary of State. The Fund was contributed by Indians and the Secretary of State's grant also comes from the pockets of Indian tax-payers. But the medical women would be Europeans. Lord Curzon said in one of his speeches that administration and exploitation were two phases of the same thing. He might have added that sometimes philanthropy was a third phase.

No Poles greet the Kaiser.

"Prussia's Ireland" Still Bitter.

A Berlin correspondent wrote on August 26th :—In cheerless weather, along muddy roads, nearly 30,000 soldiers of the Fifth Army Corps tramped to the parade ground of Posen, to be reviewed by the Kaiser, who was accompanied by the Empress, their sons, and the Prince Regent of Bavaria. Owing to the bad weather the sight was shorn of much of its splendour.

Thousands of patriotic Germans had poured into the town, military veterans, school-boys, and German settlers lined the streets, but there were practically no Poles. They remained at home, not because it was raining but because they refused to do honour to the Prussian King, and, as one Polish journal says, "to kiss the hand that flogs them."

Polish bookshops in several cases to-day have their windows filled exclusively with the works of Polish writers. One prominently displays a picture of Napoleon.

"Prussia's Ireland" shows little sign of being reconciled to her fate, and it must be said that her rulers show little inclination to reconcile her.

One large hotel in Posen had its windows broken during the night because it displayed some trifling decorations in honour of the Kaiser's visit. Several great Polish land-owners who have accepted the Kaiser's invitation to his Court are being held up to obloquy as men unworthy to bear the name of Poles.—*The Indian Daily News.*

Collision with the Police in British Guiana.

In the Imperial Legislative Council, Mr. W.H. Clark, replying to Mr. Surendranath

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Banerjea's question *re* a collision between the police and Indian coolies at a sugar plantation in British Guiana, said: "The order to fire was not given until the Riot Act had been read and one of the police had been killed and two others injured by the mob, the situation of the rest of the police being one of considerable danger." Mr. Clark did not speak from personal knowledge, but had to repeat the account of the occurrence furnished by the British Guiana officials who are responsible for it. Dr. R. N. Sharma, L. M. S., who practises in George Town, British Guiana, contributed an article on this tragic incident to the June number of this Review. He was "on the scene and observing the discontented state of the minds of the workingmen, got the case settled amicably, for which he was very kindly thanked by the magistrate." There is no reason to question the accuracy of Dr. Sharma's description of the occurrence, which runs as follows:

"Now, imagine, dear reader, a miniature battlefield. On one side the Inspector-General, lordly, fat, gray-haired, with eyes blood-shot with anger at the audacity of the "D—d coolies" in refusing to give up their innocent companions.....Imagine him with his maxim guu and all his men [two squads of Police] fully armed. and then imagine the poor, thin-faced, half-starving armless (except for a few sticks and their instruments of agriculture) coolies standing on the opposite side. There was only a distance of six feet between the two forces.....

"The coolies were asked to give up those five people, to which they did not consent. The colonel read the *Riot Act*. As soon as this was finished, the coolies turned back to go to their houses and had only gone about 70 to 90 feet from the police, when they noticed that one corporal and some policemen were following them to arrest one of the men, who, as soon as they reached that particular man, caught hold of him. A struggle ensued between the two, and as soon as one of the Indians was going to help his companion, the police began to fire. It is said that the man who went for helping struck the corporal with a stick and that caused his death; but *the death of the corporal of Police was caused by a bullet piercing his skull, as the inquiry revealed.*

"The police did not fire one or two shots, but they were ordered to fire two tremendous volleys into the crowd and then stray shots followed.

"I cannot command an adequate vocabulary to describe the scene on that bloody estate. *The poor coolies with their backs towards the police were proceeding towards their houses* and *yet they fell dead as wild birds. Some women and children got shot and met their death while sitting in their houses quietly.*"

It will be seen from the above account that the policeman was not killed by the coolies but that his death was caused by a bullet shot by the Police themselves; and that considering the way in which the two parties were armed, the situation of the Police could not at all have been one of considerable danger. We should also consider that the coolies had their backs turned towards the Police,—they were retiring or fleeing. We think the firing of two volleys was as wanton as it was unnecessary. The civilised western public should also determine the offence for which the women and children "met their death while sitting in their houses quietly."

Mr. Clark has said in his reply:—

It also appears, however, that a contributoty cause of the ill-feeling which culminated in the outbreak was that it was proposed to transfer five men from one plantation to another and that transfer was to be effected, according to what is stated to be the usual practice, with the assistance, of the police. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has called the attention of the Government of British Guiana to the objections to the employment of the police in effecting the transfer of labourers except in cases where resistance is expected, He has also pointed out the desirability of issuing instructions that a reasonable notice of transfer should be given to immigrants, that the cause of transfer should be stated if the immigrant concerned asks for it.....

The West is said to have abolished slavery; but what is this transfer of coolies, *against their will*, from one estate to another, as if they were cattle,—what is this transfer but another name for slavery?

Rabindranath's Return.

On the morning of Monday the 29th September Babu Rabindranath Tagore reached Howrah Station and was accorded a warm welcome by a large nnmber of his countrymen. As the train neared the platform cries of "Bande Mataram" were raised, and there was an eager rush towards the compartment in which he was. When Rabindranath alighted he was garlanded successively by Principal Brajendranath Seal, Principal Mahamahopadhyay Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan of the Sanskrit College and the Maharaja Bahadur of Susang; and bouquets of lotuses and roses were presented to him by Babus Krishna Kumar Mitra, Hirendranath Datta, Nagendranath Basu Prachya-Vidyamahurnav, and others.

Interviewed at Bombay by the Associated Press Mr. Tagore expressed delight with the reception accorded to him by the English people. "I met," he said, "most delightful literary people who were all very kind and most appreciative. As soon as we embarked on our return voyage we

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were at once made to feel that our fellow-passengers were quite different from the class we were associated with in England. Indeed one would take them to be of some different nationality." What impressed him most both in England and America was the spirit of social service. "It was,," he said, "an inspiration to me." One great thing that struck him in London was how little people knew of India. He also was unable to follow what was happening in India because the papers paid so scanty attention to our affairs. It seems an anomaly that India should occupy such a tiny and insignificant space in the London papers. There should be a more complete transmission of news from India to London. Take for instance the case of those terrible floods that occurred at Burdwan recently. A lady acquaintance came across a detailed account in a German paper and she thought it must have been exaggerated, because she had seen nothing about it in the English papers. All that had been given was a bare paragraph. It is surely curious that London should be so little interested in such a terrible calamity in India and should accord it only a few lines, while the German press published a full report. A man run over by a motor car in a remote part of France and things like that are given prominence to by the London papers but one of the most devastating floods we have had in India is hardly noticed. Why should not Englishmen know what was going on in India? All of a sudden they hear of somebody committing a rash act in India and they condemn him but they know nothing about the case, not having followed the trend of life or thought in India. They are content to leave everything to the authorities and they don't like to think about it.

The thing is John Bull is content entirely to ignore the existence of India, the brightest gem in his hat, until he has a suspicion, however baseless, that somebody, coloured or white, is trying or is likely to snatch at it. Yet John Bull is what he is, because of his possession of India.

The Hindu System of Interpreting Law.

We learn from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that Professor Joseph Kohler of the University of Berlin published an article in the 'Archiv Fur Rechts and Wirlsch Afte Philosophic.' This article was reprinted and circulated in Germany in the form of a pamphlet in the German language. From Germany they sent a copy of this pamphlet to Messrs Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta, who are the publishers of the Tagore Law Lectures of 1905 delivered by Babu Kishori Lal Sarkar. At the wish of the Vice-Chancellor of the University this pamphlet was translated by Dr. Thibaut into English. The *Patrika* has made certain extracts from it to show how learned Germans appreciate the ancient literary monuments of our civilization. Professor Joseph Kohler begins the pamphlet with the following observations:—

"All the world knows that the Hindus had the first and the greatest grammarian in Panini. But it has not been hitherto known to the judicial world, that Jaimini is the oldest and the greatest expounder and systematizer of law. He is the author of a treatise which can be placed side by side with the work of the great Panini, we mean his Mimansa Rules. The age in which he lived can hardly be ascertained even approximately, as is the case with other great Indians."

"We owe it to the worthy Tagore Law Lectures of a Hindu gentleman. Kishori Lal Sarkar, of the High Court of Calcutta, contained in the volume before us, that we have got an access to the great work of Jaimini.....

"Jaimini not only treats of the rules of interpretation of law, but also gives the principles, by which the deficiencies of an existing law can be supplied. He also traces the origin of all laws and gives a proper classification of them and their relations with each other.....

"One who knows the writings of Coke must say that the interpretation of law in England in the 17th century was on a higher platform than what was with us in the 19th century. But what is more significant is to know that, about a thousand years ago, the Hindus had those advanced notions of law which we have been able to bring home to us only during the course of the last 30 years."

The learned Professor then reviews the whole of the Lectures dealing with the various phases of the Sutras of Jaimini in six parts, and concludes the pamphlet with the following observations:—

"What we have stated sufficiently demonstrates the deep wisdom which is embodied in the Indian principles of interpretation and methodisation of law, which the Hindus had, many hnndred years ago in this department of knowledge, they having reached a height which we did not realise till about 14 years ago."

The Behar Educational Conference.

The presidential address delivered at the Behar Educational Conference was what one would expect from a man of Mr. S. Khuda Buksh's culture and liberal views. He deplored the mercenary character of our education and said:

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To pass examinations as quickly and with as little labour as possible, to obtain the degree and then, in a majority of cases, to uselessly spend some of the most valuable years of life in a futile quest,—seeking unsuccessfully Government employment—that apparently is the ultimate end, the final goal of our University carcer. Is this atmosphere congenial to higher studies, to prolonged research, to fruitful meditation or to philosophic contemplation? Certainly not!

But if the motives are such as do but little honour to the pursuit of higher studies—those to whom the cause of learning is committed are rarely of a type to kindle enthusiasm, to inspire love, to arouse devotion in their students. What great and conspicuous names adorn the educational service of India? What great pioneers in Art, in Science, in Philosophy, in Letters, can it claim as its own? It cannot enter into competition even with the poorest of German Universities in the brilliance of its staff, in the solidity of its work, in the richness of its achievements.

Let us hear Professor Huxley again:—"The student who repairs to the German universities sees in the list of classes and professors a fair picture of the world of knowledge. Whatever he needs to know there is some one ready to teach him, some one competent to discipline him in the way of learning; whatever his special bent, let him but be able and diligent, and in due time he shall find distinction and a career. Among his professors, he sees men whose names are known and revered through all the civilised world; and their living example infects him with a noble ambition and a love for the spirit of work. The Germans dominate the intellectual world by virtue of the same simple secret as that which made Napoleon the master of Old Europe. They have declared *la carriere ouverte aux talents* and every Bursch marches with a professor's gown in his knapsack. Let him become a great scholar, or man of science, and ministers will compete for his services. In Germany they do not leave the chance of his holding the office he would render illustrious to the tender mercies of a hot canvass, or the final wisdom of a mob of country parsons."

The Behar University is proposed to be a residential one. We have repeatedly given our reasons for being absolutely opposed to the establishment in India of residential universities controlled by Government officials. We are, therefore, glad to find the following sound views expressed in the address of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh:

I echo the feelings of all present here when I say that educated Behar regards with disfavour, to put it very mildly, the introduction of the compulsory residential system, at the proposed University. Let us pause for a while and consider whether public opinion has or has not truth and justice on its side.

Behar has not yet completely cast off the swaddling clothes of intellectual infancy. She has her prejudices and all prejudices are foolish. But it would be unwise to ignore them, more unwise still to try, at one stroke, to brush them aside. The residential system is, indeed, excellent for Oxford and who would be silly enough to say it is not so? But even my enthusiastic friend, Mr. Mazharul Haque, will concede that Patna is not Oxford and that the history and environment of the two places are as widely apart as the poles. At Oxford, you have one people, bound by one tie, animated by one interest, governed practically by one religion. There the feeling of oneness is strengthened, emphasised, cemented on the play-ground, at the Hall, in the lecture room. The residential system is the most charming feature of University life at Oxford. But how different are things here! Instead of effecting union it will accentuate differences; instead of fostering a feeling of brotherhood, it will bring into prominence divergences and contrasts which it is our solemn endeavour, in the interest of our country, to wipe out, to forget and to obliterate once for all. Hindus and Mohamedans, under a residential system, must live away and apart and it is hardly desirable that at their *Alma mater* they should feel that the gulf between them is too wide to be bridged and differences too deep to be adjusted and harmonised.

A university is the last place where any thing suggestive of racial division or provocative of religious differences should find place or obtain admission. Therefore, to me, the residential system is objectionable even on broad and general principles. But there are other objections equally powerful which tell aginst it and, to be sure, heavily tell against it. It may be good enough for those who can afford to pay for a luxurious education but what about those who have to contend against actual poverty or slender means? Are they to give up all hopes of joining the university? Are they to be shut out from the light of culture? Are they to go only some little distance on the path of education and then sit resigned to fate and poverty, because they have not the golden keys wherewith to unlock the door of the ne wly-constituted university? What we want is education, cheap education, education within the reach of the humblest of His Majesty's subjects. Its door should be open to all. It should admit of no walls of division, marking off one class from another. It should diffuse its beneficent results with a far scattering arm. It should reduce to a vanishing point disabilities born of poverty,

The Chief Justice on the Press Act.

The reader is aware that Government having proscribed the pamphlet "Come over into Macedonia and help us" Mr. Mohamed Ali of the *Comrade*, gave up his copy and also those numbers of the *Comrade* in which the pamphlet was reprinted, to the Police and then had recourse to law to test the validity of the action of Government. The Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court in pronouncing judgment said: "Mr. Mohamed Ali then has lost his book, but he has retained his character." The following further extracts from his lordship's judgment will show that the Press Act of 1910 is as repressive and rigorous as human ingenuity could make it and that there is no safeguard against the executive proscribing any book, pamphlet, periodical, news-paper, leaflet, &c., that they like:

The language of section 4 may be compared. It requires that the notice forfeiting the copies of the publication should be in writing and state or describe the offending words, signs or visible representations. These provisions as to the statements to be contained

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in forfeiting documents were I think designedly inserted to be a check on the power of forfeiting vested in the Local Government; for it is easy to see that the obligation to state grounds furnishes a valuable safeguard. The statement of grounds may for another reason too be regarded as an essential part of the Legislature's scheme; for it might help the High Court to perform the duties cast on it under section 47. And in fact we have in this case been considerably embarrassed as will appear later by the absence of grounds.

The notification therefore appears to be defective in a material particular and but for section 22 of the Act it would in my opinion be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture. That section, however, provides that every declaration purporting to be made under the Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place. The result is that though I hold the notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act still we are in my opinion barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare.

This brings me to the question whether the pamphlet under discussion contains words of the nature described in section 4 sub-section (1). The provisions of section 4 are very comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. Indeed it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on the one side to to the very limits of impossibility on the other. It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not be plausibly extended by an Ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this widespread net, the praise of a class might not be free from risk. Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.

The incalculable powers of forfeiture vested in the executive are a sure sign that the Act was called into being by urgent political necessity. And it is of sufficiently recent date to enable us all to remember that the mischief chiefly aimed at was the prevalence of political assassination and anarchical outrage. Comprehensive words were designedly used to catch crime and the incitement to crime posing in the guise of innocence. The Act was directed against crime and aimed at its prevention. I doubt whether publications with an authorship, a source and a purpose like those of the present pamphlet were thought of; and I recognise the force of the argument that the Act is now being applied to a purpose never intended.

The Advocate-General has convinced me that the Government's view of this piece of legislation is correct, and that the High Court's power of intervention is the narrowest; its power to pronounce on the legality of the forefeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred, the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the Executive order is withheld, and its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all comprehensive provision of the Act. I describe it as an almost hopeless task, because the terms of section 4 are so wide that it is scarcely concievable that any publication would attract the notice of the Government in this connection to which some provision of that section might not "directly or indirectly whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise apply."

And what then is the conclusion of the whole matter, of the two alleged checks on Executive action, supposed to be furnished by the Act, one—the intervention of the courts—is ineffectual, while the other for this very reason can be, and in this case has been disregarded, without impairing the practical effect of a forfeiture purporting to be under the Act.

Passive Resistance in South Africa.

Our sisters and brethren in South Africa have again resorted to passive resistance. It reads all very easy in cold print, but what must be the persecution and indignities to which our people over there are being subjected, to force even our women to court imprisonment!

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There is nothing that we can do immediately to prevent the imprisonment of our countrymen in South Africa; but we should all contribute what sums we can to mitigate the sufferings of those who would be left at home. A central receiving office or offices should be opened at once where contributions can be sent.

We hope the Imperial and Indian Governments will yet take some *effective* steps to secure civilised treatment for Indians in the British Colonies. The ultimate remedy lies in our winning perfect citizenship.

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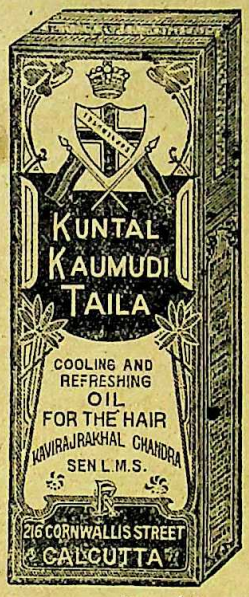
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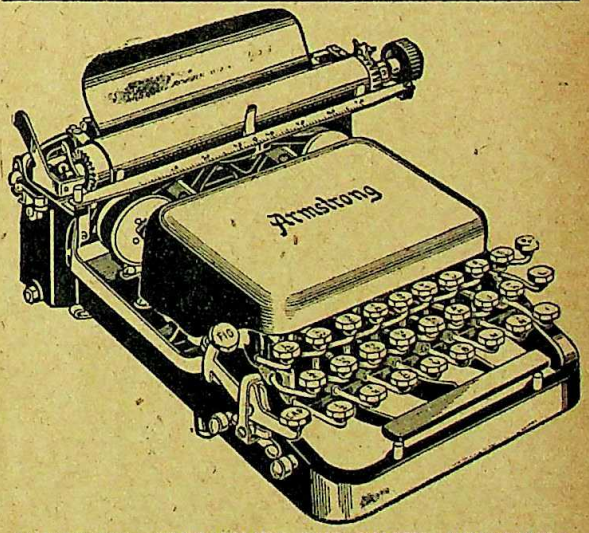
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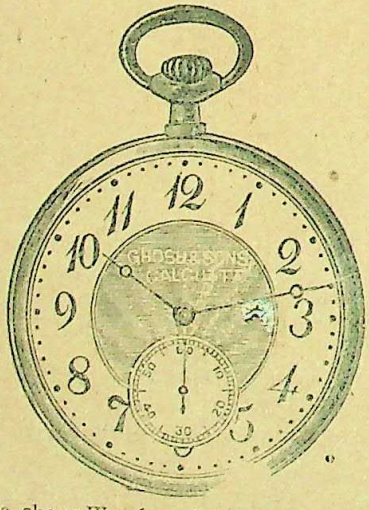
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Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

Contents :

	Page
Frontispiece—"Indira looks out on the lake" (in colors)—Nandalal Bose	431
Poems—Rabindranath Tagore	431
The Vitality of Hindu Civilization—A Bengali Brahman	435
The Nature of the Good—Wilfred Wellock	446
Huxley's Letters—Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A.	456
The Behar University—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law, Lecturer, Calcutta University	463
Cornwallis the Warrior—Historicus	466
Reviews and Notices of Books—K. M. Jhaveri, etc.	475
Comment and Criticism (Professor Homersham Cox on Religious Education)—Haris Chandra Misra and Ganga Shankar Misra	481
Satire in Art—Samarendranatu Gupta	483
My Impressions of England—Gurmukh Singh Mongia	489
The Data of Ancient Indian Geography in Sukraniti—Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.	493
The Patriot (a poem)—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	502
Indira—Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and J. D. Anderson, I. C. S. (retired)	503
Some Economic Theories of Hindu India—K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law	514
A Note on the Proposed Technological Institute for Calcutta—Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.	515
An Indian Wrestler in the West—M. R. Rao	518
The Scourge of Bengal—Politicus	521
Notes.	526

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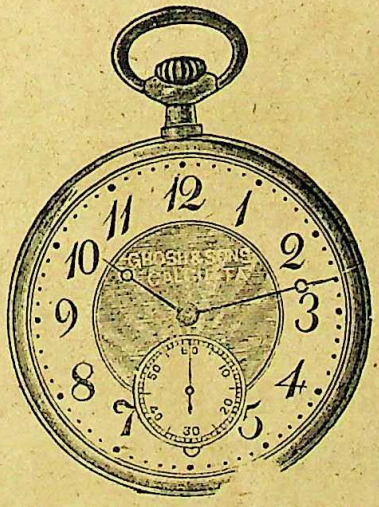
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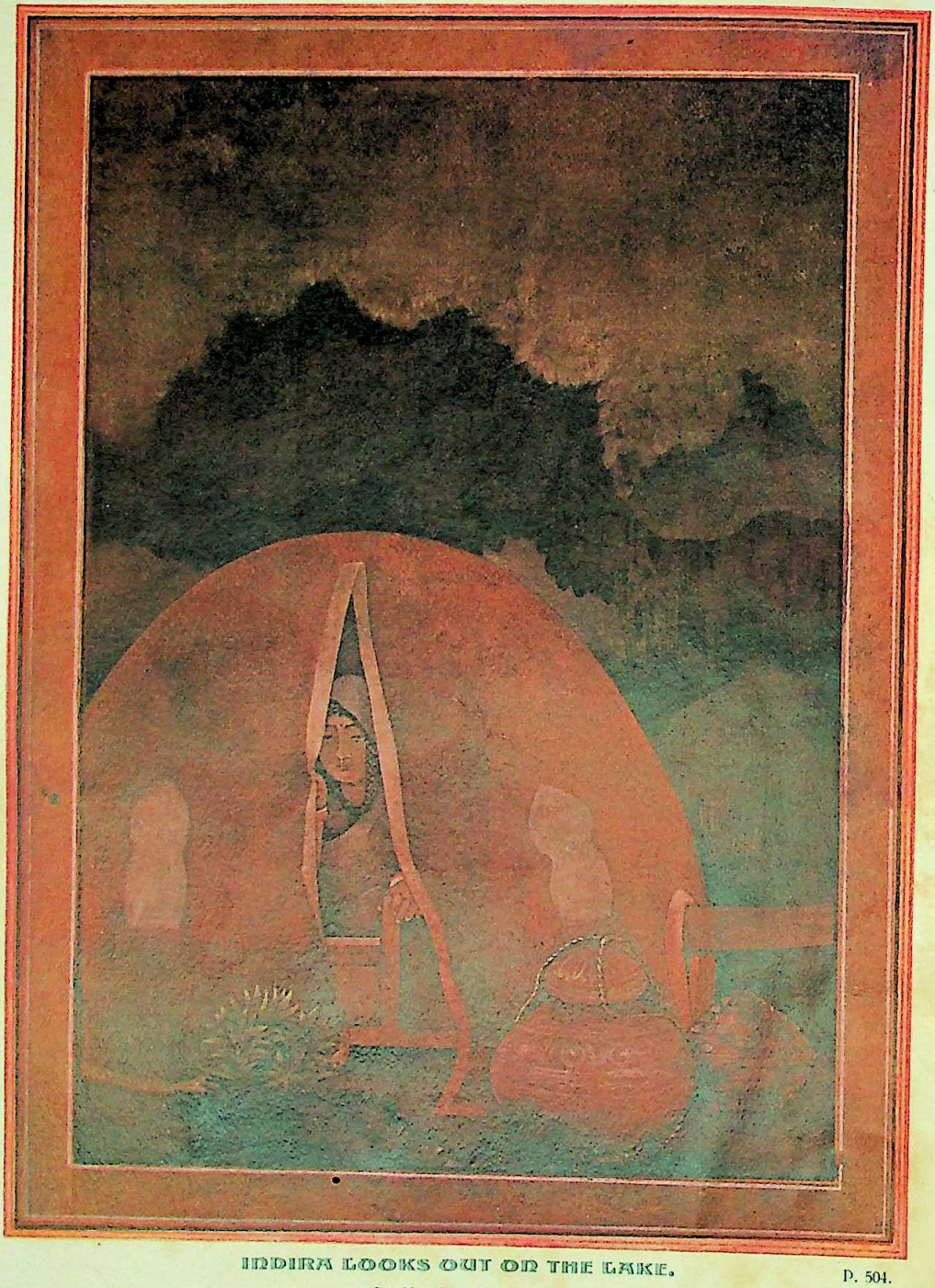
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INDIRA LOOKS OUT ON THE LAKE. P. 504.

By Nanda Lal Bose.

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WHOLE
No. 83

POEMS

By Rabindranath Tagore

ENGLISHED BY THE POET HIMSELF

The axe begged humbly, "O thou mighty oak,
Lend me only a piece of thy branch—
Just enough to fit me with a handle."
The handle was ready, and there was no more wasting of time.
The beggar at once commenced business—and hit hard at the root,
And there was the end of the oak.

The favorite damsel said, "Sire, that other wretched queen of thine
Is unfathomably deep in her cunning greed.
Thou didst graciously assign her a corner of thy cowshed,
It is only to give her chances to have milk from thy cow for nothing."
The king pondered deeply and said, "I suspect thou hast hit the real truth.
But I know not how to put a stop to this thieving."
The favorite said, "'Tis simple. Let me have the royal cow
And I will take care that none milk her but myself."

Said the beggar's wallet, "Come, my brother purse,
Between us two the difference is so very small,
Let us exchange!" The purse snapped short and sharp,
"First let that very small difference cease!"

The highest goes hand-in-hand with the lowest.
It is only the commonplace who walks at a distance.

The thirsty ass went to the brink of the lake
And came back exclaiming, "O how dark is the water!"
The lake smiled and said, "Every ass thinks the water black,
But he who knows better is sure that it is white."

Time says, "It is I who create this world."
The clock says, "Then I am thy creator."

The flower cries loudly, "Fruit, my fruit,
Where art thou loitering—Oh how far!"
"Why is such a clamour?" The fruit says in answer,
"I ever live in your heart taking form."

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The man says, "I am strong, I do whatever I wish."
"Oh what a shame!" says the woman with a blush.
"Thou art restrained at every step", says the man.
The poet says, "that is why the woman is so beautiful."

"All my perfume goes out, I cannot keep it shut."
Thus murmurs the flower and beckons back its breath.
The breeze whispers gently, "You must ever remember this—
It is not your perfume at all which is not given out to others."

The water in the pitcher is bright and transparent;
But the ocean is dark and deep.
The little truths have words that are clear;
The great truth is greatly obscure and silent.

A little flower blooms in the chink of a garden wall.
She has no name nor fame.
The garden worthies disdain to give her a glance.
The sun comes up and greets her, "How is my little beauty ?"

Love comes smiling with empty hands.
Flattery asks him, "What wealth didst thou win ?"
Love says, "I cannot show it, it is in my heart."
Flattery says, "I am practical. What I get I gather in both hands."

"Who will take up my work ?" Asks the setting sun.
None has an answer in the whole silent world.
The earthen lamp says humbly from a corner,
"I will, my lord, as best as I can."

The arrow thinks to himself, "I fly, I am free,
Only the bow is motionless and fixed."
The bow divines his mind and says, "When wilt thou know the truth
That thy freedom is ever dependent on me ?"

The moon gives light to the whole creation,
But keeps the dark spot only to herself.

"Restless ocean, what endless speech is thine ?"
"It is the question eternal," answered the sea.
"What is there in thy stillness, thou ancient line of hills ?"
"It is the silence everlasting," came the answer.

In the morn the moon is to lose her sovereignty,
Yet there is smile on her face when she says,
"I wait at the edge of the western sea
To greet the rising sun, bow low, and then depart."

The word says, "When I notice thee, O work,
I am ashamed of my own little emptiness."
The work says, "I feel how utterly poor I am;
I never can attain the fulness which thou hast."

If you at night shed tears for the lost daylight
You get not back the sun but miss all the stars instead.

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RAM TELLS HIS MOTHER OF HIS EXILE.
FROM A PENCIL DRAWING BY SAILENDRANATH DE.

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I ask my destiny—What power is this
That cruelly drives me onward without rest?
My destiny says, "Look round!" I turn back and see
It is I myself that is ever pushing me from behind.

The ashes whisper, "The fire is our brother."
The smoke curls up and says, "We are twins."
"I have no kinship," the firefly says, "with the flame—
But I know I am more than a brother to him."

The night comes stealthily into the forest and loads its branches
With buds and blossoms, then retires with silent steps.
The flowers waken and cry—"To the morning we owe our all."
And the morn asserts with a noise, "Yes, it is doubtlessly true."

The night kissed the departing day and whispered,
"I am death, thy mother, fear me not.
I take thee unto me only to give thee a new birth
And make thee eternally fresh."

Death, if thou wert the void that our fear let us imagine,
In a moment the universe would disappear through the chasm.
But thou art the fulfilment eternal,
And the world ever rocks on thy arms like a child.

Death threatens, "I will take thy dear ones." The thief says, "Thy money is mine."
Fate says, "I'll take as my tribute whatever is thine own."
The detractor says, "I'll rob you of your good name."
The poet says, "But who is there to take my joy from me?"

THE VITALITY OF HINDU CIVILISATION

I.

MR. P. N. Bose, B. Sc. (London), the worthy son-in-law of Mr. R. C. Dutt and the author of a *History of Hindu Civilisation under British Rule*, has recently brought out a book on *Epochs of Civilisation*,* which is a valuable addition to historico-sociological literature. In his usual simple, perspicuous and pleasant style, Mr. Bose enunciates in this book a theory of civilisation which may not be altogether new, but which is laid down, for the first time, in a definite and categorical form, and fully developed and elaborated by this learned and thoughtful writer. It may be briefly stated thus:

The history of human progress may be divided into three epochs. The first epoch (B. C. 6000—2000) comprises the history of the earlier civilisations of Egypt, Babylonia and China. The second epoch (about B. C. 2000—700 A.D.) comprises the later civilisations of Egypt and China and the civilisations of India, Greece, Rome, Assyria, Phœnicia, and Persia. We are living in the third epoch, which commenced about 700 A.D. The most important fact of this epoch is the rise and progress of Western civilisation. Every epoch of

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civilisation may be divided into three stages. In the first stage matter dominates the spirit, military prowess calls forth the greatest admiration, culture, being related to the gratification of the senses, takes the form of the Fine Arts. The second stage is characterised by intellectual development. It is the age of Reason, of Science and Philosophy, and militarism is on the decline. The third or final stage is the stage of spiritual development.

"Happiness is sought for from within, rather than from without, by self-denial rather than by self-indulgence. Arts and industries which promote bodily comforts and luxuries have hardly any share of the attention of the thoughtful. Painting and sculpture are idealised. Religion becomes altogether subjective among the enlightened, and partly so among the ignorant. Suppression of egoism and cultivation of altruism tend to become the rule of life with the former. Such virtues as self-sacrifice and benevolence become more widely diffused than ever before. The decadent militarism of the second stage becomes altogether extinct among those who have made the greatest progress in the path of spiritual development. There is a tendency towards the establishment of equilibrium between the various forces of progress, material, intellectual and ethical; and society is characterised more by harmony than by mobility."

Mr. Bose is careful to point out that the animal necessities of life render a certain amount of struggle for material development inevitable. But the object of ethical and spiritual progress should be rather to minimise than to intensify it. The equipoised condition which is the characteristic of the third stage of civilisation is being constantly disturbed by various causes of which the animal tendencies of man are the most important. As in every community, however civilised, there must be a numerical preponderance of men in the first or material stage of progress, a slight diminution of the influence exerted by the small class composed of the wise and the good results in their gaining the upper hand and thus ensues moral degeneration.

'How inexorable is the law of the three stages which governs the evolution of civilisation is well exemplified in the case of Western civilisation. The accumulated experience and cultural acquisitions of past civilisations have not enabled it to skip over or even to abridge a single stage.'

Mr. Bose illustrates this law by taking a bird's eye view of the different stages of various important civilisations, *e.g.*, Egyptian, Græco-Roman, Saracenic, Chinese, Indian, and Modern or European.

According to Mr. Bose, Greece advanced to the third stage but did not make much progress in it. Of Western civilisation of the present day, Mr. Bose speaks in no uncertain terms. In the highly expressive though somewhat exaggerated language of Carlyle, its prevalent characteristic is, 'Can I kill thee, or canst thou kill me'. The dominant occidental view of life is still of a gladiatorial character. That there is a large number of individuals in the West who have advanced to the third stage and are animated by the noblest altruistic ideal is unquestionable. But the wise and the good, who must be in a minority in every society, however civilised, have not yet acquired the dominant influence which they should have in a civilisation which has advanced to the third stage. There has been a considerable extension of the spirit of freedom, but its aim is to secure equality of opportunity in the struggle for animal existence. That man is an end in himself is fully recognised. But that end with the vast majority is the ignoble one of material satisfaction. Even philosophic scientists like Huxley ridiculed the quietism of the ancients and advised the European nations to play the man and "to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield." Mr. Bose gives a spirited rejoinder:

"It may be urged by an observer whose vision is not bedimmed by the glamour of western civilisation, that if the ancient sages counselled retirement from the strife and stress of material advancement, so far as practicable, to those who were particularly desirous of spiritual progress, especially at an advanced age of life, it was because the greater and the more arduous battle of such progress might be fought more energetically and more efficiently, because they held with Buddha that—

One may conquer a thousand thousand men in battle
But he who conquers himself is the greatest victor.

The Western nations are 'playing the man', 'to strive to seek, to find'. But the question naturally obtrudes itself, to find what? A spectator from the Oriental point of view may well ask, "Of what avail is the victory of the western 'grown man', which is achieved not by love, mercy or self-sacrifice, but the path to which lies over the misery of countless fellow-creatures in all quarters of the globe, and which does not secure the tranquillity and beatitude begotten of righteousness and concord, but brings in Sisyphean misery and disquiet engendered by unsatisfied desire, insatiable greed, and perpetual discord?" "

Charles Pearson, in his *National Life and Character*,—a book which created a great stir when it was first published—indulged in a forecast of European civilisation which is now wellknown. He said that by the industrial development of the Mongolian races, the white man would ultimately be driven from every neutral

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market and forced to confine himself within his own.

"Depression, hopelessness, a disregard for invention and improvement would replace the sanguinary confidence of races that are at present panting for new worlds to conquer," and "the world will be left without deep convictions and enthusiasm (which was also predicted by the historian Lecky as an inevitable result of the progress of civilisation) and the fervour of pious faith."

Another brilliant writer of Jewish origin, Max Nordau, has gone further than this English theoriser, and prophesied that as the tropical countries will grow cooler they will be overrun by the white man, will exterminate the Oriental nations (this was written before the Russo-Japanese war) and settle in tropical Asia, and the ancient civilisations of the East will thus become extinct. Mr. Bose also indulges in a prophesy about the future of European civilisation, but he is neither dogmatic nor pessimistic. He propounds the question—whether Western civilisation will share the fate of such material civilisations as those of Rome, Assyria and Phœnicia, or will attain the equipoise and the harmonious development of the third stage. He does not, evidently, share with Max Nordau the fear of the doom of Oriental civilisation, which, according to him, has attained to a higher stage than that of the occidental nations, nor does he anticipate a gloomy future for them like Pearson. He agrees with the latter that the competition with China and Japan in the eastern markets,* and the disputes between labour and capital, will bring about the decadence of European industrirlism, but he thinks that it will prove to them a blessing in disguise. Industrialism is responsible for the colossal armaments of the West, extreme concentration of capital on the one hand and extreme poverty on the other, immense increase in the elaboration and complexity of the conditions of life and ceaseless rise of the standard of comforts and luxuries leading to perpetual enhancement of the intensity of the struggle for animal existence and to inordinate greed for wealth and the substitution of urban for a decidedly healthier rural condition of life on an enormous scale. Thrown back upon their resources, the people of Europe would have to depend more upon agriculture for livelihood than at present, and rural and agricultural life makes more for ethical development than urban and industrial. The expanding moral consciousness of the West is another circumstance which is favourable to a hopeful outlook. This is proved by the increase of benevolence, inventions for the alleviation of human suffering, charitable gifts and endowments, by the humane treatment of criminals and animals, the anti-slavery, anti-opium, anti-vivisection and vegetarian movements, the Parliament of Religions, the Universal Races-Congress, the Hague arbitration tribunal, and similar gatherings and institutions. In the opinion of Mr. Bose, Western civilisation is not likely to attain to the third stage much before the close of the present century.

"When that consummation takes place, the evil tendencies of western industrialism would be repressed, but the foundation of international amity it has laid by bringing together all the races of the world would be strengthened, and there would arise, broad-based upon it, a fabric of civilisation grander and more majestic than any the world has witnessed as yet."

But to us the most interesting chapter in Mr. Bose's book—one which has the most practical bearing on our ideals and conduct—is the third, on the survival of civilisation. It begins by saying that

'of all the civilisations which were developed during the first and second epochs only two have survived into the present epoch—the Chinese and the Indian;'

and the conclusions he arrives at at the close of the chapter are as follow: *firstly*, civilisations in which the material element prevails over the ethical are of an ephemeral character; *secondly*, the survival of a civilisation depends upon its attainment of an equipoised condition between the cosmic forces making for material development, and the non-cosmic forces leading to higher culture, specially ethical culture; *thirdly*, the life of a civilisation after it has passed from one epoch to a later one depends upon the maintenance of this equipoise; *fourthly*, it follows as a corollary from these conclusions that military, political and economic activities are of

* The following Reuter's telegram is going the round of the papers: 'Mr. Foster, Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, in a speech reviewing his recent tour in the East said that the manufacturing developments of China and Japan have imported a problem into future productive power which would create some confusion in the great centres of the world. These people were to be reckoned with. The lesson with which he wished to impress Canada was the cultivation of neighbourly relations with all countries bordering on the Pacific." It is to be hoped that Indians will not miss the lesson which this short paragraph has for them.

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less significance in the life of a nation than high cultural activities. According to Mr. Bose, the longevity of the civilisations of India and China is due to certain factors. Benevolence formed the keynote to both Indian and Chinese ethics (it was not recognised by the Greek philosophers among the cardinal virtues). Wealth never formed the criterion of social rank. They both displayed a marvellous capacity for absorbing all foreign elements—Parthians, Scythians and Huns in the one case and Tartars, Mougols and Manchus in the other—into the substance of their civilisation, and thus insuring their stability. Both were free from the grip of militarism. Geographically, both the countries were isolated from the outside world. These were the circumstances which favoured the preservation of the integrity of their civilisation. But India differed from China in two important points. Indian thinkers were as markedly idealistic and otherworldly, as the Chinese were realistic and this-worldly. The other noteworthy point in which the Hindus differed from the Chinese was their caste system. Though the caste system of the Hindus had served to maintain their isolation and thus to prolong their civilisation into the third stage, it was mainly owing to their idealistic temperament and the caste system, that they lost their political independence.

"The fighting caste, the Rajputs, fonght and fought bravely against the Moslem aggressors. No disgrace rankled more in their breasts than the disgrace of a defeat in battle.....The Rajputs resisted, and resisted with all their might, but they never secured the co-operation of the mass of the people, who considered the maintenance of government the business of the fighting caste with which they had no concern." Nevertheless,

"The Hindus survived the loss of their political independence; and the survival is attributable to their moral and spiritual culture, which inspired them with sufficient courage to resist their conversion either by the sword or the allurements of material advancement. Hindu culture not only presented an impenetrable front of opposition to the disintegrating influences of Mahomedan invasion, but also in the course of time captured the Moslem mind and largely influenced Moslem culture and Moslem administration."

II.

If the causes of the survival of Hindu civilisation have been correctly summed up by Mr. Bose, the question arises—what is the duty of Hindus in the present conflict of civilisations on the historic soil of India? The leading exponents of extreme orthodoxy maintain that this question can be answered in one and one way alone. In their opinion, our attitude at the present juncture should be one of blind, absolute, unreasoning adherence to everything that goes by the name of Hinduism. The Hindu mind and Hindu society must be hermetically closed to all external and foreign influences. The time is not propitious to eclecticism and a discriminating freedom of choice. The forces that make for the disruption of Hindu society are strong, and any attempt to open its doors to the invasion of new ideas and methods is bound to end disastrously. Hinduism cannot, in the present political and social condition of India, absorb these new elements and survive. We must therefore clip our wings, and do nothing but mark time. Call it Chauvinism, call it sitting on the fence, call it whatever you like, this is the only rational attitude for Hindus at the present moment. It is the attitude described in Matthew Arnold's wellknown lines:

> The East bow'd low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again.

When the present terrible strain on her civilisation is removed, when the blast will have blown off, then will be the time to think of reforms. Then we may spread our petals to the light once more, and drink in inspiration from all quarters of the globe. Hindus may then take up the thread of their destiny in their own hands, and their healthy natural instinct, fed from the perennial fountain of nationalism, will not err in finding out the path to salvation. Restored to its normal condition, Hindu society will then introduce radical changes if necessary to preserve the integrity of its culture and civilisation. But the time for it is not yet.

This being the theory propounded by the thinking section of orthodox Hindus, let us examine it a little in detail to see how far it is tenable. We shall take it for granted that the stability of Hindu civilisation, the preservation of the ancient Indian race-culture, is the object which all Hindus, whether orthodox or not, have in view.

The defects of Western civilisation, grave as they are, are admitted by all thinking men in the West. That spiritual supremacy is the real test of national

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efficiency is admitted by Benjamin Kidd, for instance, who says that

"the evolution which is slowly proceeding in human society is not primarily intellectual but religious in character. The evolution of society is maintained not by the intellect but by religion, which promotes the altruistic feelings. The possession of qualities contributing to social efficiency is therefore the one absolute test of racial superiority."

Guizot, lecturing in 1827, said that for the last fifteen centuries in Europe the life of the soul was laborious and stormy and that it was in modern times only that the European mind had attained "a state, as yet very imperfect, but still a state in which reigned some peace, some harmony." Dr. Seignobos, writing in 1909 on contemporary civilisation, does not however seem to be very sanguine.

"Never" says he "has civilisation gathered about man so many [material] conditions for happiness. Are we happier than our ancestors? No one can affirm that. Happiness depends more on inward sentiment than on exterior advantages."

It is in fact the old, old biblical query which confronts Europe: what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Robert Browning said the same thing when he wrote in the preface to his *Sordello*: "My stress lay on the development of the soul: little else is worth study." And it was Max Muller who said that the old Indian philosophers knew more about the soul than the Greek, mediaeval and modern philosophers.

On the evils of western industrialism Mr. Bose has dwelt at sufficient length. Herbert Spencer, on the eve of his long life, declaimed against what he called the rebarbarisation of Europe.

"In all places and in all ways", he said, "there has been going on for the past fifty years a recrudescence of barbaric ambitions, ideas and sentiments, and an increasing culture of blood-thirst."

Speaking of the mechanical inventions of Europe, Tolstoy says:

"To me all these acquisitions of so-called civilisation seem to be the inventions of barbarism. They serve and pander to all that is basest in man. I fail to see that they confer on him any sort of moral superiority."

The evils of Western democracy, the political spirit of the West, and socialism have been pointed out by many contemporary writers:

"Already the struggle in politics is largely a conscious sham, an ignoble farce, the parties pretending to hold different principles in order not to acknowledge that they have only different interests. Our whole political system is thus pervaded with dishonesty. What would in another sphere be regarded as lying is in politics deemed permissible, or even praiseworthy."

This is the verdict of Professor Flint. A community under the dominance of the political spirit misses, according to Lord Morley, "the most bracing, widening and elevated of the whole range of influences that create great characters." "A disinterested love of truth can hardly coexist with a strong political spirit", says Lecky. In the eloquent language of the author of the *Letters of John Chinaman*, European polity

"is of the earth, earthy, while from heaven far above cries, like a ghost's, the voice of the Nazarene, as clear, as ineffectual, as when first it flung from the shores of Galilee its challenge to the world-sustaining power of Rome."

Socialism had no doubt its origin in the miserable condition of the masses and the desire to ameliorate it, but its philosophy is the philosophy of comfortable human mobs, for it is frankly materialistic and assumes that man's chief end is a comfortable social life on earth. Its ideal is poor, superficial and inspiritual, and hence more apt to captivate the lower classes, in whom thought is in its infancy and the spirit is asleep. It attaches more importance to the worldly condition of man than to his character, and ignores the truth that man does not live by bread alone. Democracy has of course numerous excellences, but it has a tendency to keep culture at a low ebb. A low tone of morality, and want of manners and dignity, are, according to Crozier, among the characteristics of a democratic form of government. Lord Morley bitterly rails at what he calls "the plenary inspiration of Majorities."

The unsatisfactory character of western civilisation with its emphasis on materialism has turned the greatest minds of Europe towards spiritualism. Sir Oliver Lodge in his Presidential address to the British Association last month appealed to the scientists to co-ordinate the sciences and establish some guiding and unifying principle for all to study the unknown. He also reiterated his conviction that personality persisted after death. The leading living German thinker, Rudolph Eucken, is never tired of positing an independent spiritual life as the foundation of real human progress. In all western nations, he says, there is

"a limitless disintegration, a lamentable insecurity

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of conviction in all matters of principle, a helplessness in the face of the trivialities of our human lot, a soullessness in the midst of an overflowing outward plenty."

He recognises in European history three different forms of culture—the artistic, the ethical and the dynamic, embodied in Hellenism, Christianity and Modern life, respectively. Detached from spiritual life, civilisation becomes partial and false, the ethical movement degenerates into a mere system of laws and formulas and favours narrowness and oppression, the artistic tendency leads to sensuality, indulgence and flippancy, and the dynamic to wildness, egoism and brutality. The dynamic tendency of the modern age reveals itself in its impatience of the past and its eagerness for radical change.

"It is indeed true that we have obtained a more varied and less rigid life; no authority or tradition confines us, we are free to follow up each impression with all our might, to seize the instant, to accelerate the speed of life. But in the midst of all this mobility and busy activity, life threatens to leave us on the mere surface, and to become emptier in its spiritual character; we lose our grasp of an inner unity of being, and with it our sole possible support against the flux of phenomena; incapable of asserting our independence with regard to the latter, we are tossed helplessly hither and thither. At the same time we lose touch with any real present, for this requires that life should be at rest in itself, and involves an elevation above mere time. In its place we get a succession of mere instants, whose ever-varying character converts life into a restless flight and inevitably inclines us to seek immediate effects, to gratify the senses, and secure outward advantages. As a necessary consequence we have a continual eager pursuit of the new, the dazzling, the exacting, a seeking after sensation, effect, &c., a pandering to the whims and moods of the crowd, the low average of humanity."

What is the remedy?

"Only in spiritual freedom is true being reached at all; everything else is but the shadow of it...Only those elements in civilisation will then reckon as genuine which further the formation of an essential being and involve the extension of spiritual reality, and with it of our own true self; everything else, however pretentiously it may assert itself, thus sinks to a merely human level, to a burlesque of civilisation."

That the West, dissatisfied with its spiritual condition, should turn to the East for light, was only to be expected. "Already" says Dr. Paul Dahlke, one of the acutest of modern German thinkers, in his *Buddhistic Essays*,

"almost two and a half milleniums ago, the supreme summit of spiritual development was reached, and at that distant time, in the quiet hermit-groves along the banks of the Ganges, already had been thought the highest that man can think...To speak frankly, we have up till now despised turning to our heritage on the Ganges, simply because we have failed to comprehend its great value...In a silent undercurrent India, the world-source of religion, sends to our fast-living, almost dried up continent, ever new sources of fresh religious feeling, and this is the passive mission of Buddhism and Vedanta."

The great historian Duncker referring to the tenacity of Hindu civilisation which bends but does not break, says:

"With this (tenacity) they (the Hindus) have retained a costly possession, that inclination towards the highest intellectual attainments which runs through their whole history. This treasure is still vigorous in the hearts of the best Indians, and appears the more certainly to promise a bright future."

Even the ideals of Western art are vitiated by the prevailing materialism of the West, and men like Mr. Havell are turning to India for artistic inspiration.

"The whole of modern European academic art-teaching has been based upon the unphilosophic theory that beauty is a quality which is inherent in certain aspects of matter or form, a quality first fully apprehended by the Greeks and afterwards rediscovered by the artists of the Italian Renaissance...Indian thought takes a much wider, a more profound and comprehensive view of Indian art...Beauty, says the Indian artist, is subjective, not objective. It is not inherent in form or matter; it belongs only to spirit, and can only be apprehended by spiritual vision...The true aim of the artist is not to extract beauty from nature, but to reveal the life within life, the noumenon within the phenomenon, the reality within the unreality, and the soul within matter—when that is revealed, beauty reveals itself. So all Nature is beautiful for us, if only we can realise the Divine Idea within it...To cultivate this faculty of spiritual vision, the powers of intuitive perception which, until recently, have been regarded in the West as beyond the scope of educational methods, was therefore the main endeavour of the Indian artist in the golden age of Indian art and literature." (*Ideals of Indian Art.*)

III.

We have now come at close quarters with the question we have set ourselves to answer. We shall presently see that the orthodox view finds support from passages in the writings of thoughtful and sympathetic observers, both Indian and foreign. "The task of Asia to-day", says Okakura in his *Ideals of the East*,

"becomes that of protecting and restoring Asiatic modes.....No tree can be greater than the power that is in the seed. Life lies ever in the return to self..... It was some small degree of this self-recognition that remade Japan and enabled her to weather the storm under which so much of the oriental world went down. And it must be a renewal of the same selfconsciousness that shall build up Asia again into her ancient steadfastness and strength.....*Victory from within, or a mighty death without.*"

"Surely it is something", says Sister Nivedita in *The web of Indian Life*,

"that in a country conquered for a thousand years

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the doorkeeper of a Viceroy's palace would feel his race too good to share a cup of water with the ruler of all India. We do not easily measure the moral strength that is here involved, for the habit of guarding the treasure of his birth for an unborn posterity feeds a deep, undying faith in destiny in the Hindu heart. 'Today here, tomorrow gone,' says the most ignorant, *sotto voce*, as he looks at the foreigner, and the unspoken refrain of his thought is 'I and mine abide for ever.' Caste is race-continuity; it is the historic sense: it is the dignity of tradition and of purpose for the future."

In the opinion of Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest living writer of Bengal,

"the race-conflict in India has been a conflict between widely dissimilar races whose difference of colour and ideals has been so serious that the shock has roused up all the conservative spirit of India. If India had taken (entirely to) the path of expansion, she would, under the circumstances, have run the risk of completely losing her individuality, and that was why society ever stood vigilantly on self-defence."

Let us now look a little into the present condition and needs of India, in order that we may be in a position to state what should be our attitude in regard to the future. We shall only touch upon the outstanding facts of the situation, in the words of writers whose well-known sympathy for Hindu culture and power of insight into Indian problems leave no room for misunderstanding. For we remember the wholesome warning of Babu Bipinchandra Pal against the educated Indian reformer, who, judging India in the light of the history and achievements of Europe,

"constantly condemns his own country and culture, and with the relentless pity of the missionary propagandist, seeks to ruthlessly improve them more or less after those alien ideals."

Max Muller considered it one of the saddest chapters in the history of the world that the Hindus should be "conquered for no fault of theirs, except that they had neglected the art of killing their neighbours."

"They themselves never wished for conquests," he adds, "they simply wished to be left alone and to be allowed to work out their view of life, which was contemplative and joyful, though deficient in one point, namely, the art of self-defence and destruction."

Such was Max Muller's love for India that he hesitated to admit even a single defect in the Indian character.

"Was it so very unnatural for the Hindus" he asks, "endowed as they were with a transcendant intellect, to look upon this life, not as an arena for gladiatorial strife and combat, or as a market for cheating and huckstering, but as a resting-place, a mere waiting-room at a station, on a journey leading them from the known to the unknown, but exciting for this very reason their utmost curiosity as to whence they came and whither they were going?"

Okakura, who visited India and had personal knowledge of what she is to-day, says:—

"We saw India, the holy land of our most sacred memories, losing her independence through her political apathy, lack of organisation, and the petty jealousies of rival interests—a sad lesson, which made us keenly alive to the necessity of unity at any cost."

Sister Nivedita, who writes with such thoroughgoing sympathy of the caste system, concludes thus:

"And yet, if India is ever to regain national efficiency, this old device of the forefathers must be modified in the process—exactly how, the Indian people themselves can alone determine. For *India to-day has lost national efficiency. This fact there is no gainsaying.* Her needs now are not what they were yesterday.... The country requires multiplied methods of self-expression, as the goal and summit of her national endeavour. She wants a greater flexibility, perhaps a readier power of self-adjustment than she ever had...Chief among her needs is a passionate drawing together amongst her people themselves."

Among the palpable evils of caste Sister Nivedita mentions the custom of excommunicating those who have crossed the seas. She speaks of 'the suicidal nature' of such an attitude, and points out that society has suffered many 'foolish and irritating' losses during the last fifty years as a result of this attitude. Even a pious and orthodox Hindu leader like Sir Gurudas Banerji in his *Jnan O Karma* has approved of foreign travel subject to certain limitations in detail. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal in his *Soul of India*, points out that

"the Hindu system of caste did not stand by itself. It was organically bound up with the law of the Asramas or stages of life. It is this Asrama-law that preserved the humanity of the Hindu in the face of the inequalities created by the system of caste. It was these special disciplines of the Asramas which as long as they were faithfully pursued by the so-called higher castes, developed an ideal of spiritual democracy unknown to the rest of the world; and it may perhaps be reasonably held that the real cause of the disintegration of the mediæval Hindu society was not to be found in the system of caste so much, if at all, as in the divorce between the Varnas and the Asramas, between the outer functions and inequalities of the caste-life, and the inner spiritual ideals and disciplines that were organically connected with them in the earlier periods of our history and culture."

At the same time he condemns the educated Indian reactionary, who is unconsciously under the domination of the same alien ideals that have been consciously adopted by the reformer.

"In religion, the reactionary is setting up for the Indian scriptures the same claims to infallibility and absolutism that credal systems like Christianity or Islam popularly claim for the Bible or the Koran.

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He forgets that neither verbal infallibility nor any exclusive and absolute authority had ever been vested in the religious scriptures of Hinduism. In sociology, the reactionary tries to revive the relaxing rigidities of the Indian caste system in the spirit of the class-domination of Europe; and thereby he ignores the patent fact that the genius of the Indian caste system never tolerated the spirit of domination in the so-called higher, and consequently, rarely evoked any spirit of envious revolt in the so-called lower castes."

What is the impression left in our minds by these extracts? All the writers here quoted, while giving ancient India full credit for all her great ideals, seem to feel the need of some adaptation of her age-worn culture to present ends, some modification of her social customs to suit modern requirements, both in the interests of self-preservation and self-expression. For, as the poet says—

> New occasions teach us new duties ;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth ;
> They must upward still and onward,
> Who would keep abreast of truth.

These writers also seem to agree that the rigidity of the caste system is somehow connected with our present degeneration, in spite of all its past excellences, and they lay stress on the necessity of evolving a unifying principle. Sir Herbert Risley has shown how the kings of Nepal within living memory and Ballal Sen and other independent kings of Bengal and Orissa changed the social precedence of the different castes according to the altered circumstances of the times. The supremacy of the Brahman is on the wane, as will appear from the sacred thread movement among the Kayasthas and other castes. This is noticed in the *Census of India*, Vol. V (Bengal), 1911, where we find the following:—

"Another modern tendency which calls for some notice is the active or passive neglect of the authority of the Brahmans as a final court of appeal in matters affecting the status of castes and their social practices. Hitherto it has been the acknowledged privilege of the Brahman Pundits to interpret the *Sastras* and to declare whether any deviation from the orthodox rules may be allowed. Of late years, however, a number of castes have advanced new claims, or adopted new practices, if not in defiance of, at least without the sanction of the Brahmans."

This is the result of not moving with the times. We have seen that according to Mr. Bose, the caste system, which helped in maintaining the isolation and integrity of Hinduism at an early stage, was itself responsible for the political subjugation of the Hindus at a later stage. Elsewhere Mr. Bose exposes the shallowness of the common selfish view of Brahmanical supremacy, but admits that it resulted in the loss of mobility and made Hindu civilisation unprogressive and unproductive beyond a certain stage.

"The Brahmins as a class did not seek material aggrandisement. Government, trade, in short, every occupation calculated to further material interests they left to the other classes. What they sought to restrict within the two highest classes, and specially within their own class, was spiritual and intellectual advancement; and that is of a nature which does not usually excite the jealousy of the mass of the people. This monopoly was however all the more detrimental to intellectual progress beyond a certain stage, because it was of such non-material character that the lower classes would not consider it worth their while to contest it."

Even if we could all agree on the fundamental elements of Hinduism, the orthodox ideal is on the face of it impracticable, for it takes no count of the *Yuga-Dharma* or Time-Spirit. The Asrama-laws, for instance, cannot be revived in precisely the same form in which they used to exist, though their spirit may be adapted to modern conditions, and even the most orthodox cannot, if he wills, close his ears, Ulysses-like, to the siren songs of western science. For good or for worse, the West is hammering at our doors, and it rests on us whether we are to admit the West under carefully-regulated restrictions, or compel it to take forcible possession of our minds. We cannot sit still and expect the surging tide to retire at our bidding. We must link the old with the new, reconcile the past with the present in order to build up the future. We must accommodate ourselves to the new situation created by the impact of the west on our traditional culture, and whether we are to sink or swim depends on the way in which we do it. It cannot be denied that our political subjection is favourable to the growth of intellectual stupor and moral stagnation, unless we consciously try to counteract its insidious influences. What the orthodox doctrinaire preaches is Fatalism, pure and simple; but the Hindu law of Karma does not mean sheer inaction. It is a Hindu poet who says that prosperity attends the man of energy and that the deer does not enter the mouth of the sleeping lion. The Hindu recognises both *Daiva*—the mysterious incalculable element in his destiny—as well as *Purushakara*—the regulative activity of man which

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produces definite, tangible results, and constitutes the other element which shaped his destiny. When the *Gita* advises us to work in a spirit of perfect detachment, and in scorn of consequence, it simply exhorts us to do our duty undeterred by the element of chance in our destiny, which may possibly withhold from us the full reward of our activities. The pessimistic advocate of the doctrine of total isolation forgets that this was not India's policy when she was great and glorious, when the temple of Borobudur in Java and of Omkar in Cambodia, the names of cities in far away Mexico.* and the ubiquitous stone images of Buddha spoke of her world-wide civilisation. Professor Radhakumud Mukherjea has shown that India then

"cultivated trade relations not only with the countries of Asia, but also with the whole of the then known world, including the countries under the dominion of the Roman empire, and both the East and the West became the theatre of Indian commercial activity and gave scope to her naval energy and throbbing international life."

True, the orthodox Hindu may have no objection and may even look forward to a revival of this life after the present impact of the West is removed or withdrawn, but is it not hopeless to expect that the West will retire from India simply to allow Indian culture to shine forth once more in all its pristine glory? And what about the great Mahomedan community which has its home in India and in whose case even the vague possibility of withdrawal is unthinkable? To think that they will for ever continue to live side by side with the Hindus without influencing their civilisation in any way as they have themselves been influenced by it, is to show one's ignorance of the trend of social evolution. Already India is the meeting-ground of three important civilisations—the Hindu, the Moslem and the European or Modern. We cannot wipe out the present, and after the domination of the West comes to an end, revert to the stage where our cultural progress was arrested, and start anew from that point. We must weave the present into the warp and woof of our ancient culture, adapt it to our own needs, assimilate and absorb it as we have so often done in the past, *e.g.*, in the case of the Non-Aryans whom we brought within the pale of Hinduism under the name of Sudras, and thus, by a higher synthesis, carry the onward march of civilisation to a loftier stage of perfection. This is, and has always been, our noble mission and we should not fail to respond now at the roll-call of duty. In the clash of civilisations, and their struggle for existence, adaptation is necessary for self-preservation. One of the noblest missionaries of the coming synthesis, Swami Vivekananda, was never tired of emphasising the fact that our present condition is one of *Tamas*, however much we may mistake it for *Sattva*. The West is in the *Rajasic* stage, and we must pass through that stage before we can attain the stable equilibrium of the *sattvic* state. That way alone salvation lies, the other is the way to death. There can be no standing still, we must either advance or recede. The religion of the Hindus is called *Sanatan* or everlasting. But it can only be everlasting in the sense that its spirit, its essence, the truth at its core, is everlasting. The shell in which that truth is encased, that is to say, the outward forms, must change, as they have often changed in the past; for it is the law of all living things to change. Absence of change or growth means decay or death. Complete isolation is not only impossible, but even if it were possible, it would only hasten the extinction of that very culture which it is the object of the orthodox theorisers to conserve. We have indeed no reason to be afraid of the generalisations of western science. For alone among the world-religions, the philosophical religions of India—the Samkhya, the Vedanta, and Buddhism—stand in no *apriori* contradiction to science and the developments of science. But one thing is essential—and this is the element of truth in the orthodox point of view, that which gives it whatever vitality it has—whatever the new form that the modern demand may impose on our civilisation, we must be true to ourselves, to the genius of our race and culture. "To remain true to herself, notwithstanding the new colour which the life of a modern nation forces her to assume, is," in the opinion of Okakura, "the fundamental imperative" with Japan. Elsewhere he says:

"However the form may change, only at a great loss can Asia permit its spirit to die."

* *E. g.* Guatemala—Gautamalaya; Sacapuras—Sakyapura—From an article in *Harper's Magazine* by Dr. John Fryer.

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IV.

"And then, having renewed the sources of the world's inspiration, we may be pardoned if we ask, what of India herself?" This is the question propounded by Sister Nivedita, and she answers it by pointing to the necessity of unification at all costs, of the growth of a sentiment of nationality, as the solution of all our problems.

"The sacraments of a growing nationality would lie in a new development of her old art, a new application of her old power of learnedness, new and dynamic religious interpretations, a new idealism in short, *true child of the nation's own past*, with whom the young should throb and the old be reverent. The test of its success would be the combining of renewed local and individual vigour with a power of selfcentralisation and self-expression hitherto unknown."

Nation-building should not be a difficult art with us, for as one of the most original of modern Indian scholars, Mr. Jayaswal, has shown in the columns of this magazine and elsewhere,

"the constitutional progress made by the Hindu has probably not been equalled, and much less surpassed, by any polity in antiquity."

But the guiding impulse must come from the West, for in spite of all the baneful tendencies of Western civilisation of which we have spoken above at some length, we must agree with Professor C. F. Andrews, that the positive contribution of good which represents the great achievement of the west

"finds its centre in the ideal of freedom, often grossly misinterpreted and caricatured, but still a continuous and evergrowing possession...Its chief social expression may be seen in the development of the idea of nationality. Starting from small beginnings, this idea has now come to occupy the whole horizon of the West, so that political life can hardly be conceived in other than national terms...No one who has experienced the fuller and freer life of humanity under the new conditions would wish to go back to the old."

Mr. Jayaswal is a great believer in the possibility of the evolution of Hindu civilisation along these lines. He says :

"The great privilege of the Hindu is that he is not a fossil...The golden age of his polity lies not in the Past but in the Future. His modern history begins in the sixteenth century when Vaishnavism preached the equality of all men, when the Sudra—the helot of the ancient Hindu—preached shoulder to shoulder with the Brahmin who welcomed and encouraged it, when the God of the Hindu was for the first time worshipped with hymns composed by a Mahomedan, when Ramdas declared that man is free and he cannot be subjected by force, and when the Brahmin accepted the leadership of the Sudra in attempting to found a Hindu state. The Reformation of the Hindu has come. But a force which is greater still is also coming. This is the pagan thought, the European manhood. What a coincidence that the race which evolved out the greatest constitutional principles in antiquity should be placed today in contact with the greatest constitutional polity of modern times. The contact is electrifying ; it can either kill or rejuvenate the race. Probabilities are, however, as Duncker thought, for the latter, and a Hindu would naturally hope for the latter."

The best answer to the question we have set forth in this paper is however to be found in a passage of Rabindranath Tagore, which, long as it is, it is necessary to quote here. The whole article, containing as it does a masterly analysis of the main currents of Indian history, deserves to be studied in this connection. It will be seen that like all those who have thought deeply on the subject, he takes a bright view of India's ability to cope with the present situation, and is full of a robust confidence, based on a careful study of her past, in the future of our race. Speaking of the latest stage of Hindu civilisation, that which followed the victory of Brahmanism over Buddhism, he says :

"The age of extreme self-contraction naturally followed the age of the freest self-expansion in our history.....A society thus circumstanced cannot keep its balance. When the path of self-expansion is closed altogether, and the conservative spirit is weaving newer and newer meshes round itself in a mood of self-contraction—the genius of the race cannot develop itself. Such social chains cannot build up a body, they can only keep a mechanical religion alive generation after generation, and destroy the vital religion. Such a race becomes unfit for leadership in thought and action, and prepares itself in every way for political slavery.

"Once before, at the dawn of Aryan history, the heart of our society had freed itself from the obstruction of the Many and the Foreign by seeking out the path of oneness through them all.* Today another such epoch has arrived for us. Today the foreign element is more extensive and more alien to our national genius ; it has weighed down the mind of our race. And yet the sole dominant power in our society for long ages now has been conservatism. It has preserved everything that exists,—even ruins have not been swept away, the drift weed of foreign seas has been carefully preserved by it! It is bound to impede the march of the national life at every step ; it is bound to narrow human thought and restrict human action. Therefore, to rescue ourselves from

* Earlier in the same article, we have the following "One day the Kshatriyas alone perceived that amidst all seeming differences the eternally true was one and one alone. Thus Knowledge of God (Brahma-Vidya) was peculiarly a Kshatriya science ; it denounced the Vedic lore as minor theology and sought to reject as futile the oblations, sacrifices and other rituals carefully preserved by the Brahmans. This clearly proves that the new spirit had clashed with the old in that age.....Brahma-Vidya is called Raja-Vidya or the lore of the kingly caste."

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such misery, we require today above all things that mental power which will liberate the simple from the complex, the essential from the external, the one from the diverse. And yet our society has loaded with a thousand chains this very free and expansive power of man!

"Still, the race's heart has not been altogether crushed out by its chains. The Middle Ages in Indian history afford many examples of how our society's instinct of self-expansion has occasionally fought against the stupor of extreme self-contraction. Nanak, Kabir, and other religious leaders have given concrete shape to this struggle of the imprisoned spirit. . . . In the Middle Ages, such teachers have arisen in our midst again and again,—their aim has been to lighten our load. They have tried to wake the true India by knocking at the closed door of popular practice, religious convention, and customary usage.

"That age has not yet ended; that spirit is still working. None can resist it. The history of India shows that from very ancient times her mind has ever fought against inertia. India's richest treasures, her Upanishads, her Geeta, her religion of universal love, Buddhism, are all the spoils of victory won in this great war. . . . The true inner nature of India is sure to save us from the terrible load of these futile ceremonies and beliefs. . . .

"Not to fight against the accumulated rubbish of ages, to let matters drift, is to court death. The strength of a race is limited. If we nourish the ignoble, we are bound to starve the noble. . . . Never, not even in her darkest day of misery, has India entirely given herself up to this stupor. . . . We cannot, indeed, perceive clearly from the outside the aspect of the age in which we live; but we feel that India is eager to get back her truth, her One, her Harmony. The stream of her life had been dammed up ages ago; its waters had become stagnant; but to-day the dam has been breached somewhere; we feel that our still waters have again become connected with the mighty ocean; the tides of the free wide universe have begun to make themselves felt in our midst. We see today that all our newly awakened energy is now rushing towards the universe, now rushing inwards to our own selves—like the blood-currents propelled by a living heart. At one impulse cosmopolitanism is leading us out of home; at the next, the sense of nationality is bringing us back to our own community. On the one hand universality is tempting us to abandon our racial individuality—on the other, we are realising that if we lose our national distinctness, we shall lose universality at the same time. These are the true signs of the commencement of life's operations within our old inert society. Thus placed between two contending forces, we shall mark out the middle path of truth in our national life; we shall realise that only through the development of racial individuality can we truly attain to universality, and only in the light of the spirit of universality can we perfect our individuality; we shall know of a verity that it is idle mendicancy to discard our own and beg for the foreign, and at the same time we shall feel that it is the extreme abjectness of poverty to dwarf ourselves by rejecting the foreign."*

V.

We have now brought the discussion to a close, but we are not sure of the reception which these views will meet with at the hands of the orthodox advocate of exclusion. For the authorities here quoted are modern authorities, and orthodoxy is saturated with reverence for the past, and is loth to recognise soundness in contemporary thought. The golden age of extreme conservatives lies in a dim antiquity, whose very obscurity inspires them with a sense of profound awe and mystery. Modern prophets, because they are modern, fail to impress them with the sanctity of their ancient prototypes, and the farthing rushlight of a primæval age appears to them more illuminating than the most brilliant of modern incandescent burners. Clear reasoning and common sense are discounted as shallow, trivial statements are magnified into profound maxims by esoteric arguments. The assumption is invariably made in the case of an ancient commonplace, that more is meant than meets the ear, whereas modern utterances do not even get a fair hearing. Some of the men whom they call great and whose authority they respect, the moderns do not set more store by than Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas. Rabindranath Tagore in his *Achalayatan* has admirably hit off the absolute barrenness of some of their favourite intellectual exercises, which often hinge on meaningless formulæ or trivial points of ritual. When the spirit of enquiry is dead, and the intellect is reduced to bankruptcy by indulgence in useless subtleties, the mind is apt to lose its grasp on facts and original thinking as well as creative activity become extinct. Buckle, writing so long ago as the first half of the last century, pointed out some of the evil results of an excessive reverence for antiquity and of an inordinate tenacity of old opinions, old beliefs and old habits which distinguished Spain from the rest of Europe.

"By encouraging the notion that all the truths most important to know were already known, they repress those aspirations, and dull that generous confidence in the future, without which nothing really great can be achieved. A people who regard the Past with too wistful an eye, will never bestir themselves to help the onward progress; they will hardly believe that progress is possible. To them antiquity is synonymous with wisdom and every improvement is a dangerous innovation...Believing that the knowledge they have inherited is far greater than any that they can obtain, they wish to preserve their intellectual possessions whole and unimpaired; in as much as the least alteration in them might impair their value... Europe is ringing with the noise of intellectual achievements...Spain sleeps on, untroubled, unheeding,

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impassive, receiving no impressions from the rest of the world, and making no impressions upon it. There she lies, at the further extremity of the continent, a huge and torpid mass, the sole representative now remaining of the feelings and knowledge of the middle ages. And what is the worst symptom of all, she is satisfied with her own condition. Though she is the most backward country of Europe, she believes herself to be the foremost. She is proud of everything of which she should be ashamed."

In the opinion of Dr. P. C. Ray, the author of the *History of Hindu Chemistry*, the decline of the spirit of enquiry in India inaugurated a period of intellectual stagnation which rendered her morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Descartes, a Newton. But the researches of some Bengali scholars, and the recent princely gifts of Sir Taraknath Palit and Dr. Ghose for the endowment of a College of Science have again filled him with hope for the future, and in his address delivered last month at the Calcutta Chemical Club, he was able to say:

"We hope we have slept off the torpor of ages and that it will be ours once more to extend the bounds of knowledge."

The absence of the historic sense—that special contribution of the Modern Spirit to the method of rational investigation, is responsible for much of what must appear to be the perversity of the extremist point of view. To seek light from the Shastras in regard to the controversial social topics of to-day has its uses in that it gives us a correct historical outlook, and enables us to approach these questions in the proper spirit, but it is often no more fruitful than ploughing the sands, for the scriptures are various and the opinions they record are manifold and often even contradictory. The very fact that divergent opinions are to be found in the different Shastras, which are all regarded as equally authoritative, shows that independent thinking was not only tolerated but encouraged in the palmy days of Hindu civilisation. When Hindu society was a living organism, it was not afraid of introducing reforms, for even when the age of original thinking came to an end and that of commentators began, social rules grew 'from precedent to precedent' and scriptural exigesis was not confined to an elucidation of, but was often an improvement upon, previous texts. The mediæval interpreter would often read his own meaning into old texts, and justify his departure from the practice hitherto sanctioned by reference to some still more ancient text; and by disclaiming, like Jimutavahan of pious memory all heretical views as monstrous and un-Hindu, he would protect his innovation from the blight of reactionary influences. In this way Hindu society has always maintained an equilibrium between the forces of contraction and expansion. They were the real lovers of the *dharma* who dared to introduce reforms in accordance with the progressive ideas of the times. The modern—shall we say, degenerate?—successors of the authors of the Samhitas do not possess their splendid moral courage, and follow the letter of the law that killeth, but not the spirit that giveth life.* While the student of social evolution knows that we have inherited a noble culture, and that the tradition of many centuries should not be lightly disturbed, he also knows that the Past can never be revived in precisely the same form, and that the Future is bound to be coloured by the Present. Indifferentism and exclusiveness can only lead to decay and destruction, but never to our regeneration. We need not apprehend that the new wine of Western civilisation will prove too strong for the old bottle of our Hindu culture. The shyness and suspicion which proceed from weakness and ignorance must now be given up, for with increasing knowledge has come self-confidence, without which nothing great can be achieved. The desire to keep the West at arm's length might have been justifiable when we were too ignorant to discriminate, and there was a risk of being thrown off our balance by the force of the contact. We now understand that 'protection through imitation' is not only a law of biology but also of sociology. We must learn to fight the West with the weapons of European science and European industry. While

* See Guruprasad Sen, *Introduction to the Study of Hinduism*. Professor Joseph Kohler of the Berlin University in a recent article on the Mimansa Rules of Interpretation of Jaimini, observes that they were highly efficient in guaranteeing the fitness and the progressiveness of law. "When it was wished" says the learned professor "to rescind some old law, this could not be done openly and directly. Progress had to be secured in indirect ways by an extensive application of the principle of analogy and by resorting to the doctrine of the rational method. Whenever any old law had become impracticable, an effort was made to undermine it and to that end one acted upon the bright idea that when the reason had ceased, the law must also be done away with. A wellknown example of this method of treatment is found in the case of the "Niyog" institution."

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retaining the essentially spiritual character of our civilisation, we must learn the secrets which have enabled Europe to banish plague, famine and malaria. It is necessary that we should attain a certain stage of economic efficiency before we are in a position to cultivate the things of the spirit —we cannot very well do so with millions of our countrymen dying of preventible diseases, the outcome of poverty and ignorance. What the immortal Kalidas said of his drama is equally true of social customs and practices: "Everything that is old is not good, nor is a drama bad because it is new. The wise find out the best by examining both the old and the new, the fool allows his judgment to be overruled by what others think." The time is now come when we must have the courage to prove all things, so that we may hold fast that which is good. We should proceed cautiously, with due regard to our past traditions, and avoiding hasty zeal, but proceed we must. The age of blind imitation and consequent denationalisation is gone. We have learnt where western civilisation is defective, wherein it excells and wherein it is backward in comparison with our own. The national consciousness of the race has been fully awakened, and we all recognise that our future progress must be evolved on the lines of our own past, and possess characteristics distinctive of our civilisation and race. 'Victory from within, or a mighty death without,' must still be our motto. But that victory can only be achieved by competition with and not by ignoring or fighting shy of the modern European civilisation which is pressing us on all sides.

A Bengali Brahman.

THE NATURE OF THE GOOD.

By Wilfred Wellock.

THE present article brings us to a new phase of our theme, and marks a natural transition from the articles that have preceded it. The latter dealt with such subjects as development, the origin and purpose of morality, the possibility of a science of morals, etc. In the present and succeeding articles our purpose is to try and discover an ideal that will be adequate to the twentieth century, a means of enabling us to live so as to make the most of life, accomplish the most good, make the greatest possible spiritual advancement, and realise the greatest amount of happiness, well-being, life.

To many, no doubt, the discussions carried on in the previous articles may have seemed tedious and extraneous, but they were necessary nevertheless, as they dealt with matters in regard to which there exists a great deal of misunderstanding at the present time. Moreover they have made the discussions we are now entering upon not only possible but necessary. For having made out a case for a science of morals, and for the establishment of an idealism whose roots can be traced, we are naturally brought to what may be regarded as the more fruitful part of our task, namely, the consideration and discovery of an ideal whose realisation shall constitute the one and sufficient object of our life. And an ideal fulfils a twofold function: it is a picture for us to look at and to get inspiration from; it also represents the truth of life, being a principle whose application to experience will secure for us the Good, the greatest amount of life, of satisfaction and well-being.

Now in starting out on a quest for anything, no matter what, it is always necessary to have a very clear idea of the nature of the thing we are seeking. If an explorer going in search of the North Pole had no idea of what the North Pole was, whether it was a thing like a mighty pillar of ice

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stretching away into the clouds, or nothing at all but a certain position of latitude and longitude, he would never find it, and would not know it even when he had reached it. And as it was unlikely that the North Pole would ever be discovered except by explorers who searched long and hard, and who possessed a knowledge of the exact conditions which would prevail there, so it is unlikely that in the complex sea of human life, with its conflicting currents and manifold forms, that the ideal form could ever be discovered accidentally, or at all except as the result of long and diligent search, and by those who had a clear idea of the nature of the Good, which it is the purpose of life to secure. So that with respect to the ideal, let us be quite sure that we fully realise what manner of life, or Good, it is we wish to attain by means of it.

The first thing we are able to say with respect to the ideal life is that it must be the realisation of some sort of Good, satisfaction, well-being. The second thing we are able to say about it is that such Good or well-being must in large measure be due to conduct, to the things we do and love, and therefore to the principle which dominates our life. In other words the ideal life must be one that is supremely satisfying and that so utilises the forces, means and opportunities of existence that all the manifold needs and demands of the soul are satisfied, and all its faculties fully developed. Moreover it ought to be a life wherein everything that is done produces Good, satisfaction, life. But before we can know how to live and act, what sort of conduct to engage in, we ought, as we have said, to possess a very clear conception of the nature of the Good we seek and desire, and that we identify with life. Thus we ask: What is the Good for man, that excellence or well-being which mankind the world over are ever in quest of?

When this question has been answered we shall be in a position to inquire into the vital question of conduct, of the means whereby such Good may be secured. The first of these questions we shall attempt to answer in the present article; the second, in subsequent articles.

It will be observed at once, therefore, that it is not a metaphysical problem we are here face to face with, but an intensely practical and vital one, the problem, to wit, of how to live, of how to act in each common day so that we may realise the greatest amount of life, the highest well-being. Indeed, our inquiry consists very largely of an analysis of the human mind and heart, of consciousness, with the object of discovering the nature of that Good, or satisfaction which, when it is experienced, we feel compelled to say: This is life! This is the Good I seek!

Now every life has some sort of regularity or consistency in it; and every mind interprets the world—God, man, Nature,—according to some root notion or notions of Good; by reference to which it establishes its relationships with the world and determines its attitude towards life. But the notions of the Good which different people possess are not of equal value, have not the same power of producing well-being; and obviously, for one conception leads to the cultivation of one set of relationships with the world, and another conception to a quite different set; and according to our relationships with the world must our happiness be. Hence our study is preeminently the study of man, of the human heart.

In endeavouring to reach a solution to this problem of the Good for man, it will perhaps be as well to study the "solutions" with which history furnishes us. Greece, for instance, produced a number of schools of thought each of which believed it had solved the problem of human life and arrived at a true conception of the Good for man. It had a Cynic school, which later modified itself into the Stoic school, which held that the good consisted in moral perfection, in living in absolute harmony with the laws of nature. To live peaceably, orderly, and in simple conformity with the laws of nature, that was life, the Good for man. Then it had a Cyrenaic school, which later merged into the Epicurean school, which held that the Good was pleasure, and was to be found in an unbroken succession of pleasurable experiences. It had also an elite school, which held that the Good was knowledge and was to be found in a life wholly devoted to philosophy. Finally, and when Greece had ceased to be an independent nation, and all the previous theories of life had proved inadequate, there arose a religious school, which held that the Good consisted in a state of ecstasy, a condition of mind wherein finite consciousness was transcended, the individual having lost his identity and become merged within the

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mind of God. Several of these schools were reflected in Roman history; and all of them have had representatives in modern Europe. Monasticism has at different times stood for several types of ecstasy; and so, in a less degree, has Puritanism. The belief that pleasure is the Good has been more or less popular among the commercially successful classes of Europe and America for several generations; it has also been upheld by certain French and English thinkers, having had its finest statement in Utilitarianism, the theory that the Good consists not in pleasure merely, but in the Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number. And as was the case in ancient Greece, so has it been the case in Europe, that the belief in Pleasure as the Good always exists side by side with the belief that the Good is to be found in moral perfection. And anyone acquainted with such centres of learning as Oxford and Cambridge, will know that there are never wanting those who believe that the Good is to be found in knowledge and a life devoted to philosophy.

With respect to the above-mentioned Schools, what I wish first of all to point out is that the theories they stand for must necessarily be inadequate, in that they are all based on a more or less abstract view of human nature. According to one theory man is an absolute machine, without a sentient nature, the mere tool and slave of law and order; according to another he is simply a sentient being; according to a third he is all intellect, brain, an instrument for manufacturing facts and theories; while according to a fourth he is a selfless and powerless soul, a being (to use a paradox) whose only realisation is self-annihilation. In each case the Good is a one-sided realisation, an attainment which requires the development of one faculty of the soul only, and at the expense of all the others.

But perhaps this tendency to overestimate the importance of certain faculties of the soul is not difficult to understand when we remember that man only discovers himself little by little and is not conscious, until a very advanced stage of civilisation has been reached, of the many-sided nature of his soul. Man only becomes conscious of himself slowly, little by little, first one aspect of his nature and then another; and the tendency is to concentrate upon that aspect of his being which has been last discovered, and to identify life, or well-being, with its absolute development. Thus it is not until man has become fully conscious of himself, of all the parts or faculties of his soul that he is able to discover a Good whose attainment involves the development, and leads to the complete satisfaction, of his entire being. Thus the discovery of the spirit, that man possesses a something that lives not by bread alone, but by the breath and word of God, and that can commune with God, begot the idea that the religious life, the life of pure and absolute communion with God is the highest, and only real, life. In the same way the discovery of reason, that man is possessed of a faculty whereby he can probe into the meaning of things, and prove them, led to the cultivation of the habit of thought, and to the belief that the Good was only to be found in the pursuit of knowledge and truth. Then again, the discovery of the æsthetic sense, of the power to appreciate beauty and to enjoy the pleasures of a refined sensibility, gave rise to the belief that the good is to be found in pleasure.

But in each case the error thus committed, of abstracting, of taking a part for the whole, is eventually seen, with the result that one theory is gradually abandoned for another. Hence a purely physical life is abandoned for a purely religious life; the religious life for a Scholastic life; the Scholastic life for an aesthetic life; and the aesthetic life for an ideal of moral perfection. And to us, who can look back upon history and see the developmental process in operation, it is quite evident that the Good for man cannot be any of these isolated things, as they are all abstractions, ends which ought to constitute elements in rather than be identified with, the Good. Nor can any theory of the Good be accepted as adequate which shuts out whole fields of experience, or tends to make life narrower instead of broader. The adoption of any one of the afore-mentioned theories would be the means of impoverishing life, of cutting one adrift from some portion of the world, of life: from society, from God, from knowledge or from art and pleasure; of robbing one of a full and many-sided experience, and personality of its beauty and fragrance. By accepting either knowledge or ecstasy, for instance, as the good, the social self, with all its abundant life-producing activities and relationships, would be negated, and all the ordinary

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occupations and duties of life, in and through which, perhaps, the greatest and intensest joys come to man, reduced to a minimum.

But in order to arrive at a true view of the Good for man it will be well to examine in greater detail the four theories of the Good already mentioned. We will consider them in the following order: (1) The theory that the Good is to be found in intellectual excellence; (2) that it is to be found in religious ecstasy; (3) that it is to be found in pleasure; (4) that it is to be found in moral perfection.

(1) That the Good consists in intellectual excellence. It is astonishing when we come to think of it, how many people there are who believe that man's chief if not sole object in life ought to be the pursuit of truth, as if truth apart from life, apart from the application of truth, had any worth or virtue. Truth is only valuable and a creator of real joy and satisfaction when it explains and illuminates life, unifies experience, and makes a fuller and grander existence possible. Truth which does not bear upon experience and destiny, and which does not reveal to man a more fruitful and excellent way of living, makes possible richer and sweeter relationships, cannot possibly have any value or significance. There is a great deal of difference between seeking truth for truth's sake and seeking it for life's sake. In the one case truth is life; in the other case it reveals life and makes it possible of attainment. Knowledge and truth are not in themselves life, but for life; and apart from a purposive aspiring soul can have neither significance nor value. Take away purpose and aspiration and you rob truth of its meaning, nay, of its existence; for the very meaning and test of truth is that it unifies and illuminates life, and makes a fuller and more satisfying experience possible. Except truth refer to our own individual experience it cannot have value, for the simple reason that it can neither inspire nor gladden.

But without purposive life, work, the construction of things for man's use and enjoyment, the establishment of finer and deeper social relationships, etc., truth could have no existence, as the world would then be dead, so to speak, and there would be no data from whence truth could spring. If the pursuit and attainment of truth were the Good, then every man who lived ideally would have to devote all his life to the pursuit of truth. But if all men did this who would perform the world's work? And if no work was accomplished how could progress be made? nay, how could truth exist at all? Even if it did exist we should not know if to be truth, for the obvious reason that it would never get applied to experience; it would have no significance, therefore. But because it lacked significance it could not in any real sense be said to constitute truth. Ultimately there can be no knowledge but knowledge of experience; consequently the thought-life must always be limited by the work-life, by the things we do, discover and create in practical experience. Just as we should never have had a science of ship-building if our forefathers had never constructed tiny boats, so we should never have been able to construct a science of morals, of life, had not our forefathers broadened their experience from time to time and built up the mighty structure of social and other relationships which constitute our life to-day. In the last analysis all knowledge is for life. Nor do we believe that man really desires to know the secrets of the starry spheres or the mysteries of God merely for the sake of knowing them. Man desires to know about God, life and the world, not because such realities exist, merely, but because they have a direct bearing upon his life. Were every man to shut himself up in a study and devote his whole life to the pursuit of truth, how could truth be found? There could not be truth, nor anything, in fact, but fiction and fancy. Only by applying to experience such truth as we possess can we attain to deeper truth. Consequently truth cannot in any real sense be the end of life; it is manifestly a means, the end being life, satisfying, broad, and varied experience. Hence intellectual excellence, or the pursuit and attainment of truth, cannot be the Good for man.

It is because man is a worker, a producer, a creative soul, an aspiring, social being that truth is rendered possible and necessary. Man transforms the dead unknown world of matter into the living world of beauty and spirit; and truth is valuable just in so far as it enables such process to be carried on. Truth is the interpreter and guide of life, that which reveals new spiritual possibility, the goal towards which man ought to travel. But

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without work, production, creation, there could be neither life nor truth. Put a stop to productive activity and what becomes of the world? There would be no world left, only a toy. Science, art, philosophy, yea the world, are all the products of an ever-achieving, ever-aspiring spirit, and are created in order that man might have life, might multiply and strengthen the relationships wherein he finds satisfaction, well-being, life. Science, art, philosophy are parts of life, it is true; but they are not the whole of life, for they exist in order that the spirit of man might grow, realise itself at higher levels and in more significant forms, become more beautiful and powerful. Ignore social demands, the call of the heart and conscience, and the content of the intellectual life will vanish and the pursuit of truth degenerate into the idle contemplation of meaningless fictions and fabulous theories.

Where philosophy is regarded as one of the functions of life, and is engaged in by a few men as their particular form of life-work, it is justified, for then truth, or the pursuit of truth, does not constitute the whole of life but only a part. In such case one man contributes truth to life as another man contributes cloth, or bricks, or cabbages, and in so doing he fulfils a useful function; and when his work is finished he participates in other activities and relationships and so lives a full and complete life.

It is probably to the Greeks that the tendency in the modern world to identify intellectual excellence with the Good is largely due. And there certainly existed in the minds of both Plato and Aristotle the belief that truth could be found by thinking alone. Perhaps this belief arose from the consciousness of the grand intellectual achievements which Greece in her Golden Age had made. But certain it is that these two thinkers, especially the former, believed not only that the real world was the world of speculative thought, but that by thinking alone truth could be discovered. They did not see that a life of pure thought must either end in abject bankruptcy or in meaningless subjective theories, in the creation of fictitious worlds with a bewildered and dissatisfied ego in the midst. And, because the unity to which pure thought gives birth is independent of the actual and practical world, it is incapable of development, and must ultimately lead to spiritual death and intellectual starvation, the locking up of the self within the confines of a closed-in system of thought. In other words the life of pure thought must ultimately end in the negation of thought.

But even if the philosophic life were the ideal life, it would not be possible to all, for some one would have to do the world's work, build its houses, prepare its food and make its clothing, etc., and all who were thus doomed to a life of toil would be denied the opportunity of attaining the Good, of living. Plato and Aristotle, however, believed in slavery, in the natural superiority of the aristocratic class over the masses, the artisans, human nature in their view being compounded in some cases of fine gold, as they expresssd it, and in others of iron. But to us who no longer believe in any real or inherent superiority of one social class over another, the ideal Plato believed in is impossible. What we are anxious to find therefore, is the Good for man as man, and not for a particular Class; that is applicable and possible to the poor and humble as well as to the rich and well-born. The Good must be for all men; it must also be for the whole man, the means of unifying all the activities a man is called upon to engage in during the full course of his life. It is not with the ideal life for the aristocrat or the philosopher any more than with that for the tinker or tailor that we are concerned. For philosophy, like tailoring, is only one of the many forms of human expression and service, and ought to occupy only a portion of a man's life; for besides thinking or tailoring, a man ought to fulfil many social, political and domestic obligations, have many other interests and pursuits, if his life is to be at all full, complete, satisfying. Thus because the theory that the Good is to be found in intellectual excellence does not unify all the activities in which a man must engage in the course of his life, such a theory cannot be the true one.

(2) The theory that the Good is to be found in religious ecstasy. The argument against this theory is substantially the same as that against the theory just examined. A life devoted wholly to religion, to prayer and religious exercises, to communion with God and to the contemplation of God is just as impossible if applied universally as the purely philosophical life. It is also as disappointing, as vacant and as self-destructive. In the

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first place this ideal is antagonistic to and the absolute negation of many of the deepest needs and longings of the mind and heart. Ultimately, the belief in religious ecstasy as the Good must lead to the reduction of life to a mere point of consciousness. As with the philosophic life so with the purely religious life, it could not be lived by all because some one would have to do the world's work; and even if this work was shared and reduced to a minimum it would still be extraneous to the Good, and would have no life-value. Because it does not unify all necessary human activities, therefore, the theory that the Good is to be found in religious ecstasy, cannot be the true one.

But further. As the object of the seeker after intellectual excellence is to attain truth, so the object of the seeker after religious excellence or ecstasy is to find out God, to attain a clearer and more perfect consciousness of God. But as the life of pure truth-seeking becomes impossible for want of new data and new needs, so the life of pure religion becomes impossible for want of new needs, real, healthy spiritual hunger. Instead of comprehending God with a larger heart and mind as would be the case if one lived one's life in the busy world of men and toil, the tendency in the case of the religious idealist is inevitably towards mental abstraction; and the individual who tries to lose himself in God will find that it is a very characterless Being he has come to know: a God without either purpose or personality. When the Good has been attained everything will have been shut out of consciousness but God; and even He will be a meaningless, purposeless Being. For all his striving the religious idealist will at last be in possession of nothing but a mere colourless and changeless point of consciousness, a simple "awareness" of God. This point of consciousness corresponds to the abstract and meaningless unity which we found must be the inevitable result of the mere seeker after truth. The religious devotee may be able to say that he has found God, but he will be able to say nothing more; for he cannot say who or what God is: he can only say "God"; and in that exclamation he expresses the entire content and meaning of his life. Rather ought we to say that in expressing it he expires; for to be conscious of a single changeless point is really to lose consciousness altogether, to become selfless. The life of the religious idealist cannot be right, therefore, for the simple reason that it leads to negation, to the constant narrowing down of consciousness, the gradual yielding up of life, the sacrifice of so many things that the heart of man craves for, self-annihilation. However we may define human life there are two conditions which must always be fulfilled if it is to satisfy. First, there must be work, creative effort, achievement, and second, there must be a constant deepening of experience, a gradual broadening of the domain of consciousness. Conquest, and the attainment of a fuller consciousness are the eternal conditions of progress and well-being; for life is affirmation, growth, not negation and stagnation. It is the nature of all living beings to strive after a life that grows ever richer and fuller; and no mode of life which restricts and impoverishes experience can ultimately be accepted as the true one.

(3) The theory that the Good is pleasure. First of all let us consider the Pleasure theory as it was held by the more extreme among the Greek Hedonists. According to the latter, pleasure pure and simple, enjoyment of any description, physical or otherwise, and apart from any moral reservations, is the Good, the ideal life consisting of a never-ending succession of pleasures. Whatever gives pleasure is good; whatever gives pain is evil. We do not enjoy things, say the advocates of this theory, because they are good, they are good because we enjoy them. All external obligation and moral necessity are denied, self-sacrifice being regarded as a principle of death. Nor is there any recognition of a grander form of experience to which the soul aspires, such as Christ preached, and such as all the great prophets and spiritual teachers have believed in. Indeed, at first, the Greek Hedonists did not even recognise a to-morrow: life was purely a thing of to-day; "let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die," was the dominating principle of their life.

One inherent weakness of this theory will at once be apparent. It is that life cannot be wholly filled with pleasures. As we pointed out before, some one must work in order to provide the wherewithal of enjoyment; but if pleasure only be good then work must be hateful and evil. So that do as we will there must be huge gaps

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in even the best pleasure-filled life, periods when pleasure, either because of satiation and lassitude or because of the necessity for productive labour, cannot be had, and when one's life will either be empty or painful. If pleasure is the Good, then all the moments in which one is not enjoying pleasure, one is not living, but simply existing, or suffering. An insatiable thirst for ever haunts the devotee of pleasure, which makes peace impossible, and every moment in which one is not enjoying oneself a moment of misery.

So that the Pleasure theory also proves to be inadequate because it fails to embrace and unify all the activities that a man in the ordinary course of his life is compelled to engage in. No doubt, as in the case of the Greek aristocracy, a life of pleasure may sometimes be theoretically possible; but only theoretically, for to enjoy pleasure well a man must work as well as play. It is work that develops power and insight, opens a man's eyes and cultures his spirit, enables him to see and appreciate what is good and beautiful, both in men and things. Without doubt the sweetest pleasures of life are spiritual, such as the pleasures of social communion, of fellowship, of artistic appreciation, of engaging in creative and useful work. That is why poor people are able to attain the highest well-being and often to derive a deeper and intenser satisfaction from life than rich people. And how can a man enjoy spiritual relationship with his fellows if he does not serve them, does not create things for their enjoyment and good? The man who does not work, does not produce something whereby mankind will be benefited, possesses neither the right nor the power to appreciate or have true fellowship.

But work must be done by someone if the world is to be kept going. Is it reasonable to conclude, therefore, as we certainly must conclude if we accept the Hedonistic interpretation of life, that productive work is utterly devoid of life-value, is unproductive of real good, well-being, satisfaction? Decidedly not; for all the activities which men feel are necessary must in themselves be good and a direct cause of well-being. Otherwise life would be chaos and war, while a large number of human beings would always be doomed to a life of sheer slavery, of drudgery, disappointment and sorrow. Work to the pleasure-seeker is a means to, but in no sense a part of, life; and for that reason it is contemptible. But because it thus fails to unify all the necessary activities of life, the theory that the Good consists of pleasure cannot be the true one.

There is much more to be said, however, in favour of the Happiness theory of Utilitarianism, although this theory breaks down precisely where Greek Hedonism broke down. For the alleged superiority of Utilitarianism over Greek Hedonism is due to the admittance of an element which contradicts the root principle in Utilitarianism. This is the moral element, the consciousness of right, which is made to constitute a real part of the Good. Utilitarianism affirms that pleasure or happiness is the Good, but adds that the maximum of happiness can only be attained when each member of the community tries to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It will be observed, however, that this effort to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number involves self-sacrifices; while the very fact of using the term "happiness" instead of "pleasure" also implies, as it is intended to imply, that the emotional value of such conduct will be superior to that which follows from purely selfish conduct.

But can Utilitarians consistently hold that pleasure is qualitative, and at the same time that pleasure is the Good? They certainly do affirm that pleasure is the Good, and that all choice ought to be made with reference to the pleasure expected, yet they also affirm that when personal happiness is opposed to general happiness, the former ought to be sacrificed to the latter. But then comes a serious qualification. As the result of self-sacrifice we are told that a new kind of pleasure or happiness will be experienced. But what right has Utilitarianism to promise a superior kind of happiness? By making such a promise it ceases to be a Pleasure theory altogether, as the superiority of the pleasure it promises is due to self-sacrifice, the moral element, the consciousness of which must therefore be held to constitute a part of the Good. Hence Utilitarianism by promising happiness instead of mere pleasure falls into contradiction. For if sacrifice is made such sacrifice is either real or unreal. But if it is real, then Utilitarianism, like Greek Hedonism, must be condemned as inadequate in that it is obliged to admit activities which do not yield good to the indivi-

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dual undertaking them, notwithstanding that they are socially necessary; while if it is unreal, and it is the case that acts of self-sacrifice do bring a new and richer kind of pleasure, then it follows that the Good does not consist of pleasure pure and simple, but also of the consciousness of having acted in accordance with moral principle, the higher spiritual demands, the deeper purpose of things. Consequently Utilitarians must either admit that sacrifice is real, and therefore that some activities are socially necessary which yet give no return of Good or life to the person performing them, or admit that in the conscious state we call the Good there are other elements than pleasure.

(4). The theory that the Good is to be found in moral excellence. With this theory also the tendency is towards negation and abstraction. By concentrating on the form of conduct, on character, and neglecting the element of emotion, the tendency of the moral perfectionist is to lack motive and to become passive, apathetic. As a matter of fact, such was the case with the Cynic and Stoic schools of Greece. Starting with a strong enthusiasm for the moral law, which they devoutly venerated, the Cynics and Stoics of Greece ended by losing all enthusiasm for conduct and seeking merely to maintain an even and unruffled temper, a calm exterior and a peaceful state of mind. Because they denied pleasure, and refused to do anything for the pleasure or satisfaction it gave, they eventually did nothing at all, being possessed of neither motive or desire for activity. So that while it is quite true that mere pleasure cannot be the Good for man, without pleasure there can be no conduct, no choice, no life. It may be very noble to try to attain to a high level of moral perfection; but even if one were successful in the attempt it would be a cold, bleak and unattractive attainment. It is not mere moral achievement that ought to be aspired to, but life with all its warmth, its beauty, its colour. Morals are for the proper guidance of life, and moral integrity is good because it leads to the establishment of just those relationships with men and the world which are most satisfying, most spiritually beneficial.

It will be observed that the weakness of all these theories lies in the fact that they are the outcome of an abstract view of man, and thus involve the negation of so much that is vital and indispensable. In each case the outcome was bound to be spiritual stagnation, and, ultimately, self-annihilation. And yet, prior to the attainment of free moral self-consciousness, it were quite impossible to arrive at a true theory of life, as until that stage of development has been reached man does not wholly know himself, has not become conscious of the many-sided nature of his soul. If he does theorise at all, therefore, as he certainly will when his awakening mind begins to feel the power of thought, and to realise the many different ways in which men do live, the possibilities that seem to open out before one, his first attempts are sure to end in failure, in some sort of abstraction. And one abstraction will be abandoned for another, until all the possible "Goods" have been tried, when the idea will dawn that the Good must depend upon the complete development of the soul, and be constituted of intellectual, religious, moral and emotional elements.

Thus because of abstraction not one of the theories we have examined could last for long. Even Monasticism, which stood for a purely religious life and idealism, was only able to endure as long as it did because it was broader than its creed, bigger than its theory, tolerant, able to embrace many customs, ideas, orders. At its best it employed and cared for the poor, educated the common people and fostered a passion for art.

What then is the Good for man? that which man seeks all the days of his life, consciously or unconsciously? Quite obviously, for reasons which we have shown, the Good cannot consist merely in the possession of truth, in the being conscious of God, in pleasure, or in the attainment of moral perfection, for all these things are parts of life and necessary to its highest attainment and complete development. The attainment of the Good must carry with it the fullest development of the individual in the circumstances in which he is placed, of the heart no less than the intellect, of the spirit no less than the conscience. And there must be a best life for man to find, seeing that human nature is one, that man has the power to discern good and evil, to judge of the value of his acts, and to discover truth or the moral law.

Were I to venture a definition, therefore, I should say that the Good is the satis-

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faction which comes from the consciousness of living a complete life: in accordance with the moral law, the nature and purpose of things, the demands of the heart, reason and conscience; for only conduct which leads to the fullest development of the whole man can ultimately and permanently satisfy the spirit of man. Only that conduct is satisfying which aids us in realising our entire selfhood, as far as it is in our power to do such.

Human nature is a very complex whole, and requires many kinds of activities fully to develop and realise it. To be healthy, progressive and full, life must be religious as well as moral, rational as well as emotional. It must be religious, because reason cannot penetrate and solve all the problems and mysteries of being nor supply the certainty which the mind and heart require. But it must also be rational and in accord with such truth as reason has discovered. Moreover, without thought, a constant effort to discover and appreciate new truth, life would become barren, limp and inert. Thought quickens life, makes it vital, purposive, progressive. Without thought and theory the world would be formless and chaotic. Also, life ought to be moral and purposive and in harmony with the moral law, with the noblest interpretation, the loftiest ideal of life. Lastly life ought to be satisfying, to yield pleasure; for without pleasure existence would be dull, colourless, valueless. Pleasure is the salt of life, that which keeps life sweet and mellow, the heart and mind free and flexible, and saves men from cynicism and despair.

We must not conclude, however, that life is to be a medley of different kinds of activities—intellectual, religious, moral, pleasure-yielding, but rather that it ought so to be unified by means of a purpose and ideal that every act shall be an embodiment of that ideal, an expression of the soul, in harmony with truth, therefore, and a means of the highest satisfaction and development. Consequently, in a properly ordered life, a moral act, for instance, will at the same time be a religious act, a rational act, and in addition a satisfying or pleasure-yielding act. When we have discovered the Good, therefore, what we need is an ideal of life that will be the means of calling forth just those activities which will yield satisfaction, well-being, life. For every act in an ideal existence ought to be a life-producing, self-realising act, a means of self-development and of attaining the Good. What the ideal or principle is whose adoption we believe will unify all the activities necessary to the highest life that we can conceive possible in this the twentieth century, we shall endeavour to show in the next article; for the present we must simply assume such an ideal.

But let us examine the conscious state we call the Good a little more closely. Because we hold that the attainment of the Good involves the realisation of the whole self and thus of the maximum of life, it follows that every act of one's life must have an emotional, an intellectual, a religious and a moral quality. A religious act, therefore, which has been sanctioned or urged by the ideal will be productive of a very complex state ofconsciousness, which will include an "awareness" of right (the moral element), of harmony with the nature and purpose of things (the intellectual element) and with one's religious conviction (religious element), and of satisfaction (the emotional element). Precisely the same is true of moral, intellectual and play activities. Play, like work, has its place in an ideal existence, and ought to be a part as well as a condition of well-being. But in an ideal life play is not mere play, as it is in the case of the pure pleasure-seeker, for it has a moral value also, being an act in a purposive, many-sided life. Consequently the conscious state produced in and by play in an ideally ordered life will be of a very complex nature, included in which will be a sense of complete self-fulfilment, which will give rise to a feeling of satisfaction in addition to the pleasure which such activity naturally produces. Indeed it is possible to feel and distinguish between the several elements which make up the conscious state we call the Good. And whereas the Good for the pure pleasure-seeker is a mere flitting emotion, a thin experience of enjoyment, for the spiritual idealist it consists also of the satisfaction arising from the consciousness that what we are doing is helping to build up our entire life and character, to add to the world's good, its happiness, beauty and well-being, and to produce the highest personal development and spiritual culture. And to be thus conscious is to experience an emotion that both thrills and endures.

In a properly regulated life, therefore, conduct is determined by reference to an

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ideal which aims at the realisation of the whole, as distinct from a mere part of the self. Human life is like a garden, and to confine attention to one kind of culture only is to rob it of all attractiveness, of that rich variety wherein is beauty and loveliness. A fully-developed soul, with many capabilities, many finely wrought characters, many interests and sympathies, is as beautiful and entrancing as a garden containing a rich array of fruits and flowers. And although by seeking to realise the entire self we may oft-times have to sacrifice momentary pleasure, we know we shall be the gainers in the end, even as regards happiness, for deep down in the human mind there exists a conviction that ultimately goodness and usefulness determine happiness, and are as essential to well-being as pleasure. A man may feel that a given line of conduct will cost him much immediate pleasure, but if he thinks deeply about it he will probably come to the conclusion that the satisfaction arising from the consciousness of having done what is good and useful, a means of good to himself or to others, is of greater value than any mere momentary pleasure could be. Let us consider a case to show how this truth works out in actual experience.

A man, let us say, having accepted such a theory of the Good as we have developed, is strikingly convinced after much careful thinking that the doing of a certain piece of work will be a benefit to the community. And as he sees no one else who is more likely to feel that need more than himself, and therefore more likely to try and satisfy it, the idea gradually impresses itself upon him that it is his duty to undertake the task. But he weighs the matter up. He clearly sees that if he goes forward with the proposed work he will get little or no material reward, will probably get little praise and will certainly have to sacrifice much pleasure, and possibly many friendships. But he embarks on the task and goes through with it. Upon what grounds can it be said that his choice is the condition of greatest well-being to him? That his conduct will realise his moral and religious nature there can be little doubt. But what about his emotional nature? Will that be realised also? We think it will. It is quite true, as we have said, that the man may lose many friendships as a result of his choice; but what in any case could such friendships be worth? And will it not be the case that his conduct will bring to his side finer spirits, nobler minds, dearer and closer friendships, as well as deepen and enrich those that remain of the old? Then think of the spiritual freedom and independence that his conduct will produce, of the good it will bring to the community, and of the satisfaction that will follow from the consciousness of all these things. The man who acts at such a level as I am indicating lifts himself above the puny world of petty strife and sordid materialism into the purer world of spirit and liberty, where he may come into contact with all the truly great ones, whether they be of high or low estate. By his act such a man wins his right to membership in the kingdom of spirit where all the free, the spiritually emancipated ones dwell. And the joy of such freedom, such emancipation! Mere selfish pleasure pales beside it! The doing of that which we feel to be right and beneficial leads to self-realisation, true spiritual advancement, for it makes possible relationships and pleasures which on the lower, selfish and physical plane could scarcely be dreamed of. At the same time, an ideal and purposive life does not eschew pleasure; it only makes the pursuit of pleasure subservient to the general scheme and purpose of one's life, to one's ultimate and permanent good. Thus we are able to see that the path to self-realisation is the path to true pleasure and satisfaction; to the highest well-being; to life.

Pleasure, in fact, cannot be divorced from the consciousness of what we are and what we have done, or at any rate not for many moments in succession. And when one is conscious of vacancy, of a life devoid of beauty or good or anything constructive, even if there be no background of misery, mere pleasure is bound to be spasmodic and uncertain, and absolutely unsatisfying. The man who has no purpose, no spiritual outlook, no moral principle to guide his life, only lives when he enjoys, which is not often, as there is no mind to enjoy or appreciate anything that is not petty, shallow or physical. To enjoy pleasure fully, to attain the emotional excellence which the heart seeks, one must work and serve; aspire and achieve as well as play; be well-developed in the fullest sense of the term; possess a wide mental horizon and an unflagging purpose; for it is the consciousness of these things and of what may be done by means of them which gives

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value and meaning to life and depth and body to emotion.

In making life purposive, as we do when we have a grand spiritual ideal and cause the Good to depend upon complete self-realisation, we give to life an architechtonic form and cause every act to have a place in the scheme of our life, and to be a means of contributing to its ultimate good. In an ideal life every act is a means of realising both the self and life, being in harmony with, and the means of satisfying the needs of, the emotional, intellectual, moral and religious nature of man. Apart from the realisation of the whole self no aspect of the self can be fully realised. Develop the whole self and you intensify every conscious state; but concentrate upon one aspect of the self alone to the neglect of every other aspect and you starve even that. It is psychologically impossible to dissever, or at any rate for more than a very short time, the consciousness of pleasure from the consciousness of what we are morally and spiritually. It is as impossible to have a feeling of perfect satisfaction apart from the consciousness of spiritual attainment as it is to have a feeling of happy exhilaration while in a condition of slavery. The happiness which attends a given experience in a properly regulated life is not colourless and unqualitative, but is dependent upon character, upon the richness of mind and fineness of spirit in the person experiencing it. For in every such life the emotional, rational, moral and religious elements are the component parts of every conscious state, of the state of consciousness we call the Good. It is therefore erroneous to say that pleasure, or knowledge, etc., is the Good, or that the Good can be anything but the satisfaction which attends the consciousness that what we have done or are doing is the condition of the highest self-realisation, of life. What a man is, what he is conscious in himself of being, is the solid substance, as it were, of consciousness, in which his emotional experience rests, out of which, in a large measure, it springs, and to which it belongs as a necessary part. A developed or realised self-hood is the final and absolute condition of happiness, as distinct from mere or momentary pleasure; of that which can turn pleasure into a rich stream of pure, sparkling joy.

The question that now awaits to be considered is this: What ideal or principle of life will lead to that self-development, that all-round culture of the spirit upon which we say the Good, or true well-being, depends?

We will endeavour to answer that question in the next article.

HUXLEY'S LETTERS*

IT is impossible in a small space to give any adequate idea of letters covering a period of fifty years and touching on the most varied topics. In almost every one of the letters published by Mr. Leonard Huxley, there occurs something we should like to quote, but since restriction is necessary, we restrict ourselves to passages most likely to be of interest to Indian readers. These passages we shall arrange, not chronologically, but according to the subjects they deal with, scientific, philosophical, theological or political. But first we must give a brief account of the principal events of Huxley's life.

Thomas Henry Huxley was born on May 4th, 1825, at Ealing, where his father was the senior assistant-master in a large school. When the boy was ten years old the elder Huxley went to Coventry, where he obtained the post of manager of the Savings-bank. His salary was insufficient to support his large family, but the daughters were able to earn some money by teaching. Thomas, the youngest child, had little regular instruction but read a great variety of books. At the age of 16, he went to London as apprentice. to his brother-in-law, a medical man, and attend-

* Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley by his son Leonard Huxley.

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ed lectures at Sydenham College. A year later, Oct. 1st 1842, he entered Charing Cross Hospital. It was there that he made his first discovery. As his son and biographer justly says :

"It is not given to every medical student to make an anatomical discovery, even a small one. In this case the boy of nineteen, investigating things for himself, found a hitherto undiscovered membrane in the root of the human hair, which received the name of Huxley's layer."

After passing brilliantly the M. B. examination of the London University, Huxley was appointed in 1846, assistant surgeon on board the *Rattlesnake*. In this ship he passed four years, the greater part of the time in Australian waters. The life was often dull enough, and the naval officers shewed little sympathy with scientific pursuits. But there was leisure for independent thought and investigation and it was during this voyage that Huxley acquired the knowledge which made him, Virchow says, "a perfect zoologist and a keen-sighted ethnologist." At Sydney in 1847 Huxley met the lady who afterwards became his wife. They had to wait a long time before they could afford to marry, but this patience was rewarded by a married life of forty years of unbroken happiness. It was in the same year 1847, that Huxley, not yet twenty-three years old, made one of the most important of biological discoveries, the composition of the organs of the Medusae, out of two distinct membranes. An eminent biologist writes :

"This discovery stands at the very basis of a philosophic zoology, and of a true conception of the affinities of animals."

In 1850 Huxley returned to England. The next year, before he was twenty-six, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the year after received the Royal Medal in Physiology for his memoirs published in the Philosophical Transactions. Unfortunately these honours brought no corresponding pecuniary advantage. The Admiralty, notwithstanding a promise made in a minute of 1849, refused to give any aid to the publication of the scientific results of his voyage on the *Rattlesnake*. He resigned his post of assistant surgeon in the Navy and applied for a Professorship of Natural History at Toronto. The Canadians however preferred one of the relations of a local politician. This disappointment was followed by several similar ones. There seemed no prospect of earning a living by scientific work. For himself he would have faced poverty willingly, but there was the thought of "one who was wasting youth and life away for his sake." At times he considered seriously the possibility of becoming a store-keeper or squatter in Australia. But Huxley was engaged to a noble woman in every respect worthy of him, and she urged him not to give up the aims of his life. As their son says, "but for her his life would have been wasted." This period of anxiety was further saddened by the loss of his mother to whom he was tenderly attached. In the presence of such grief Huxley never sought to console himself or others by the hope of a future life. He writes to his sister (April 17th 1852) :

"I offer you no consolation, my dearest sister, for I know of none. There are things which each must bear as he best may with the strength that has been allotted to him."

The year 1854 brought better prospects. Huxley was appointed lecturer on Natural History at the Government School of Mines in Jermyn Street. Soon afterwards he was offered the Professorship of Physiology at Edinburgh. But the work would have absorbed all his energies and left no time for any original research, so he preferred to keep his London appointment although the pay attached to it was much less. Huxley now felt in a position to marry and the wedding took place on July 21st, 1855. Amidst the congratulations came a warning from Darwin :

"I hope your marriage will not make you idle; happiness I fear is not good for work."

However the list of papers published by Huxley in this and the following years shews that he did abundant work in spite of his happiness ; the happiness was increased on the first day of 1857 by the birth of a son, who for four years was the delight of his parents. His death in 1860 was the bitterest grief of Huxley's life. But he writes to his friend Spencer :

"As the little fellow was our greatest joy, so is the recollection of him an enduring consolation. It is a heavy payment, but I would buy the four years of him again at the same price."

Such wounds can never be healed, but time lessens the acuteness of the pain. Other children were born and Huxley was fortunate in the enjoyment of a singularly happy family life. A distinguished German biologist who visited him in 1867 wrote,

"I have been reading several chapters of Mill's

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Utilitarianism to-day, and met with the word "happiness" more than once; if I had to give anybody a definition of this much debated word, I should say: go and see the Huxley family at Swanage."

These years were years of incessant intellectual activity. They were years of combat too. In November 1859 the "Origin of Species" appeared and the effect it produced on Huxley was profound. Darwin had written in a private letter:

"I think I told you before that Hooker is a complete convert. If I can convert Huxley I shall be content."

Huxley became not only a convert, but the most active combatant on behalf of the new doctrine. He incurred, in consequence, the bitter hostility of the clerical party. In the beginning of 1862 he gave two lectures at Edinburgh on the "Relation of Man to the Lower Animals" in which he showed that the differences between man and the higher apes were no greater than those between the higher and lower apes. The pious, god-fearing Scotchmen were furious. Two passages from a Scotch journal deserve to be quoted for the charm of their style. Huxley's teaching was said to be a "foul outrage committed upon them individually,and upon the whole species as 'made in the likeness of God.' It was "the vilest and beastliest paradox ever vented in ancient or modern times amongst Pagans or Christians". In those days naive Jewish legends were taught as divinely revealed truths which it was sinful to disbelieve. His son writes,

"It is difficult now to realise with what feelings he was regarded in the average respectable household in the sixties and early seventies. His name was anathema; he was a terrible example of intellectual pravity beyond redemption, a man with opinions such as cannot be held 'without grave personal sin on his part,' the representative in his single person of rationalism, materialism, atheism."

But lectures for the general public were only a small part of Huxley's work. He published numerous technical papers for specialists. It was largely through his influence that the teaching of biology was made practical. The story is told of a clergyman who after having taught physiology for years was shown a drop of his own blood under the microscope. "Dear me!" he exclaimed, "it's just like the picture in Huxley's Physiology."* Besides the work of teaching and research he frequently served on Royal Commissions. In 1870 he was president of the Ethnological Society, the Geological Society and the British Associations. Towards the end of the same year he was elected a member of the London School Board in whose work he took an active part.

All this work was done in spite of persistent ill health. His son writes:

"He would come in thoroughly used up after lecturing twice on the same day, as frequently happened, and lie wearily on one sofa; while his wife, whose health was wretched, matched him on the other."

Still with a family to support, it was almost impossible to take a holiday, and he struggled on till in 1872 his health suddenly broke down altogether. Then his friends came to his aid. The following letter is so honourable both to Huxley and Darwin that it deserves to be quoted in its entirety.

DOWN, BECKENHAM, KENT
April 23rd, 1873.

MY DEAR HUXLEY,

I have been asked by some of your friends (eighteen in number) to inform you that they have placed through Robarts, Lubbock & Company, the sum of £2100 to your account at your bankers. We have done this to enable you to get such complete rest as you may require for the re-establishment of your health; and in doing this we are convinced that we act for the public interest, as well as in accordance with our most earnest desires. Let me assure you that we are all your warm personal friends, and that there is not a stranger or mere acquaintance amongst us. If you could have heard what was said, or could have read what was, as I believe, our inmost thoughts, you would know that we all feel towards you, as we should to an honoured and much loved brother. I am sure that you will return this feeling, and will therefore be glad to give us the opportunity of aiding you in some degree, as this will be a happiness to us to the last day of our lives. Let me add that our plan occurred to several of your friends at nearly the same time and quite independently of one another.

My dear Huxley,
your affectionate friend
CHARLES DARWIN.

The holiday brought improved health for a time and on his return Huxley resumed his usual vigorous activity. From 1871 to 1880 he was Secretary of the Royal Soeiety and from 1883 to 1885 President. In 1876 he went for a lecturing tour to America where he was received with enthusiasm. Every year besides the usual official duties there were numerous lectures to different audiences. In 1885 his health again broke down. This year was the year of his retirement from official work at the age of sixty. The last ten years of Huxley's life were chiefly occupied with controversial writinsg

* Some forty years later, an Anglo-Indian Lieutenant Governor remarked, that he supposed biology was a subject learnt chiefly from books.

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on theology and philosophy. In 1895 he died at Eastbourne.

We will now give some quotations from the letters, beginning with Huxley's views as to Darwin's theory. In a letter dated November 23rd 1859 thanking Darwin for a copy of his book, after expressing his admiration Huxley writes :

"The only objections that have occurred to me are—1st, That you have loaded yourself with an unnecessary difficulty in adopting *Natura non facit saltum* so unreservedly; and 2nd, It is not clear to me why, if continual physical variations are of so little moment as you suppose, variation should occur at all."

The first point is very interesting as an anticipation of the theory, since developed by De Vries and Bateson, of the origin of species by mutation. In a letter written a few months earlier to Sir Charles Lyell (June 25th, 1859) Huxley says :

"I think transmutation may take place without transition.

Suppose that external conditions acting on species A give rise to a new species, B; the difference between the two species is a certain definable amount which may be called A-B. Now I know of no evidence to show that the interval between the two species must *necessarily* be bridged over by a series of form each of which shall occupy, as it occurs, a fractions of the distance between A and B. On the contrary, in the history of the Ancon sheep, and of the six-fingered Maltese family, given by Reaumur, it appears that the new form appeared at once in full perfection..... I have a sort of notion that in passing from species to species 'Natura fecit saltum.'"

In the same letter Huxley writes with reference to the origin of species :

When I say that no evidence, or hardly any, would justify one in believing in the rise of a new species of Elephant, *e.g.*, out of the earth, I mean that such an occurrence would be so diametrically contrary to all experience, so opposed to those beliefs which are the most constantly verified by experience, that one would be justified in believing either that one's senses were deluded or that one had not really got to the bottom of the phenomenon..... How much evidence would you require to believe that there was a time when stones fell upwards, or granite made itself by a spontaneous re-arrangement of the elementary particles of clay and sand ? And yet the difficulties in the way of these beliefs are as nothing compared to those you would have to come in believing that complex organic beings made themselves (for that is what creation comes to in scientific language) out of inorganic matter."

These arguments seem conclusive apart from any hypothesis as to the working of natural selection in the production of species. Yet till that hypothesis was published they did not convince Huxley if his recollections on the point some thirty years later are correct. He writes at that time :

"The publication of the Darwin and Wallace paper in 1858, and still more that of the "Origin" in 1859, had the effect upon them (*i. e.* the biologists of the time.) of the flash of light which to a man who has lost himself on a dark night, suddenly reveals a road which, whether it takes him straight home or not certainly goes his way. That which we were looking for, and could not find was a hypothesis respecting the origin of known organic forms which assumed the operation of no causes but such as could be proved to be actually at work."

At the present time, while biologists are unanimous in their belief in the evolution of species there seems to be much difference of opinion as to the importance of the part played by natural selection. Huxley, there can be no doubt, would have regarded with the utmost interest and sympathy the experimental work done by the Mendelian biologists. But though Mendel's paper was published in 1865, and Huxley lived to 1895, he seems not to have been aquainted with it.

The year after the publication of the "Origin of Species" a discussion, which has become celebrated, took place at the Oxford meeting of the British Association. Huxley had not intended to be present, thinking that it was useless to debate scientific questions before a large mixed audience, but a friend appealed to him "not to desert them." At the meeting Bishop Wilberforce made a fluent attack on evolution, and ended, according to one version, by turning to Huxley and asking whether it was through his grand-father or his grandmother that he claimed descent from a monkey. In the account given by the historian Green who was present, Huxley's retort was—

"A man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grand-father. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel shame in recalling it would rather be a *man*, who plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions and skilled appeals to religious prejudice."

The retort was so thoroughly deserved that it called forth cheers from a hostile audience, and his friends congratulated Huxley on his victory. But to Huxley himself the incident gave pain rather than satisfaction. He disliked the note of personality though it had been forced on him by his assailant.

There is a moral for historians to be derived from the incident. The speeches were made before a large audience and attracted great attention at the time. Yet now no one knows exactly what was said.

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Huxley himself writing thirty-one years later, in 1891, could not be sure of the words he had used. His biographer, Mr. Leonard Huxley, reproduces five accounts, all differing in details, from men who were present. We can see then how little reliance can be placed on the sayings attributed to Jesus or Muhammad in the Gospels or the Hadith. These were recorded many years after they are said to have been uttered and the only evidence for them is almost always, at the best, the recollections of a single witness.

The following is an extract from a letter written in 1855.

"I respect piety, and hope I have some after my own fashion, but I have a profound prejudice against the efflorescent form of it. I never yet found in people thoroughly imbued with that pietism, the same notions of honour and straight-forwardness that obtain among men of the world."

That is the experience of the present writer.

In 1860, in a letter to Sir Charles Lyell, Huxley makes some interesting remarks about the education of women. They are worth noting in India where women are even more ignorant and superstitious than in England.

"I am far from wishing to place any obstacle in the way of the intellectual advancement and development of women. On the contrary, I don't see how we are to make any permanent advancement while one half of the race is sunk, as nine-tenths of women are, in mere ignorant parsonese superstitions; and to show you that my ideas are practical, I have fully made up my mind, if I can carry out my plans, to give my daughters the same training in physical science as their brother will get so long as he is a boy. They, at any rate, shall not be got up as man-traps for the matrimonial market. If other people would do the like, the next generation would see women fit to be the companions of men in all their pursuits—though I don't think men have anything to fear from their competition. But you know as well as I do that other people won't do the like, and five-sixths of women will stop in the doll stage of evolution to be the stronghold of parsondom, the drag on civilisation, the degradation of every important pursuit with which they mix themselves."

Huxley himself was singularly fortunate in having a wife who was fit, to be his companion in his pursuits. Their son writes :

"He invariably submitted his writings to the criticism of his wife before they were seen by any other eye. To her judgment was due the toning down of many a passage which erred by excess of vigour and the clearing up of phrases which would be obscure to the public."

Darwin, too, was only able to accomplish his life-work through the unwearied devotion of his wife. It is right that the debt of gratitude due to such women should not be forgotten. Content to work in obscurity, seeking no reward but the sense of duty accomplished and the love and respect of their friends and family, they lead lives fruitful in good to mankind. They are as superior intellectually as morally to the vain, restless woman, so common in England now, whose only aim is to acquire notoriety and display herself in public.

Huxley, while wishing women to have a scientific education, did not think it desirable they should be taught such subjects as biology and medicine in the same classes as men.

In 1866, the governor of Jamaica, a Mr. Eyre, was responsible for the judicial murder, after a mock trial, of a Negro named Gordon. Men like Carlyle and Ruskin, defended Eyre on the ground that being a Negro, Gordon was probably guilty, and even if he were innocent the life of a Negro was of no importance. Huxley discusses the matter in a letter to Kingsley (November 8th, 1866) :

"I desire to see Mr. Eyre indicted and a verdict of guilty in a Criminal Court obtained, because I have from its commencement, carefully watched the Gordon case ; and because a new study of all the evidence which has now been collected has confirmed my first conviction that Gordon's execution was as bad a specimen as we have had since Jeffreys' of political murder. Don't suppose that I have any particular admiration for Gordon. He belongs to a sufficiently poor type of small political agitator—and very likely was a nuisance to the Governor and other respectable persons.

But that is no reason why he should be condemned, by an absurd tribunal and with a brutal mockery of the forms of justice, for offence with which impartial Judges, after a full investigation, declare there is no evidence to show he was connected.

Ex-Governor Eyre seized the man, put him in the hands of the preposterous subalterns who pretended to try him, saw the evidence and approved of the sentence. He is as much responsible for Gordon's death as if he had shot him through the head with his own hand. I dare say he did all this with the best of motives, and in a heroic vein. But if English law will not declare that heroes have no more right to kill people in this fashion than other folk, I shall take an early opportunity of migrating to Texas or some other quiet place where there is less hero-worship and more respect for justice, which is to my mind of much more importance than hero-worship."

Towards the end of 1870 Huxley was elected a member of the London School Board. It was proposed to open the meetings with prayers. This proposal led to an animated discussion but Huxley carried a compromise, according to which

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those who liked prayer might have it in a room by themselves before the meetings began. There was much difference of opinion as to the teaching of the Bible in schools. Huxley thought it should be taught on account of its moral and literary value. For my own part, not on *a priori* grounds, but after a good deal of experience, I think Grimm's Fairy Stories is a much better book for children than the Bible. No doubt every educated man should have some acquaintance with the Bible but it is not a book that ought to be put in the hands of a child. Huxley seems partly to have felt this himself when he proposed that a selection should be made of passages suitable for children, but the proposal was rejected. The missionaries in India have made a selection called "Baibal ki Naqlen" but although everything indecent has been omitted from this selection there is still left much that is undesirable.

The following, written in 1874, is in answer to an invitation to join a society for the investigation of "Spiritualism."

"I take no interest in the subject. The only case of "Spiritualism" I have had the opportunity of examining into for myself was as gross an imposture as ever came under my notice. But supposing the phenomena to be genuine—they do not interest me. If anybody would endow me with the faculty of listening to the chatter of old women and curates in the nearest cathedral town, I should decline the privilege, having better things to do. And if the folk in the spiritual world do not talk more wisely and sensibly than their friends report them to do, I put them in the same category."

This was forty years ago, but it is as true now as then that the "spirits" at these meetings have never uttered anything but silly twaddle. George Darwin was also a witness of the instance of imposture to which Huxley refers and wrote :

"It has given me a lesson with respect to the worthlessness of evidence which I shall always remember, and besides will make me very diffident in trusting myself. Unless I had seen it, I could not have believed in the evidence of any one with such perfect *bonafides* as Mr. S. being so worthless."

The following passage deserves the attention of the Indian gentlemen who are promoting a Hindu University. It occurs in an address given in 1876 to the John Hopkins University at Baltimore.

"It has been my fate to see great educational funds fossilize into mere bricks and mortars in the petrifying springs of architecture, with nothing left to work them. A great warrior is said to have made a desert and called it peace. Trustees have sometimes made a palace and called it a university."

In India too we may see everywhere money which ought to have been spent on education wasted on architecture. When an Anglo-Indian Lieutenant-Governor considers the plan of a college, he does not ask how far it is adapted to the purpose of teaching and study. About that he knows or cares nothing. What he wants is a showy building which he may label with his own name.

In the same year, a sentimental parson drew up a protest against certain theological dogmas according to which men may be punished for no sins of their own. Huxley in refusing to sign wrote :

"As a matter of fact, men sin and the consequences of their sins affect endless generations of their progeny. Men are tempted, men are punished for the sins of others without merit or demerit of their own; and they are tormented for their evil deeds as long as their consciousness lasts."

In a letter written the next day to Darwin, Huxley confesses to greater sympathy with the strictly orthodox than with the sentimental parsons :

"If we are to assume that anybody has designedly set this wonderful universe going, it is perfectly clear to me that he is no more entirely benevolent and just in any intelligible sense of the words, than that he is malevolent and unjust. Infinite benevolence need not have invented pain and sorrow at all—infinite malevolence would very easily have deprived us of the large measure of content and happiness that falls to our lot. After all, Butler's 'Analogy' is unassailable and there is nothing in theological dogmas more contradictory to our moral sense, than is to be found in the facts of nature."

Many centuries before Butler, these questions were discussed by Mahommedan theologians. The following story of Ashari (873—935) is well known :

"Abu Ali al-Jubbai, a Mutazila doctor, was lecturing to his students when al-Ashari propounded the following case to his master: 'There were three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious, the second infidel, a debauchee and a reprobate, and the third an infant; they all died. What became of them ?' Al-Jubbai answered: 'The virtuous brother holds a high station in paradise, the infidel is in the depths of hell, and the child is among those who have obtained salvation.' 'Suppose now,' said al-Ashari, 'that the child should wish to ascend to the place occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do so ?' 'No,' replied al-Jubbai, 'it would be said to him, thy brother arrived at this place through his numerous works of obedience to God and thou hast no such works to set forward.' 'Suppose then,' said al-Ashari, 'that the child should say, this is not my fault; thou didst not let me live long enough, neither didst thou give me the means of proving my obedience.' 'In that case', said al-Jubbai, 'the Almighty would say, 'I knew that if I had allowed thee to live thou wouldst have been disobedient and have incurred the punishment of hell; I acted therefore for thy advantage.'' 'Well', said al-Ashari, 'and suppose the infidel brother were here to say, O God of the

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Universe, since thou knewest what awaited him, Thou must have known what awaited me, why then didst thou act for his advantage and not for mine ?"*

In a letter dated February 1st 1887, Huxley writes :

To my mind, atheism is on purely philosophical grounds, untenable. That there is no evidence of the existence of such a being as the God of the theologians is true enough; but strictly scientific reasoning can take us no further Where we know nothing we can neither affirm nor deny with propriety."

Auguste Comte repudiated atheism for exactly the same reason. It seems to be a question of words. Most people would consider a man who does not consider there is evidence for the existence of a god, an atheist, even though he does not dogmatically deny His existence.

The following passage (Dec. 30th, 1883) is interesting as an indication of character:

"It is a curious thing that I find my dislike to the thought of extinction increasing as I get older and nearer the goal.

It flashes across me at all sorts of times with a sort of horror that in 1900 I shall probably know no more of what is going on than I did in 1800. I had sooner be in hell a good deal—at any rate in one of the upper circles where the climate and company are not too trying."

At the same time he thought that all the arguments advanced in favour of the belief in a future life were absolutely worthless.

Naturally he was hated by the parsons on account of these views. In 1870 the proposal to confer the degee of D. C. L on him at Oxford was rejected through the influence of Pusey. Those who advocate religious education in India do not know what it really means. In England we have long suffered from, and even now suffer from, religious education. It means putting the control of a university in the hands of old women in men's clothing like Pusey. Huxley writes to Hooker (May. 22nd 1889) :

"I am very glad that you see the importance of doing battle with the clericals. I am astounded at the narrowness of view of many of our colleagues on this point. They shut their eyes to the obstacles which clericalism raises in every direction against scientific ways of thinking which are even more important than scientific discoveries.

I desire that the next generation may be less fettered by the gross and stupid superstitions of orthodoxy than mine has been. And I shall be well satisfied if I can succeed to however small an extent in bringing about that result."

But though the struggle against clericalism will be long and hard, Huxley had no fear about the final result. He writes (Aug. 18th, 1894):

"I am not afraid of the priests in the long run. Scientific method is the white ant which will slowly but surely destroy their fortifications. And the importance of scientific method in modern practical life—always growing and increasing—is the guarantee for the gradual emancipation of the ignorant upper and lower classes, the former of whom especially are the strength of the priests."

It is the practical, commercial, importance of modern Science which is the best security against any such intellectual decay as succeeded the period of Archimedes, Hipparchus and Apollonius.

The following passages deal with ethical questions :

"I love my friends and hate my enemies, which may not be in accordance with the Gospel, but I have found it a good wearing creed for honest men." (Nov. 25th, 1887).

"I hold it to be my duty to do what I can for the cases of distress of which I have direct knowledge; and I am glad to be able now and then to give timely aid to the industrious and worthy people with whom as a house-holder, I am brought in personal relation; and who are so often engaged in a noiseless and unpitied but earnest struggle to do well.

In my judgment, a domestic servant, who is perhaps giving half her wages to support her old parents, is more worthy of help than half-a-dozen Magdalens." —(Jan. 26th, 1895).

The advice in another letter is less needed in India than in England. Still it may be as well to quote it, in case there are any who feel tempted to commit the fatal mistake of taking alcohol when they feel tired.

"I understand that you ask me what I think about 'alcohol as a stimulant to the brain in mental work'?"

Speaking for myself (and perhaps I may add for persons of my temperament), I can say, without hesitation, that I would just as soon take a dose of arsenic as I would of alcohol, under such circumstances. Indeed, on the whole, I should think the arsenic safer, less likely to lead to physical and moral degradation. It would be better to die out-right than to be alcoholised before death.

If a man cannot do brain work without stimulants of any kind, he had better turn to hand work—it is an indication on Nature's part that she did not mean him to be a head worker."

An undated draft written probably in 1892, contains some interesting remarks about the needs of a University.

"The cardinal fact in the University question appears to me to be this: that the student to whose wants the mediaeval University was adjusted, looked to the past and sought book-learning while the modern looks to the future and seeks the knowledge of things.

The mediaeval view was that all knowledge worth having was explicitly or implicitly contained in various ancient writings; in the Scriptures, in the writings of the greater Greeks, and those of the Christian fathers. Whatever apparent novelty they put forward, was professedly obtained by deduction from ancient data.

The modern knows that the only source of real knowledge lies in the application of scientific methods

* Bell's Faith of Islam, p. 201.

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of inquiry to the ascertainment of the facts of existence; that the ascertainable is infinitely greater than the ascertained, and that the chief business of the teacher is not so much to make scholars as to train pioneers."

The mediæval view is still the view prevalent in India and China, if we substitute Indian or Chinese classics for the Bible and Aristotle and the fathers. Fortunately it is not the view of Sir Taraknath Palit and Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh.

Huxley aptly calls the English Universities and public schools "clericalised seminaries" and says, half in earnest, that he would support the Government if they would "bring in a bill to make it penal for any parson to hold any office in a public school or university or to presume to teach outside the pulpit."

Our last quotation sums up Huxley's ethical philosophy:

"I am no pessimist, but also no optimist. The world might be much worse and it might be much better. Of moral purpose I see no trace in Nature. That is an article of exclusively human manufacture—and very much to our credit

If you will accept the results of the experience of an old man who has had a very chequered existence—and has nothing to hope for except a few years of quiet downhill—there is nothing of permanent value (putting aside a few human affections), nothing that satisfies quiet reflection—except the sense of having worked according to one's capacity and light, to make things clear and get rid of cant and shams of all sorts."

This had indeed been the work of Huxley's life. His name will occupy one of the highest places, among those who, in their generation, have taken part in the age-long warfare against ignorance and superstition.

HOMERSHAM COX.

THE BEHAR UNIVERSITY

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

NONE but the very foolish will question the right of the people of this country to express their views, individually or collectively, on all matters affecting them, directly or indirectly. And yet I am told, on excellent authority, that one of our educational pioneers, unknown in his own country but a great authority out here, fell into a hysterical fit over the Educational Conference held in September last at Bankipore. On what authority was the Conference called? What were its title, its credentials, cried the indignant Professor? How did the people dare to give utterance to their opinions? How did they, indeed? The astonishment, the wrath, the hysteria shook to its foundation the bulky frame of this doughty champion of Muscovite methods of administration. It was some time, to be sure, before his agitation and his fury abated. Not until then could he resume his normal, commonplace existence. Why all this anger, Professor? People do not care one jot for you or your views. They will, inspite of you and those of your way of thinking, continue to hold meetings, to express their views; nay, they would even venture to criticise your pontifical mandates. It is as well that you should be told plain truths, and we trust they will bear fruit even on a soil such as yours. Enough of you, Professor. Now, we will let you alone to float peacefully down the smooth surface of oblivion.

It is a matter for congratulation that the idea of a Mohamedan College, devoted exclusively to Islamic studies, has now been definitely abandoned. It is a wise, statesmanlike decision and it will have the enthusiastic assent of the entire community. I am averse from everything which is calculated, in the least degree, to accentuate or to bring into prominence racial differences.

Islamic studies should, without being aggressive or obtrusive, form part of the Arts course, a part which should be left to the student, to take up or not as he may feel inclined.

As for the Bachelors of Islam and Masters of Islam—the two new degrees

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which the future university of Dacca will confer—their fate is sealed, the whole scheme is foredoomed to failure. And the reason is not far to seek. The majority of the students or rather their parents and guardians take a practical view of education. They are not practical or unpractical as the present writer is. Of course, to my mind the so-called practical view is a wrong view but there it is. We must take things as they are—much as we might wish them otherwise. What would they lead to? Would they lead to success in professional life or success in any other sphere of life? Would they serve as an avenue to high appointments? What will they do in the majority of instances? The study of exploded sciences, of hair-splitting theological squabbles, of long-winded discussions on unimportant legal points, will hardly be a source of culture and illumination such as we require in these days. They are all very well for a scholar intent on clearing up some obscure point or carrying on his researches into some dimly-lit region of mediæval study. But they can serve no purpose or advance no interest of the ordinary run of students who aim not so much at scholarship as general culture to enable them to be useful members of society or successfully to face the struggle for existence.

Instead of studying Arab logic or Muslim theology or even purely theoretical portions of Islamic law it would be far better to insist upon a general study of Arabic and Persian; of course, a thorough study of these two languages up to the B.A. standard. It will provide a key to higher studies. What happens now is this. The student who passes out of the Calcutta Madrassah acquires no more than a mere bowing acquaintance with these two languages. He gets through the prescribed course in a hopelessly unmethodical fashion and at the end of his academical course manages to obtain his degree. But his ignorance is appalling. Outside the prescribed course he knows nothing, he does not care to know anything. Put before him an unseen passage, Arabic or Persian, and he is at sea. I have personally known *maulvis* who have not only taken good degrees but who are actually engaged in teaching work, fail most hopelessly in their effort to explain Ibn Duraid or Ibn Abd Rabbih. This certainly does not redound to the credit of the institution which professes to give the highest order of instruction in oriental languages. Let the experiment be made any day and you will realize the poverty of knowledge of the *high-turbaned maulvis* who discourse so volubly to the poor and who pretend to distribute the pass-port to heaven; of course, not without an ample monetary compensation.

And yet it is not very long ago that we had in our midst that tribe of intellectual giants to whom we cannot but bow in reverent admiration—the true products of our Eastern culture. To mention only a few representative names:—Maulvi Abdul Hayy of Lucknow; Maulvi Kabiruddin of Calcutta; Hakim Abdul Hamid of Patna. But that order has passed away. We have now the sort of *maulvis* that I have described. But it is not their fault—it is the fault of the system. Everything now is a sham, an unreality. Western civilisation has done a great deal for us but it has also introduced hideous vices. It has taught us one thing to perfection. It is, if I may be permitted to coin a word, *humbugism*. Mr. Ali Imam is intensely anxious to perpetuate the memory of Lord and Lady Hardinge and we all admire gratitude wherever we find it. But has he ever revealed so glowing an enthusiasm nearer home as he has recently shown in connection with our benefactor at Simla; has he, indeed, ever shown a little of that enthusiasm for any one of his own race and religion; Rasikh or Mir Taqi; Anis or Dabir Zawq or Ghalib or even Syed Ahmad Khan or Mohsin-ul-Mulk? Humbugism—that is the word which fitly and aptly describes the prevailing spirit of the times.

To resume the subject under discussion. This shallow superficiality must be done away with and something substantial substituted. Up to the B. A. a student —one, of course, who takes up that branch of study—should be given a thorough grounding in Arabic and Persian; and this, to be sure, is no extravagant demand. Four years is a fairly long time. It is highly desirable that educated Mohamedans should have first hand knowledge of their history and religion. To know the history of England and yet to be ignorant of the history of Islam; to read Shakespeare and yet to be a stranger to the Quran, is certainly a state of affairs not very creditable to us. And it is a painful truth that not one out of a thousand Mohamedans understands the Quran or knows anything of Islamic history. We

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do not wish to convert Mohamedans into a race of scholars. Even if we did so wish, it would be foolish because it would necessarily end in disappointment. All I urge is that those who do take Arabic and Persian should, by the time they pass the B.A., examination be put in possession of knowledge sufficient to enable them to carry on further studies by themselves. They or at least some of them should not only acquire knowledge but also a taste for knowledge, an enthusiasm for learning. A university will ill discharge its function. if it does not inspire love of learning *even* in a small fraction of its *alumni*. Thus up to the B.A., I would suggest a general course of Arabic and Persian—confined mainly to literature and the history of Islam. After the B.A., I would suggest specialisation for higher studies. For the M.A., there should be specialisation and the M.A. course should extend to three years. Besides Arabic and Persian, the student, taking up the M.A. in oriental languages, should possess some knowledge of French and German. I would, indeed, go so far as to make French and German compulsory. We know how essential the knowledge of those two languages is to those who seriously work at any branch of oriental studies. It is impossible to go one step forward without French and German aid. They possess the best books on the subject and from their press issue the results of the latest researches. If we would really have serious, scientific, oriental study out here and not a mere futile farce we must have a proper staff to carry on the work. The specialisation may be in one of the two branches of Muslim learning: history and literature or law and theology. But it will be urged that the three years' course for the M.A. will frighten students away from this course of study. Very probably it will. But that should not stand in the way of efficiency. We would much sooner have one really serious student than a dozen triflers. But such a fear is groundless. As the love of study grows and the number of honest workers multiply, this post-graduate course will be a source and centre of increasing light. It will train men for original work and will, in course of time, become the nursery of true scholarship. There have been, there are and there will be in the future, in India men to carry on the torch of learning irrespective of any consideration of pecuniary gain or material advancement. But such true lovers perish, in these days of gross materialism, for want of mental sustenance. Not to speak of poverty, which crushes out all that is best in them, they suffer grievously from a lack of appreciation and encouragement, and of proper guidance and from an insufficiency of books. There is not one library here where you can find the most recent edition of the texts published in France or Germany; not one library where you can get the latest books on the subject you are studying. Everything is behind the times here and everything, forsooth, is wonderfully original. I do fervently hope that the newly created university of Behar will not indulge in freaks nor distinguish itself by rare originality. It will not, for instance, expect from its professor of Chemistry lectures upon Chinese Literature nor will it, we trust, call upon its professor of History to become the presiding deity of its Law College.

But if the object is extension of learning and higher learning—one thing, then, the Behar University must amply provide for. It must provide for a fair number of "fellowships", for those of its *alumni* who have won distinction at the university or have given indications of future greatness. To create an atmosphere of pure study—I use words of ominous import—it is of vital importance that you should put your student above petty wants. Learning must have undivided attention or none at all. Fellowships would do exactly what is necessary to put students, anxious to prosecute their studies, above want. It will save them from frittering away their energy in uncongenial walks of life. I use the word 'students' in a wider, higher sense. I use the word as meaning those who pursue or are desirous of pursuing their studies after they have obtained the highest degree which their university can confer upon them. They will live within the walls or within easy distance of their Colleges, prosecuting their studies and enriching the store of knowledge.

But I am one of those who believe more in our own exertions than in Government aid. We must, of course, receive all that we get from Government with joyous thanksgiving but we must bestir ourselves as well. We have before us noble examples of munificence, for instance, Tarak Nath Palit and Rash Behary Ghosh. (They

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must forgive me for mentioning their names without the suffixes and prefixes). Should they not inspire others to follow in their wake? Assuredly.

Let the people of Behar show in the cause of learning half that interest and half that zeal which they kave recently evinced in decreeing a statue to Lord and another to Lady Hardinge. Has not Minerva equal,if not greater claims, upon their affection and their gratitude than our popular Viceroy, the father of the Province of Behar and the titulary saint of the people?

"Our Government has done a great deal, says Syed Ahmad Khan, "for our education and our thanks are due to our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria. But I assure you that we could secure neither national education nor national self-respect unless and until we take our education in our own hands. It is wholly beyond the scope of Government to meet all our needs, to fulfil all our demands. In matters of national interest it is nothing short of folly; nay of positive shame, to throw ourselves entirely at the feet of Government. It should be our bounden duty to put our own shoulders to the wheel; to rely first and foremost on ourselves in the discharge of our national duties and obligations. We should look to Government for nothing more than bare encouragement and moral support. Were we to act thus, both the Government and the people would respectively discharge their duties" (Syed Ahmad Khan's address on Islamic education in India, p. 137.) Golden words, worthy of being inscribed in golden letters!

S. Khuda Bukhsh.

CORNWALLIS THE WARRIOR

It is a common dictum of the writers on Indian History that Cornwallis was one of the noblest and best Governor-Generals of India and that he loved peace more than anything else. But this view is a fallacious one. If we scrutinize the career of Cornwallis in India, we shall find that he was not a man of strong principles. We should not forget that when he was sent to India, he was as it were under a cloud. His reputation had been blasted and his name held in obloquy by the population of England. He had surrendered the American colonies to Washington and his colleagues. In the American War of Independence, Cornwallis by no means played a very creditable part. So when he came out to India, he had to retrieve his character and bid for popularity with his countrymen.

Cornwallis was by no means a great man, nor his character above suspicion. Sir Philip Francis, as writer of the *Letters of Junius*, wrote as far back as 1770, crediting Cornwallis with the intention of 'retiring into voluntary banishment' in the hope of recovering some of his reputation.' Coming to the time of the American War of Independence, we find that his reputation was utterly blasted, because of his failure to rivet the chain of slavery round the necks of the colonists of America. The king of England and his Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, agreed to expose him to the world 'as an object of contempt and ridicule.'*

However, the ministry wanted to give him a 'chance'. The ministry at the head of which was Mr. Pitt, were crest-fallen on the loss of their American colonies. To compensate for this loss, they were dreaming of founding an Indian Empire. To realize their dream, they gave the chance to that very man who was instrumental in losing the colonies in America. So in the beginning of 1786, he was appointed Governor-General of India; he sailed in May and landed in Calcutta in September of the same year.

It is necessary here to mention that Cornwallis was a native of Ireland by nationality. The Irish question of our own

* Cornwallis was a drunkard. Lecky in his History of England (Cabinet Edition, Vol. VII, p. 197) writes :—

"Horace Walpole describes a violent quarrel at the opera, which was due to Lord Cornwallis and Lord Allan having come in drunk and insulted Mr. Rigby in the pit."

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time was also the burning question of the day in the time of Cornwallis. The Irish landlords were as cruel and tyrannical to their tenants as their later descendants. Their acts of tyranny and cruelty led to the depopulation of many a "Sweet Auburn" in Ireland. Evictments of tenants were of almost daily occurrence, for no love was ever lost between the Irish landlords and their tenants. The above facts, viz., Cornwallis' surrender to Washington, and his being an Irishman, should be borne in mind, for they help us in understanding the measures which he pursued during his administration as Governor-General of India.

When Cornwallis assumed the reins of Indian Government, he found an empty treasury, and the portion of India under the administration of the East India Company poverty-stricken, for people had ceased cultivation and famine had rendered desolate many a smiling village and town. If the lesser India under the British was in such a pitiful plight, the greater India under her native sovereigns was still prosperous, for internecine wars and strifes were not so destructive of men and their domestic beasts of burden and agriculture as systematic maladministration. The Greater India then was under the sovereignty of the Marathas and the Viceroys of the Deccan and Lucknow, and of Tipu Sultan. In Cornwallis' time, the name of Tipu was a name of terror to every native of Great Britain. A minister of the Christian faith has recorded that "Tipu was a sort of Eastern 'Boney'; English mothers scared their naughty children with his name."*

So Cornwallis thought when he came out to India, that he would retrieve his reputation if he could defeat Tipu. The Anglo-Indians were smarting under the humiliation which some of their countrymen had suffered at the hands of Tipu and his father Haidar. The defeats which Haidar had inflicted on the English were rankling in their breasts. Here was then an opportunity for Cornwallis to make a name and earn a niche in the temple of fame. And he eagerly seized it.

Before we describe the manner in which he violated the engagements which the British Government had solemnly entered into with Tipu, it will be necessary to refer to his transactions with the other Muhamadan States. The Mughal Emperor was still the nominal suzerain of the whole of India. The English were, in theory, his subjects and as such they were bound to pay him their tribute. But they showed their loyalty by usurping his authority. Upto the time of Warren Hastings, the British used to pay their annual tribute for holding the Dewany of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. But it is wellknown how that crafty man came to an understanding with Madhava Rao Sindhia and handed over the aged Delhi Emperor to that Maratha Chief and thus discontinued paying any longer the usual dues to the Mughal Emperor. During the reign of Cornwallis, Madhava Rao Sindhia, as guardian of the Delhi Emperor, demanded the customary tribute from the English. But Cornwallis possessed such fine sense of justice and honour that he refused to pay it. The understanding at which the Maratha Chief had arrived with the British and which ultimately proved the ruin of the supremacy of his dynasty in India, prevented him from firmly pressing the just claim of the Mughal Emperor.

With the Nabob of Oudh, Cornwallis behaved in a manner which does not reflect much credit on his sense of justice and honor. That Muhammadan prince had been burdened with troops whose services he did not require. The maintenance of these troops led by European officers was a great drain on the resources of the Oudh Nabob. He entreated Cornwallis to withdraw the troops agreeably to the contract with Mr. Hastings. But the Governor General turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties. In the words of the historian, Mr. Mill, Cornwallis

> "described the character of the Nabob as a pure compound of negligence and profusion. And though, at that time, Oudh was threatened with no particular danger; and the expense attending the continuance of the brigade at Futtyghur exceeded the sum which he was entitled to exact of the Nabob, he adhered to the resolution that the troops should not be removed."

Cornwallis' treatment of the Nizam does not raise his character in our estimation. On the eve of his departure from England for assuming the Government of India, Cornwallis was instructed by the Directors of the Company to demand from the Nizam the surrender of the Circar of Guntoor. Cornwallis did not demand the surrender in a straightforward manner.

* Revd. W. H. Hutton's *Marquess of Wellesley*, p.32.

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But he waited like the sly fox in watch for his prey. He was afraid lest his demand for the surrender of the Circar might drive the Nizam into the arms of Tipu. But when he realized how helpless the Nizam's position was, he set about demanding the surrender. For this purpose, he despatched a British officer to the Court of the Nizam. The name of this officer was Captain Kennaway. The manner in which the execution of the demand was planned, has been very graphically described by Mr. Mill. He writes:—

"No intimation was to be given to the Nizam of the proposed demand, till after the arrival of Captain Kennaway at his Court * * * The Government of Madras, under specious pretences, conveyed a body of troops to the neighbourhood of the Circar; and held themselves in readiness to seize the territory before any other power could interpose, either with arms or remonstrance."

But the Nizam did not raise any serious objections to the surrender of the Circar to the Christian merchants. This disloyal and usurping Viceroy of the Moghul Emperor was only too eager to purchase the friendship of the Christians at any cost. Perfectly devoid of pride and self-respect, as well as of honesty, the Nizam had by every possible means succeeded in climbing the ladder rung by rung, and invariably as he had climbed he had kicked down the rungs to which he owed his elevation. So it is not to be surprised at, that without a show of resistance even, the Nizam surrendered to the British the Guntoor Circar.

Having gained what he wanted from the Nizam, Cornwallis now thought that the time had arrived to cross blades with Tipu. To go to war with that Muhamadan sovereign without any apparent cause, would have been a gross violation of the Acts of Parliament. So the Governor General adopted measures calculated to provoke Tipu Sultan to hostilities. He did not stop to consider the righteousness of his acts. But this would have been foreign to his purpose, inclined as he was to retrieve his reputation which had been blasted by the surrender of the American Colonies to Washington. Cornwallis deliberately violated the Treaty which had been concluded with Tippoo in 1784. He professed the continued existence of the old Treaty of 1768 and to satisfy the demands of his new ally, the Nizam, he limited the meaning of the clause in the Treaty which stipulated the lending of the English troops to the Nizam, by saying that the Nizam should not employ the troops lent to him against the Company's allies, among whom were enumerated the Maratha Chiefs, the Nabobs of Oudh and Arcot, and the Rajas of Travancore and Tanjore. The name of Tipu was deliberately omitted.

Regarding this measure of Lord Cornwallis, even his great admirer, Sir John Malcolm, is obliged to write as follows:—

"The desire of not offending against the letter of the Act of Parliament, would appear on this occasion to have led to a trespass on its spirit. Two treaties had been concluded, subsequently to the treaty of 1768, between Haidar Ali Khan and the British Government: and the latter State had concluded a treaty of peace with his son Tippoo Sultaun in 1784; by which it had fully recognised his right of sovereignty to the territories which he possessed. And assuredly under such circumstances, the revival with any modification of an offensive alliance (for such the treaty of 1768 undoubtedly was) could not but alarm that prince."

"Nor was that alarm likely to be dispelled, by that qualification in the engagement which provided that no immediate operation should be undertaken against his dominions, as the expression by which that qualification was followed, showed, that the eventual execution of those articles, which went to divest him of his territories, was not deemed an improbable, or at least an impossible occurrence, by the contracting powers. Another part of this engagement which appeared calculated to excite apprehension in the mind of Tippoo was, the stipulation which regarded the employment of the subsidiary force granted to the Nizam; which was made discretional. with the exception of not acting against some specified Prince and Chiefs, among whom he was not included.

"That such ideas were entertained by Tippoo, from the moment he heard of the conclusion of this engagement, there can not be a doubt. It would, indeed, appear by a letter from the Resident at Poonah that the minister of that Court, considered this engagement *as one of an offensive nature*, against Tippoo Sultaun. * * The liberal construction of the restrictions of the act of Parliament had, upon this occasion, the effect of making the Governor-General pursue a course, which was, perhaps, not only questionable in point of faith, but which must have been more offensive to Tippoo Sultaun, and more calculated to produce a war with that Prince, than the avowed contract of a defensive engagement framed for the express and legitimate purpose of limiting his inordinate ambition."*

Another officer, named Colonel Wilks, thus wrote regarding Cornwallis' conduct in these transactions:—

"It is highly instructive to observe a statesman, justly extolled for moderate and pacific dispositions, thus indirectly violating a law, enacted for the enforcement of these virtues, by entering into a very intelligible offensive alliance." (Historical Sketches, iii, 38).

* Malcolm's sketch of a Political History of India pp. 68-69, (of the Second Edition).

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All that could be said in favour of this treacherous conduct of Cornwallis towards Tippoo, is that he found the other Powers of Southern India willing to assist him in annihilating the Mysore upstart. The Marathas and the Nizam had good reasons to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Tippoo. That Muhamadan Prince was bent on pursuing a career of conquest. He did not respect the engagements he had entered into with the Marathas and the Nizam. So it was no wonder that they were turned into his bitter enemies. The wars which they had made on him and in which he was worsted, were all his doing. It is a remarkable fact that the English then did not come to the assistance of their allies, the Mahrattas and the Nizam. But with great promptness Cornwallis swooped down on Tippoo when the latter, it is alleged, merely intended attacking Travancore, an ally of the ruling company of merchants. It need hardly be added that Cornwallis would have suffered the swallowing up of Travancore and he would not have raised his little finger to save his ally the Hindu Raja of Travancore, had he not considered that defeating Tippoo would retrieve his reputation and had he not also been promised assistance by the Marathas and the Nizam in attacking Tippoo. It was not out of any love for the Travancore prince or any regard for the just cause of a weak ally that the Governor-General violated a solemn treaty.

Cornwallis was guilty of 'bad faith' towards Tippoo and disobedience of the orders of his employers, the British Parliament. When Haidar's death occurred in 1782, the war in which he was then engaged against the English had not been concluded. Tippoo had to carry on that war; and he managed the whole affair in a manner which reflected great credit on his generalship. The English were compelled to sue for peace and had to cringe before Tippoo. Regarding this, the historian Mr. Mill writes :—

"The injuries which the English had sustained, since Tippoo had joined in the business of negotiation, were such, as in a prouder state of the English mind, would have appeared to call for signal retribution. But the debility and dejection to which their countrymen were now reduced, and the despair of resources to continue the war, impressed the negotiators with a very unusual admiration of the advantages of peace; and meeting the crafty and deceitful practices of Tippoo with temper and perseverance, they succeeded, on the 11th of March 1784, in gaining his signature to a treaty, by which, on the general condition of a mutual restitution of conquests, peace was obtained."

By this Treaty, known as the Treaty of Mangalore, Tippoo was recognised by the English as one of their allies. But Cornwallis did not treat him as such. Hence he was guilty of 'bad faith.' As said above, Tippoo was made to believe that the English meant hostilities against him, because he was not mentioned as one of their allies. Again the military preparations which were going on in the territories then under the administration of the English left no doubt in his mind, that their intentions were any thing but friendly towards him. Grant Duff writes :—



TIPPOO SULTAN

(FROM A STEEL ENGRAVING FROM AN ORIGINAL DRAWING FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF THE MARQUESS WELLESLY)

"In September 1786, Lord Cornwallis, having assumed charge of the Supreme Government, addressed letters to the Peishwa and Nizam Ally, in which, although he expressly intimated his determination to take no part in the war between the confederates and Tippoo Sultaun, yet the state of military efficiency in which it became the immediate care of the new Governor-General to place all the presidencies, occasioned a bustle and apparent preparation, which seem to have convinced Tippoo that the designs of the English were decidedly hostile; and may afford some reason for that rancorous hostility which led him to persevere in schemes for annihilating the power of the British

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nation in India. The appointment of a resident at the Peishwa's court was a cause of alarm to Tippoo."

Cornwallis did nothing to remove or explain away the causes of Tippoo's alarm. On the contrary, he did everything calculated to make Tippoo believe that the English wanted to wipe off the disgrace which he and his father had inflicted on them. They circulated wild stories regarding Tippoo's cruelties and barbarities. In his wars and conquests, Tippoo, like all other conquerors who preceded or have followed him, was unscrupulous as to the means which he employed in gaining the ends. But it may be doubted whether he was so cruel as his contemporary Christian rulers were. He never ill-treated his subjects. The land over which he ruled presented a scene of prosperity which was not to be met with in the British India of those days. But Tippoo was harsh if not exactly cruel to his enemies and his Christian prisoners of war. For this Europeans at least should not blame Tippoo. They should remember that it was one of the most pious European sovereigns who in the very last year of the highly civilized nineteenth century enjoined his soldiers not to give any quarter to the Chinese prisoners of war, and even invoked the blessings of God for the success of his soldiers in this task of bloodshed and rapine. They should also remember that it was a European general who did not show any mercy to the wounded and dying Dervishes in Sudan and who did not scruple to desecrate the tomb of one whom millions of people revered as their prophet. The incidents of the Balkan wars, too, are still fresh in men's memories. Compared to these cruelties and barbarities, those of Tippoo dwindle into insignificance. Whenever Europeans speak ill of others, they should be reminded of the great philosopher Schopenheur's saying that "it is generally the old story of the dog barking at its own image; it is himself that he sees and not another dog, as he fancies."

The immediate cause which led the Governor-General to declare hostilities against Tippoo was the allegation that the latter had been meditating an attack on the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the East India Company. It is not necessary to enter into the long-standing disputes between Tippoo and the Travancore State. It is of little consequence whether Tippoo was aggressive or the Travancore Raja had a grievance against the Mysore usurper. But from all accounts it appears that there was no desire on the part of Tippoo to go to war with the English. As said before, Cornwallis was determined to find a pretext to make war on him. And for this purpose, he had been making every preparation since his arrival in India.*

* From the correspondence of Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis, edited with notes by Charles Ross, there is hardly left any ground for doubt about this point. The Marathas had been promised by the predecessor of Cornwallis an offer of aid against Tippoo. A few days after his arrival at Calcutta, Lord Cornwallis in a minute wrote :—

"That the offer, through our Resident at Poona, to grant an assistance of troops from Bombay to the Peshwa, proceeded from the warmest anxiety for the public good, I am firmly persuaded; but I am clearly of opinion, that if performed, it would amount to a direct breach of the late treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan, in the first article of which, the contracting parties engage that they will not directly 'or indirectly assist the enemies of each other'; and it would be no less acting in defiance of the Act of 24th George III. I cannot consider the French, or any other intriguers that we know of, as in any degree approaching to the spirit of the above exception."

Yet the noble Lord, shortly afterwards, considered that it would not "amount to a direct breach of the late treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan" to deliberately omit his name from the list of the Company's allies! He could not go at once to war with Tippoo, because the Company's finances did not permit him to do so. This will be evident from his letter marked 'Private' to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, dated Calcutta, March 5, 1787, in which he wrote:—"I am perfectly sensible of the importance of Tellicherry in case of a war with Tippoo, but the stationing a large force there, and the erecting considerable new works, would be necessary to give it security and importance. In the present state of our finances, nothing but the appearance of an emergency could induce me to think of either; for the constant drain of pay for the troops, and particularly the engineer's bills for the works, would totally demolish the effects of all my labours and economy in this country."

But such was his consistency that he wrote from Futtyghur on Oct. 15,1787 to Sir John Shore to make necessary preparations for a war with Tippoo. His own words are:—"I most perfectly approve of your having resolved to support the declaration of the Madras Government and of its being our determination to protect the Rajah of Travancore as one of our allies. * * * We must no doubt make every preparation in our power to furnish supplies of men, money, or for carrying on the war (if we should be forced into it) with the greatest vigour; * * * It is impossible to enter into particulars, until we are acquainted with the manner in which Tippoo means to carry his designs into execution." That is to say, without knowing the intentions of Tippoo and without giving that Prince a chance to explain the authenticity or otherwise of the rumors that had been spread regarding his alleged invasion of the Raja of Travancore's dominion, Cornwallis ordered to "make every preparation for carrying on the war." The subsequent acts of Lord Cornwallis amply prove that he was fully determined to cross blades with Tippoo. He sent a

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He even did not scruple to set at defiance the act of Parliament which imposed on the British Government the necessity of not interfering with the affairs of the native states of India. The system of neutrality was required of the Indian Government. But Cornwallis, to retrieve his blasted reputation, took no notice of that Parliamentary act. According to him, the system of neutrality had "been attended with the unavoidable inconvenience of our being constantly exposed to the necessity of commencing a war, without having previously received the assistance of efficient allies."*

He now invited the Marathas and the Nizam to a defensive alliance against Tippoo. Advantages were held out to these Powers; they were told that they would share with the British Government the territorial conquests wrung from Tippoo. Accordingly when this triple alliance was formed, then Cornwallis thought that the time had come to declare war against Tippoo. A pretext was found. It was alleged that he contemplated attacking the Raja of Travancore.

It is necessary here to state that the Government of Madras were averse to the war. Cornwallis never consulted that Government as to the propriety or necessity of going to war against Tippoo. That Government was in a position to know Tippoo's intentions better than Cornwallis. Mr. Holland, who was made to retire from the Governorship of Madras, declared in his last letter to Cornwallis, that Tippoo "had no intention to break with the Company and would be disposed to enter into negotiation for the adjustment of the points in dispute." But Mr. Holland was superseded by general Medows who was a fire-brand like Cornwallis himself. He proved an admirable tool in Cornwallis' hands.

Tippoo himself had no intention to wage war against the English or the Raja of Travancore. Colonel Wilks writes that Tippoo "was unprepared for war." Tippoo himself gave assurance that his affections were pacific, and that he had no intention to invade the ancient territories of Travancore. He even went so far as to write to the Madras Government suggesting to amicably settle the matters by envoys on both sides, and asking for a safe conduct for his own ambassador. But neither Lord Cornwallis nor the newly appointed Governor of Madras, named General Medows, had the remotest intention of living on peaceful terms with Tippoo. They knew that Tippoo was unprepared for war and so Cornwallis wrote to the Madras Governor that—

"Good policy, as well as a regard to our reputation in this country, requires, that we should not only exact severe reparation from Tippoo, but also, that, *we should take this opportunity to reduce the power of a Prince, who avows upon every occasion so rancorous an enmity to our nation.*—At present we have every prospect of aid from the country powers, whilst he can expect no assistance from France. And if he is suffered to retain his present importance, * * until the French are again in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war."

From the sentence which we have italicised above, it is clear that the war which Cornwallis declared against Tippoo was an unjust and unjustifiable one. General Medows, the Governor of Madras, wrote an insulting letter to Tippoo in reply to the latter's request for amicably settling the disputes between him and the British. General Medows, who professed at least to be a Christian and as such was in the habit of praying day after day for the kingdom of heaven to come on earth, or

British officer to Nagpore for the purpose of asking the Marathas to join him against Tippoo. For this purpose, one Mr. George Forster was selected. Writing to his protege from Cawnpore on October 23, 1787, Lord Cornwallis directed him to proceed to the Court of Modajee Bhosla, the acting chief of the Berar Government to spy out the strength &c., of that State and also to incite the Maratha chiefs to combine with Cornwallis against Tippoo. At that time the Marathas were not soliciting the aid of the British against Tippoo. They were almost on terms of peace with that Muhamadan Prince. Hence Cornwallis wrote:—"If the Marathas have engaged or resolved to keep peace with Tippoo, it is not probable that our solicitations would induce them to depart immediately from that plan" Mr. Forster was therefore instructed to spare no pains to incite the Marathas "to form a close connexion and alliance against Tippoo as a common enemy."

To Mr. Malet, the Resident at Poona, Lord Cornwallis wrote on March 10, 1788:—"I look upon a rupture with Tippoo as a certain and immediate consequence of a war with France, and in that event a vigorous co-operation of the Marathas would certainly be of the utmost importance to our interests in this country."

Here the Governor-General throws off his disguise; here there is no allusion to the alleged aggression on the part of Tippoo against the Raja of Travancore's territories. From perusing all these letters written by Lord Cornwallis, no one can help concluding that he had fully resolved to go to war with Tippoo and was merely seeking for a pretext to make the people believe that the war was a just one.

* Despatch to Mr. Malet, 28th February, 1790.

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in other words, prayed that there might be peace and good will amongst men, was only too ready and willing to plunge the country into all the horrors of war. He did not want peace but war. Tippoo offered to send a person of dignity to Madras to give and receive explanations on the subjects of dispute, and "remove the dust by which the upright mind of the General had been obscured." But the Christian General wrote:—

"I received yours, and understand its contents. You are a great Prince, and, but for your cruelty to your prisoners, I should add an enlightened one. The English, equally incapable of offering an insult, as of submitting to one, have always looked upo) war as declared, from the moment you attacked their ally, the king of Travancore. God does not always give the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift, but generally success to those whose cause is just.—Upon this we depend."

In this letter the Christian General did not strike any note to peacefully settle the subjects of dispute. He insulted Tippoo. How different was the conduct of the Company's servants now from that of 1784, when they cringed before Tippoo to show mercy to them and submitted to be dictated to as to the terms of the Treaty of Mangalore!

The die was now cast. Tippoo had not to fight the British alone, but also their allies, the Mahrattas and the Nizam. The Governor-General of India, Lord Cornwallis, was desirous of leading the troops in person against Tippoo. But when he found General Medows nearer the seat of war, he delegated the command of troops to that officer, who, however, was no match for Tipoo in Generalship, for he outmanouvered and out-generalled him. This success over the Christian General added another feather to the cap of the Muhammadan ruler of Mysore.

When the affairs had taken such a gloomy turn, then Cornwallis thought it proper that he himself should take the field against Tippoo. So Cornwallis, who had arrived at Madras on the 12th December, 1790, assumed personally the command of the army and directed General Medows to return to the Presidency. It need hardly be said that with the assistance of his allies, and the large army which he had at his command, Cornwallis had no difficulty in defeating Tippoo who, as said before, was not prepared for the war. Bangalore was taken by assault and in its capture, cruelties and barbarities were, under the direction of Cornwallis, practised on the inmates of the town. Mr. Mill writes that "the fury which almost always animates soldiers in a storm, when their own safety depends upon the terror they inspire, led to a deplorable carnage."

After capturing Bangalore, Cornwallis made every preparation for the reduction of Seringapatam, which was Tippoo's Capital. That unfortunate Prince was all the time making overtures for peace. But his overtures met with no success. His letters were not attended to by the Governor-General, who also declined receiving an ambassador from Tippoo. When Cornwallis' army was in view of Seringapatam, Tippoo sent a present of fruit which the Governor-General returned untouched. Referring to this incident Colonel Wilks, the historian of the Mysore Campaign, writes:—

"It will be difficult for the reader to conceive the intense delight with which, on the ensuing morning, the whole army beheld the loads of fruit untouched, and the camel unaccepted, returning to Seringapatam."

Mr. Mill truly observes that—

"the fact is, that the English in India, at that time, had been worked up into a mixture of fury and rage against Tippoo, more resembling the passion of savages against their enemy, * * than the feelings with which a civilized nation regards the worst of its foes."

Even after receiving all these slights and insults, Tippoo again tried to open negotiations for peace with Cornwallis. That Prince was obliged to sue for peace, because there were traitors in his camp. The treachery was the result of the short-sighted policy of his father and himself in employing European mercenaries and appointing them to all high posts of trust and honor. These mercenaries considered it meritorious to desert their master whose salt they had eaten so long, at a very critical time. Although it is not on record, there is reason to suspect that Cornwallis bought over these mercenaries. When Wellesley declared war against the Marathas, he spent money like water to bribe and seduce the European officers in the employ of the Maratha Princes, especially of Scindia. He bought them over and they deserted their employers and also betrayed them. Cornwallis must have done the same, although it seems to us, that he never had the courage to acknowledge it. On no other supposition can we account for the readiness with which the European employees of Tippoo deserted him. Mr.

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Thornton in his History of British India writes:—

"A number of Europeans, principally Frenchmen, who had long served him (Tippoo) and his father, took the opportunity of quitting a service of which they were weary. Among them was a man named Blevette, whose departure was a serious loss to the Sultan, as he possessed considerable skill in fortification. * * * Tippoo's European servants were now quite as ready to exercise their skill and knowledge for his destruction as they had previously been assiduous in using them for his defence."

Owing to the helpless position to which he was reduced, Tippoo had to sue for peace. He sent a Vakil to Cornwallis who consented to receive him at the warm instances of the Mahratta allies. But the messenger was sent back to his master, without being permitted to enter Cornwallis' camp, because he declined to treat with an agent. At the rejection of Tippoo's overture for peace, the British were delighted. Mr. Phil writes:

"It is another among the many proofs of a most remarkable fact, that whole masses of men are capable of desiring the death of thousands of their fellow-creatures, at once, simply for their own profit. Had the negotiation proceeded, and been productive of peace, it might have been supposed, by an army which had confidence in Lord Cornwallis that the peace, which he deliberately approved, was better for their country than war. *Better for their Country.*—Yes But not better for them, because it precluded the acquisition of plunder, promotion, and glory."

So the war proceeded for many months longer. At last Seringapatam was besieged. Tippoo again opened negotiations for peace. This time at the intercession of his Maratha allies, Cornwallis was obliged to accede to Tippoo's overtures. It was the interest of the Marathas to curb Tippoo's power, but not altogether to annihilate him. At that time the Maratha affairs were being managed by that talented statesman, Nana Fadnavis. He knew how grasping the Europeans were. It was no secret to him that the English were doing everything in their power to found an empire in India. As was to be expected of him, he would not consent to extirpate Tippoo altogether. It was his influence which gave a fresh lease of a few years more to Tippoo's sovereignty. The intervention of the Mahrattas in preventing the extirpation of Tippoo at this time was fortunate for the lawful Raja of Mysore. Haidar Ali was an usurper and his son Tippoo was no better. Had Cornwallis succeeded in reducing Seringapatam and imprisoning or slaying Tippoo, the whole of the Mysore territory would have passed into the hands of the British, for it does not appear that Cornwallis ever troubled himself about the rightful sovereign of the Mysore State, who was then a prisoner of Tippoo's. There would not have then arisen that Native State of Mysore which is now looked upon as a model State in India and is held up even to the British Government of India for imitation.

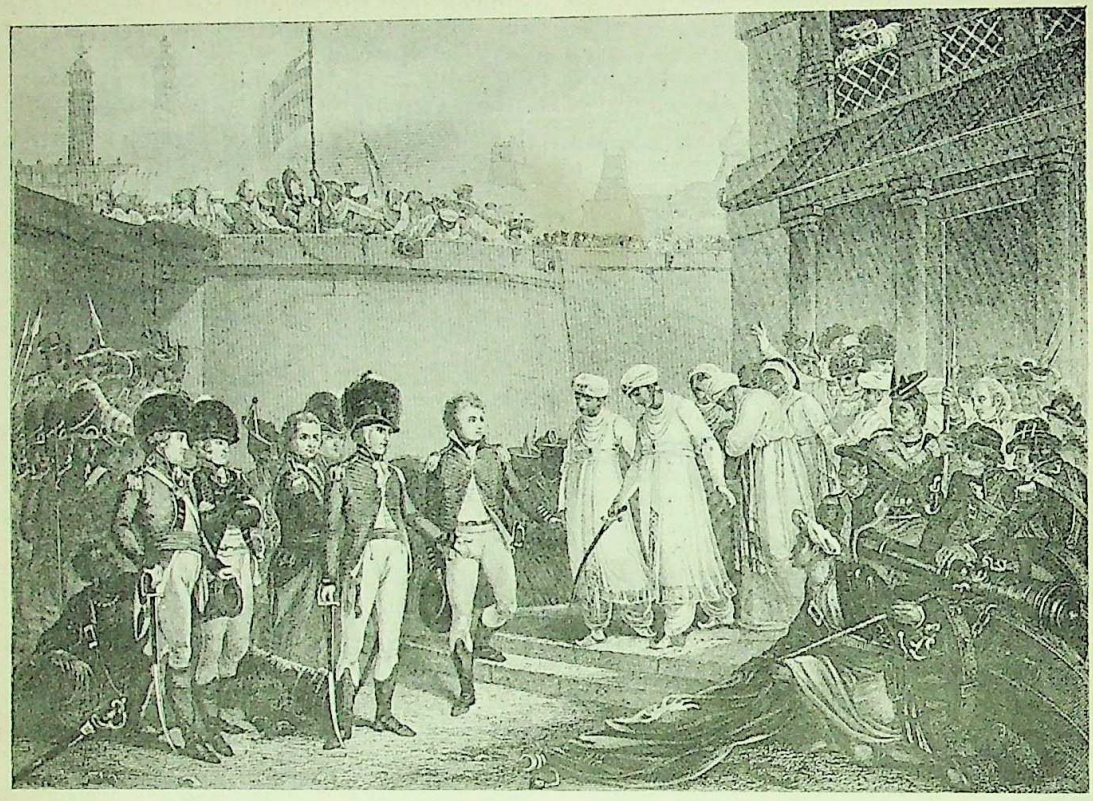
After considerable discussion, the treaty of peace was signed by Tippoo and Cornwallis as well as the allies. That unfortunate Prince was made to cede half the territory which he possessed before the war, to pay three crores and thirty thousand rupees, and to deliver two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the conditions. This Treaty was signed on the 23rd February 1792. The ceded territory was divided between the East India Company, the Mahrattas and the Nizam.

It was Cornwallis who could boast that for the first time, the British had obtained territory in India by conquest; for, not an inch of land which they possessed in India previous to the war with Tippoo, had been obtained by conquest. From the time of Clive all the acquisitions of land by the East India Company in India were by means of diplomacy, fraud and usurpation. Cornwallis was the first Englishman to obtain land in India by conquest. England also came to his assistance by giving a loan of several thousands of pounds sterling to carry on the unjust war against Tippoo. The English ministry gave every support in their power to Cornwallis in his aggressive policy. From all these facts, can it be doubted for a moment that they were bent on founding an empire in India to compensate for the loss of America?

There were a few members in the British Parliament who protested against the war. Mr. Hippesly, Mr. Philip Francis and Mr. Fox, with their usual eloquence and mastery over facts, raised their voice against Cornwallis' aggressive measures. The first named member of Parliament had called in question the justice and policy of the war, affirmed that the Raja of Travancore was the aggressor, and complained that though the war was ostensibly undertaken on account of the alleged attack on Travancore, the Raja was not mentioned. Cornwallis' alliance with the Mahrattas and the Nizam was denounced by Mr. Fox as a plundering confederacy for the purpose

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THE SURRENDER OF TWO SONS OF TIPPOO SULTAN AS HOSTAGES. FROM AN OLD PRINT

of extirpating a lawful Prince. He said, that when the progress of civilization had rendered men ashamed of offensive alliances in Europe, the Christians had signalized their virtue by removing them in India.

But all these protests were in vain. The Ministry resolved to send out to India more regiments to assist Cornwallis and gave him a loan of £ 500,000 in specie. They deliberately violated the Act of Parliament which had been passed in 1784. It was their duty to scrupulously watch that their representatives in India did not infringe any of the provisions of that Act. But their conduct encouraged every Governor-General of India to treat that Act with contempt. Mr. Mill truly observes that—

"Sir John Malcolm, whose loyalty offends not commonly on the score of weakness, seems to regard it as one of the principal advantages of the war, that it displayed Lord Cornwallis' contempt for the act of Parliament. 'The policy' (says that writer, Sketch of the Political History of India, p. 94), 'of Lord Cornwallis was neither directed to obtain a delay of hostilities, nor limited to the object of repelling the immediate danger, with which the State over whose councils he presided was threatened'. That is to say, it was not confined to the express object to which he was limited by act of Parliament. When fully satisfied of the designs of Tippoo, he hastened to attack him; he saw the great advantages which were likely to result from early offensive operations; and the moment he resolved on war, he contemplated (as appears from the whole tenour of his correspondence previous to the commencement of hostilities) the increase of the Company's territories in the quarters of the Carnatic and Malabar, as a desirable object of policy.' The grand object, indeed, of Sir John's intelligent work, is to point out the impolicy of the restricting act of Parliament, to demonstrate that the most eminent of the Indian Governors, Mr. Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Wellesley, have treated it with uninterrupted contempt; and received applause for every successful violation of it."

Cornwallis was guilty of waging this unjust war in violation of the declared sense and enactments of Parliament. But he did not stop to consider that. The successful termination of the war retrieved his reputation.

Cornwallis further heightened his reputation by attacking all the French possessions in India. He was ambitious of obtaining the honor of extirpating the republicans, and he succeeded in adding the

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whole of the French settlements to the English possessions. This was done in 1793 on the eve of his departure from India.

Cornwallis was hankering after military glory, because he knew that that alone would set him right in the sight of the inhabitants of Great Britain, enraged as they had been against him for surrendering America to the rebels. It was, therefore, that he was so anxious to wage war against Tippoo and extirpate the French in India.

HISTORICUS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

I. Morals and Moral Lessons: by J. Nelson Fraser, M. A., Pricipal of the Secondary Training College. Bombay. Longmans, Green and Co. 1912. Price twelve annas.

In this small and unpretentious volume Principal Fraser has condensed a mass of thought-provoking observations which will be read—not by the schoolmaster alone—with interest and profit, though not always with approval. The freedom of the writer from cant and pious platitudes is refreshing. His tone is even slightly tinged with cool cynicism. He is nothing if not frank, and if he has not spared the faults of the Indian character, neither has he spared his own countrymen The subject of moral lessons, according to the author, is 'a happy hunting-ground of noodles, bores, and self-advertising humbugs.' Effective religious teaching is impossible in Government schools, and must be the business of properly instructed Pundits and Mollahs. Perhaps institutions like the *Gurukul* and the religious Universities about to be established may help in the solution of the problem. The writer seems to hold the Hobbesian doctrine that the Good is selfishness under another name, but he recognises that morality based on Reason alone, without a creed, will seldom be effective. License is likely to be the general and probable result of scepticism. "The great need of the country is more energy.....We must look to inspiration from large guiding ideas.....it is the sense of movement towards a great goal that is wanted. With some this idea may be racial or patriotic, but it is still possible to think that India has not lost touch with her past and what moves her when it comes will be a religious idea." The virtue which should be fostered is active well-doing, guided by enlightened foresight. The ideal citizen is forced to take a part in politics, but should be careful not to contract 'the uncharitable ideas and mendacious tactics with which politicians, specially in free countries, are tainted." He sees the good of the English Public School system—the cultivation of a spirit of subordination to authority and of a sense of responsibility—but says that the Primary Schools of England have failed to raise the lower orders, who are characterised by surliness of tone, harshness to women, a proclivity to drink and gamble, downright coarseness of manners and dirty habits. The author is under no illusions and has no enthusiasm to waste upon copy-book maxims. He recognises that the school cannot subject boys to the tests and temptations of real life. Modern education tends to produce a pleasure-loving generation. Men of really great talents are often vain, and it is a question whether we should teach common people to dispense with the love of fame, 'the last infirmity of noble minds'. The legitimate pride which we call self-respect should not be discarded. Unfortunately boys of courage and talent are often great bullies, and the boys who are fated to be bullied are often the undesirable boys. Perseverance and power of application, as illustrated in learning a foreign language correctly, is a vanishing though very useful virtue. The Hindu system seems to leave little room for enterprise, the spirit which strikes out new paths and takes risks in a hopeful spirit. "The strictness of caste, the prohibition of many kinds of food, the vast number of recognised omens, the possession of official horoscopes, the network of claims imposed by the joint family system, would appear to have left the orthodox Hindu a path of life inconceivably narrow." Principal Fraser touches upon secret vice, but says it is not common in India. Correct ideas on the main questions of several sciences should be imparted in schools. The cup-hunting spirit,' 'that silly chatter about the merits of batsmen and forwards which disgraces so many classes of readers and newspapers in England, should be kept out, though healthy games should be encouraged. The doctrine that a feeble body ensures a feeble and diseased mind is contrary to fact—men of conspicuous ability and application are more often than not in poor health. 'Badly constructed as this world is, the commonplace virtues do usually pay'—is the guarded way in which the learned Principal paraphrases the maxim, 'Honesty is the best policy', but he adds, 'possibly more fortunes are made now than formerly by adroit mendacity.' Mill-owners in India would do well to treat their operatives with reasonable generosity, in order to avoid 'that bitterness of class sentiment which actually threatens the existence of civilisation in Europe. A man of good taste is not necessarily a good man. 'The most exquisite judgment in wine, flowers, music or morals may leave a man a scoundrel.' Manners are an excellent armour in the warfare of life, but we should not judge other people too much by their manners, though it is true that breaches of manners cause more irritation with the mass of men than breaches of morals. The author has much that is sensible to say on the vexed question of want of respect on the part of students. "I cannot believe", says Principal Fraser, "with the best will in the world, schools (i.e. schoolmasters) will often be able to procure parents more respect than they procure themselves." "The only

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definite charge ever heard against the educated young man of the present day is that he is wanting in respect for authority. Even this charge is always made in conveniently vague terms; nothing is ever said as to what he ought to respect or how he ought to show his respect for it." The public schools of America have, in the author's opinion, solved remarkably the problem of due respect for authority with life and movement in the pupils. "The teacher who wishes to be properly respected has only one course before him to make himself worthy of respect. I am bound to say that in India, more than in other countries, I think that respect will not be denied him". The teacher need not also be 'afraid to explain the meaning of servility, which does not accompany true respect but expels it.'

Certainly the book strikes out a new path in the teaching of morals, and will find a wide circulation.

II. For India's Uplift: by Annie Besant. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price annas twelve.

This is a collection of Mrs. Besant's speeches and writings on Indian subjects. They cover practically the whole field of Indian activity, political, social, moral, religious and educational, and there are two lectures on 'The value of Theosophy in the raising of India' and 'The work of the Theosophical Society in India'. Mrs. Annie Besant's eloquence needs no commendation, and if some of the tenets of theosophy to which she alludes here and there be excluded, there is almost nothing in the whole volume before us to distinguish her from an ardent nationalist. She blesses the National Congress, laments the economic drain of India's wealth to England, strongly criticises the colour bar, the reactionary policy of the Government in the matter of education and the like, urges us to use countrymade goods, and pleads for equal citizenship and equal opportunities of public service for the Indian. Even her two theosophical lectures contain much that will be readily assented to. That Mrs. Besant loves India and her people, and has done much to popularise the ancient wisdom of the East, and devoted her splendid gifts to the uplift of our fallen nation, will not be denied by her worst foes. It may be questioned whether those gifts might not have been utilised to better purpose, and from that point of view she has no doubt been often criticised, and sometimes perhaps unjustly, which accounts for her uncharitable view of the Indian Press (page 200). She is not much in favour of democracy as the term is now understood in the West: "It may well be that the world will have outgrown democracy and will have established the rule of the wisest instead of the rule of the most numerous before the Indian peasants have grown into civic manhood." She exhorts us to "rouse the boys to enthusiasm and pride by the history of ancient India....Tell them how India was really great, cultured, full of piety.....so that they may grow up thinking of India with pride and devotion, and longing to do their share in serving the nation, because the nation is worthy of all sacrifice and service. Enthusiasm in the young is easily aroused. Teach them what will fire their hearts..." "In the College, students should discuss political questions, economic questions, and social questions. They should debate them, discuss them, and talk them over in every possible way." Her reminiscences of her own University scheme are not very flattering to officials. Referring to the official opposition which all such schemes have to encounter, she says: "A sympathetic Education Minister would encourage all such signs of civic life and enthusiasm instead of sprinkling them lavishly with cold water and causing widespread suspicion and discontent." We learn from one of the speeches that the Maharaja of Kashmir does not allow grain to be exported as a protection against famine, but the greatest pressure is continually being put on His Highness to export his rice. We shall close this interesting volume with the following beautiful passage:

"How did Italy, how did Germany become nations? By sentiment. That may strike you as strange, and yet it is not strange if you remember that thought is the one creative power. There was no Italy. There was no Germany. But poets sang of the Fatherland, authors wrote of the Fatherland, and at last they sang the Nation into birth, they sang the Dream into the Fact."

"How shall the Indian Nation be born? By sentiment also. A feeling is beginning to pervade her races that India is the motherland, and the Indian Nation is already a Dream, an Ideal. She exists already in the world of ideas; she will pass, she is passing, into the world of discussion; and thence she will be born into the world of facts. This is the law. This is the path. First the idea, then the popularisation, then the fact."

III. Anglo-Indian Studies: by S.M. Mitra. Longmans, Green and Co., London. 1913. Price 10|6d net. (pp. 525).

Mr. S.M. Mitra is a Bengali gentleman who has lived long in the Nizam's dominions, and practised as a State Vakil and edited a newspaper there. He has settled in England for eight years now, and is apparently living by his pen. He has already written several books which have been favourably received by the British press, and the present volume is the latest addition to their number. It is a collection of essays on the most diverse subjects, and contains some of his latest contributions to the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Fortnightly Review* and other magazines. Most of the subjects are political, though a few are literary, e.g. the Hindu Drama, Hindu Medicine, Hindu mind-training (being a short account of the tales of the Betal-Panchavimsati). There are short biographical accounts of three Indian statesmen (Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir T. Madhava Rao and Sir Salar Jung) and of three English administrators. We miss any reference to W. S. Blunt's *India under Ripon* in this connection, though the book would have thrown much light on the highways and byways of Hyderabad politics during Sir Salar Jung's time. In 'The Balkan War and India' the writer attempts to show that too much coddling of the Moslems has forced England to declare neutrality in the Balkans and prevented her from active intervention in that quarter. He reminds the Government that the murder of foreigners from religious (as distinguished from political) motives is the special characteristic of Moslem fanaticism, that the Crescent and the Cross are both proselytising faiths and there is therefore likelihood of friction between the two, and that England's difficulties with foreign powers is greater in the case of Moslems than in the case of Hindus as the former owe allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa or Viceregent of the Prophet. In the chapter on 'Indian Unrest' the author combats Sir Valentine Chirol's obviously fallacious theory that the unrest originated with the Brahmins and asserts that the Moslems are in sympathy with the Hindus in their political propaganda and that the real cause of the unrest lies in the personal ill-treatment of the 'natives' by Englishmen and its condonation by Courts of Justice and Anglo-Indian juries. 'The arrogance of the low

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Englishman is the bedrock on which the citadel of sedition is built.' He quotes Sir William Hunter's *Indian Empire:* "The British won India, not from the Moghuls, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Moghul Empire had broken up. Our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi king nor with his revolted governors, but with the two Hindu Confederacies, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Our last Maratha war dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh confederation was not finally overcome until 1849." In one chapter Sir Rajendra Mukherjea's presidential speech at the Allahabad Industrial Conference, in which he advocated Protection and Mass Education as essential to industrial 'regeneration, is quoted *in extenso*, and another chapter is devoted to its sympathetic exposition. A scheme for opening a port for ocean liners, inaugurated by the Cochin State, forms the subject of another chapter, and the Government of India is exhorted to prove its professed sympathy for the development of Native States by helping the scheme forward instead of throwing obstacles in its way. The history of the Indian Press occupies one chapter, the similarity between certain Hindu doctrines and the Decalogue and the Beatitudes forms the theme of another. 'The Moslem-Hindu Entente Cordiale' is the subject of another paper. It is perhaps the best in the whole collection. The author shows that of the dozen Moghul sovereigns commencing from Jehangir, six were the sons of Hindu ladies. In the premier Muhammadan State of Hyderabad, within the last seventy years there were three Hindu prime ministers. Hindus freely gave their votes for Mahomedan members of the Hyderabad Legislative Council and *vice versa*. "While *disarmed* Calcutta and Bombay are notorious for cowkilling riots, Hyderabad, though *armed* to the teeth, knows how to manage without cowkilling riots. It is wellknown that Hindus and Mahomedans live more amicably in the Nizam's territories than they do in British India." 'During the Sepoy Mutiny the rebel Hindu sepoy fought not for a Hindu ruler, but for the Moslem King of Delhi. Also Mahomedans fought for the Hindu leader, Nanasahib.' In Indore and other Hindu native states, the Maharaja's *tazia* takes part in the Mohurram procession. "It is not generally known that as early as the tenth century, under Sabaktagin, two Hindu generals commanded the Ghazni army—General Sundar at Herat and General Tilak at Merv, the two great strongholds of Islam in Central Asia". In one chapter we have a summary of the debate in the Imperial Council in the Sikh Anand Marriage Bill, now passed into law. Elsewhere Mr. Mitra dwells on the power, prestige and influence of the native Princes, and pleads that at least six of them should be made members of the reformed House of Lords. In 'Christian and Hindu War ethics' he shows that many of the principles of international law on peace and war were anticipated by the Hindus, but he is of opinion that they have as little influence in maintaining peace in the modern world as they had in preventing the deadly battle of Kurukshetra. The theme of the chapter on 'British Statesmanship and Indian psychology' is summed up in the following passage: "In transferring the Capital to the old centre of Indian Imperialism (Delhi, of which 'even the Hindu can think with pride that here, near the Moghul Emperor, sat the Hindu general, and there, near the Moslem ruler, was the place of the Hindu governor') England has in a flash aroused memories to a degree that thousands of demagogues and agitators could not have done in a century. Was it wise to awaken ambitions and sentiments if they cannot be gratified? It should now be England's policy to make the hundreds of millions of her Indian subjects feel that they are not hopelessly sunk beneath, but living up to, the traditions of their distinguished past as represented by Delhi, otherwise they may weigh Britain in the balance and find her wanting." In the Preface Mr. Mitra characterises the cry for colonial self-government as a visionary ambition in as much as the native Princes of India, of which more than a third is still under their rule, will never agree to it.

The book is replete with trenchant home-truths, of which there is space here for only a few. There are many references in the book to the Roman doctrine of *Divide et impera*. "I myself believe that loyal India is a source of strength to England only when politically homogeneous, and that a disunited though loyal India would mean weakness in times of foreign attack. Therefore, apart from ethics, political expediency will one day, I hope, make the British statesman see clearly that in his world-wide Imperialism the policy of a united India will pay better than "divide and rule," which has had a fairly long trial in my country." On the subject of Indian loyalty, he is both sincere and instructive. "When an Englishman feels loyal to the king, he dwells on that idea with pleasure and with a sense of warmth at the heart, for to him it includes a sense of pride in the greatness of his country and a consciousness of his own personal share in maintaining that greatness." He points to the treatment of Indians in the colonies and says 'the fact remains that the native of India is not a citizen of the Empire.' 'The three professions which are regarded as affording the most distinguished and traditional careers for sons of English gentlemen—the Church, the Navy and the Army' are all closed to the Indian. "The Indian knows that his share in the protection of the Empire is limited to providing L s d. and to serving as a common trooper or lascar. He may give his life in its defence, but the English officer will get the credit." The native Princes find that the Imperial Service Troops, though officered by their own subjects within the borders, are placed under British officers as soon as they cross the frontier. Canada, Australia, South Africa, though connected with England by ties of blood, language and religion, have separate flags of their own, but the Indian Empire has no flag. The want of a flag has been a pain and a humiliation to the Indian native soldier.'

On pages 19-20 Mr. Mitra quotes from the famous German scholar, Gustav Oppert, who, in his book 'On the Weapons, Army Organisation, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus' (Trubner & Co, London, 1880), has shown that the Hindus were the first to invent guns *(nalika)* aad gunpowder (*Agnichurna*), and of guns two varieties have been described in the Sanskrit books Sukraniti and Nitiprakasika (composed not later than Manusamhita), those carried by soldiers, and those borne on cars, the latter being evidently cannon. The ingredients for gunpowder are given as saltpetre, sulphur, charcoal and other substances. In Europe, gunpowder and firearms are supposed to be the inventions of Englishmen and Germans in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

We wish Mr. Mitra's book every success.

IV. The four Rightly-guided Khalifas: by the Rev. Canon Sell, D. D., M. R. A. S. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. 1913. Price four annas.

The author seems to be an authority on Islam, and has written other books on the subject. This is

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a plain historical account of the first four khalifas,—Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali. The author's conclusion is: "Thus within thirty years after the Prophet passed away, three out of his four successors met with a violent death, one through private revenge, and two from political causes. Islam had spread marvellously, but in spite of its foreign conquests and notwithstanding that it had won all the Arab tribes to belief in itself, it utterly failed to bring peace and comfort. Internecine war, bloodshed and misery were the earliest things it brought to the unhappy Arab people, and so it has been since. With a few notable exceptions, its march through the world has been accompanied by war and its evils." This opinion seems to be somewhat coloured by prejudice, for the progress of Christianity with its Inquisition and religious wars does not seem to have been much more beneficent. Slavery was abolished only the other day, and the utterly barbarous practice of lynching is practised to this day in America. On the other hand, the Moslemisation now going on in Africa is described by competent authorities to be a great civilising agency. We do not refer to the brilliant achievements of the Saracens, as also of some of the Ottoman Turks and the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan, as they must be among the exceptions alluded to by the author.

V. The Historical character of the Gospel: by S. Y. Stokes. The Christian Literature Society for India. Madras, 1913. Price, six annas.

This neatly printed booklet appears with an introduction from Professor Andrews of Delhi, and when this is said, the readers will be prepared for passages like the following: "And now let us turn to India,—India, the land of deep religious thought and earnest spiritual aspiration. It is as natural to be religious in India as to live and breathe and eat. It is a land of saints and sages, and everywhere one meets those who are hungering for God. Atheism can find but little footing here; for most men recognise that the search for spiritual truth is the highest pursuit of man." The object of the book is to show, from contemporary Greek and Roman records, that Christ was no mythical personality like Krishna, but a well established historical character. Whether Krishna is a mythical character or not, the author has succeeded in proving Christ's authenticity. But the author lays down another proposition with which we are not disposed to agree. He says that the Hindus have degenerated spiritually and socially—a fact which will be readily admitted—whereas the Europeans have steadily advanced from the barbaric condition in which they were in the first century after Christ. In other words, says the author, the Vedas have gone hand in hand with steady degeneration, and the New Testament with steady progress towards light. The conclusion which the writer leaves for the reader to draw is that if the Hindus desire progress, they should give up the Vedas and take to the Bible. It is not our position that the Vedas are the repository of perfect wisdom. Oriental scholars have knocked the theory of Vedic infallibility on the head. But at the same time we are by no means prepared to admit that the progress of the West is mainly due to Christianity. European historians of repute themselves tell us, and with considerable justice we must say, that that progress was achieved often not with the aid but in spite of Christianity. In saying this we do not intend to detract from the high ethical and spiritual value of Christ's noble life and teachings. They have influenced and will continue to influence the Indian mind, and Indians will always reverence those among the followers of Jesus who, like the Rev. Professor Andrews himself, try to mould their lives after him. The following extract from Lecky's *History of European Morals* (Vol. II. Chapter IV.) will support our position that Christianity and Progress are not synonymous: "In the first two centuries of the Christian Church the moral elevation was exceedingly high, and was continually appealed to as a proof of the divinity of the creed. In the century before the conversion of Constantine, a marked depression was already manifest. The two centuries after Constantine are uniformly represented by the Fathers as a period of general and scandalous vice. The ecclesiastical civilisation that followed, though not without its distinctive merits, assuredly supplies no justification of the common boast of the regeneration of society by the church . . . The influence of theology having for centuries numbed and paralysed the whole intellect of Christian Europe, the revival, which forms the starting point of our modern civilisation, was mainly due to the fact that two spheres of intellect still remained uncontrolled by the sceptre of Catholicism. The Pagan literature of antiquity, and the Mahomedan schools of science, were the chief agencies in resuscitating the dormant energies of Christendom."

VI-VII. *The Bible—what it is and how to read it* (O-0-9); *Joka—a temperance story* (O-2-O).

POL.

BENGALI.

I. Baijnaniki (Science Studies): by Jagadananda Ray. The Indian Press, Allahabad, Price Re. 1, 1320 B. S.

This is a volume of scientific essays. The subjects cover a wide range. Biology, physiology, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and physics—all these departments of science have been drawn upon, and the result is a most interesting and instructive collection. The author is a well-known scientist, and has the rare gift of expounding abstruse subjects in simple Bengali. This is perhaps the first scientific book in Bengali which is not intended as a mere text-book for use in schools. Advanced students of science, and cultured lay readers who want to keep abreast of the latest scientific researches and discoveries, will find this book highly profitable reading. The up-to-date character of the discourses will appear from the fact that there are chapters on 'electrons' and Professor Bose's latest discoveries. It is more books of this kind that we want in Bengali, for it is precisely these books that are calculated to enrich our mother tongue. The book has been dedicated to Rabindranath Tagore. The paper, printing and binding will stand comparison with those of books issued by the best known publishing firms. It is a delight to handle the book, which covers 169 pages, and is decidedly cheap at the price at which it has been placed on the market.

POL.

HINDI.

Sree Jut Lala Har Dayal Ji ke Swadhin Vichar, by Mr. Narayan Prasad Arora, B.A. of Patkapore, Cawnpore. Printed at the Standard Press, Allahabad. Crown 8 vo. pp. 93...3. Price—as 4. To be had of the author at the above address.

To the readers of the Modern Review the writings of Prof. Har Dayal, M.A. are not unfamiliar. This book is a Hindi translation of some of his very interesting and useful English articles, one of the articles being

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an original Hindi publication from the Professor's own pen. The independence and originality of thought shown in these articles is characteristical and it is needless to dilate upon this. The language of the translation requires no hostile criticism. The printing and get-up are nice. The book certainly deserves encouragement.

Vidyarthi Vilochan, by Babu Jayvijay Narayan Singh Sharma, Printed and Published by Babu Ram Narayan Lal at the National Press, Allahabad. Crown 8 vo. pp. 581. Price Rs. 1—4.

The recognised usefulness of Todd's Student's Manual is known to the English-reading public. Suffice it to say that this is "*the book*" that should be put in the hands of every student. The treatise under review is a Hindi translation of the Student's Manual. It has removed a sadly-felt want among the students having meagre or no knowledge of English. As a prize-book in Middle Vernacular Schools, the publication is invaluable. The sad thing is that the translation has not been quite satisfactory. The idiomatic sequence of words in the Hindi language has, in some places, been lost sight of by the translator. As one example, we would point out to him the last sentence on page 147. There are certain spelling mistakes also here and there. We only hope that the author will never fail to remove these shortcomings from his book in the next edition. As it is, however, the book is immensely useful. The printing and get-up are very nice and the cover is tastefully decorated.

Shakespeare Katha Gatha, by the same translator and published by the same Press. Crown 8vo. pp. 519. Price—Rs. 1-4-0.

This is a Hindi translation of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare. This book too will form an useful book for presentation to advanced students. In this book the spelling and the printing mistakes are a little larger in number, *e.g.*, परिच्चा (p. 102, l. 17), साधू (p. 313, l. 24), इसावे ला बोला (p. 323, l. 1), पूम (p.329, l. 1), सिरका (p. 332, l. 10). As to the printing errors, they ought to be carefully found out and a list of errata posted in books subsequently issued by the publishers. We are sorry to note that though the author does not seem to lack suitable vocabulary and expressions, he has been astonishingly literal and unidiomatic in his translation in several places. This defect is more marked in this book than in his "Vidyarthi Vilochan". He may be referred, for examples, to such expressions as स्वत: एक अवाक् बातचीत (p. 315 l, 8), (p. 318, l. 7), page 320, lines 11-12. We are constrained to remark that the author requires a little more practice in the art of translation; and he would do well to have such books revised by more skilled translators. We carefully hope that the aforesaid defects will be removed in subsequent editions. The get-up of the book is very satisfactory and does credit to the publishers.

Maharashtra Rahasya Part I., by Mr. Lakshman Narayan Garde. Printed at Sri Lakshmi Narayan Press, Benares and published by the Grantha Prakashak Samiti, Bibi Hatiya, Benares. Crown 8vo. pp. 29 & 7. Price—as. 3.

This is a philosophic discussion of the Marhatta rise and supremacy in India and the Hindu-Musalman relations in those days. The author has to be commended for his originality. The contents of this book were read at the Hindi Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta where they were much appreciated. There are a few printing errors. The printing has been executed very nicely and the get-up is fair.

(a) Shree Mahabir Swami aur Diwali, by Shree Gajadharlal Jain. Crown 8 vo. pp. 17. Price—half anna for the Jains and gratis for the non-Jains; 2 Rs. for 100 copies.

(b) Khatdravyadigdarshan, by B. Dayachandraji Goyaliyajain, B. A. Crown 8vo. pp. 15. Price—half anna; Rs. 1-8 for 100 copies.

(c) Sanátandharmajain, by B. Shreelal Jainshastri. Crown 8 vo. pp. 14. Price - half anna; Rs. 1-8 for 100 copies.

These three books have been published by B. Pannalal Baklival, Mantri, Sree Jaindharmapracharini Sabha, Benares.

The first is a life of Shree Mahabir Swami, popularly considered to be the founder of the Jain sect. In it the author has sought to prove that the *Divali* celebration has commenced from the day of the *nirvana* of the Swami. The book is not devoid of a description of miraculous events that are considered almost inseparable from the account of an ancient hero. In the second, it has been held that there are five elementary principles—soul, matter, dharma, adharma, time, and akash; and these have been described at some length. In the third, the author has dealt with the cardinal principles of the Jain sect. The get-up is fair, but there are a few printing errors.

Pocket Book of Vedic Prayers, by Pandit Raja Ram. Printed at the Bombay Machine Press, Lahore, and published by the Arya Samaj, Firozpore. Foolscap 16 mo pp. 95. Price—As. 3.

Forty-nine selected hymns from the Vedas have been got together in this. These are very suitable for the purposes of prayers. Their prose order and Hindi translation have also been given. The book has been nicely bound and looks like a nice little pocket note-book.

Hinduon Ki RajKalpana, by Pandit Ambikaprasad Vajpeyi. Printed at and Published by the Bharatmitra Press, 97, Muktaram Babu's Street, Calcutta. Crown 8 vo. pp. 88. Price not mentioned.

The author has sought to establish by a reference to the Vedas and subsequent Sanskrit writings that the ideas of Kingship, patriotism etc., given vent to now-a-days in political philosophy books were not wanting among the ancient Hindus. The book no doubt gives in a nutshell the standpoint from which a King and Political administration were regarded in ancient times in India. However, we cannot agree with the author in thinking that the ancient ideas were identical with the modern ones; they existed in a form suited to the then circumstances and were only in an embryonic state. This might be said as well of other ancient countries and states. No doubt the ancient sages in their supreme wisdom had got at principles which are considered novel now-a-days by political philosophers; but their enlargement and practical development have been things of recent times. The style of the publication is chaste, flowing and clear.

Sadhu Hymns, by the Rev. Ahmad Shah, S.P.G. Mission, Hamirpur, U.P. Printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad and to be had of the author, pp. 51, Price—4 Annas.

The author has been right in thinking that "to a careful student of the Hindu saints' poetical literature it is evident that there is much in their hymns which a Christian can safely use in his own devotional hours. There is a great deal which reminds him of passages

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in the Psalms, the Book of Isaiah, the Song of Solomon, De Imitatione Christi, St. Augustine's Confessions and Newman's Apologia." In this publication 25 short and selected hymns of Surdas, Kabir, etc., have been got together with their English translations. There is certainly much of pathos in these hymns. The translations are not always correct (e. g. line 1, page 43). Some of the lines have got inaccurate phraseology, as lines 4 and 8, page 30. The printing and get-up are very nice.

Anubhavanand, by Pandit Shitalprasad Brahmachari, Jainmitra Karyalay, Hirabag, Girgaon, Bombay. Printed at the Bombay Baibhav Press and to be had of the author. Crown 8 vo. pp. 128. Price—as. 8.

This book embodies the author's own experiences on the subject of religious and moral discipline with a view to the attainment of *Nirvana*. A careful perusal of the book will reveal many valuable things about the philosophy of religion. The language of the publication is grand; perhaps even in view of the subject treated, it could have been simpler. The book consists of 56 short essays on various themes connected with its subject. A list of errata hardly leaves any printing errors. The get-up of the book is excellent.

M. S.

URDU.

Khumkhane Ram Vol. I., by Mr. K. S. Narayanswami. Printed at the Imperial Book Depot Press, Delhi and to be had of Mr. Amir Chand, Prem Dham, Bara Daeba, Katra, Delhi. Demy 8 vo. pp. 477. Price—bound edition on better paper—Rs. 1-8-0, unbound Edition on ordinary paper—R. 1.

The enterprising author has through the pecuniary help of some admirers of the late Swami Ram Tirtha, M.A., commenced publishing the speeches and writings of the Swami. He hopes that they will be complete in four volumes and this is the first volume issued by him. The compilation does credit to the author and the printing and get-up are highly satisfactory. As to the contents of the book, the one thing remarkable is the spontaneous, pure, and chaste style in which the Swami embodied his thoughts. Whatever subject he takes, he does not seem to vex himself about words and yet almost always he commands the fittest phraseology. The Swami, we know, was a mathematician and we find him, in several places, dexterously illustrating his religious and philosophical topics by means of mathematical diagrams. The way in which the subjects have been dealt with is always characteristically interesting.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

(1) Report of the Muni Maharaj Shri Mohanlalji Jain Central Library and Sanskrit Pathshala for 1912—13.
(2) The Paryushan issue of the Jain Shwetambar Conference Herald, August September, 1913.

As a rule, we review books only, not reports and periodical magazines.

Shri Ramkrishna Paramhansa Nan Sadvachan, translated by Kevalram Mavji Dave, B.A. LL. B., of Rajkot, Printed at the Damodar Printing House, Rajkot, Cloth bound, with a photograph of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and one of M. K. Gandhi of South Africa, pp. 316. (1913).

This is a translation from English of the compilation of M., a disciple of Ramkrishna. The work is of absorbing interest, and was needed to acquaint the Gujarati reader with the fact that the age of great religious men in India like Nanak and Kabir, and Chaitanya has not ceased, but that our century has also produced equally great men. In the midst of a very busy practice and struggling with bad health, we must say that it is greatly to the credit of Mr. Kevalram that he has found time to present a translation to Gujarat, which is simple in language, and useful from more than one point of view.

Grihavyavastha or Domestic Science, by Gangashanker Manishanker Vaishnav, B.A., B.Sc., S. T. C., First Assistant Master, High School, Mahalakshmi Training College for Women, Ahmedabad, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, pp. 175, Cloth bound. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1913).

Mr. Vaishnav has written two or three works for juvenile use. This little book besides treating of home hygiene, deals, in a dialogue form with many other useful subjects, which though scientific are set out in a lucid and popular way.

Manushya Kartavya ane Dharma Jignasa, Part I, by Dhirajlal Virajdas Sankalia, B. A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Bombay, printed at the Satya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad, pp. 220. Cloth bound. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1913),

This book professes to be full of the "elements of religion, and tales illustrating the greatness of Vallabh's Pushtimarga." In Gujarat, there has been lately a commendable awakening of the Vallabhi Marga Conscience, which has taken the shape of publications, trying to explain the different tenets of this cult. In the form of a story, made up of dialogues, the writer has explained from his own point of view, certain incidents in the life of Krishna, which this cult has assimilated within itself, as part and parcel of its being. He considers Love (प्रेम) as the key which unlocks all secrets of the Vallabh Sampradaya (Chapter X.) Inspite of his best intentions we doubt, whether the book would become popular with the masses, as it is full of technical, and other difficult matters.

Purva ane Pashchim, Published by the International Printing Press, Phœnix, Natal, South Africa, pp. 57. Paper bound, Unpriced. (1913).

An Englishman has written under the *nom de plume* of John Chinaman certain letters, describing his impressions and opinion of the East and West. They have been translated for the *Indian Opinion*, and are reprinted in a collected form in this book. The excellences of the East and its defects, and the defects of the West and its excellences have been so tellingly pointed out here, that this work of the fifty-seven pages make very interesting reading. Neither the West nor the East has been spared where plain speaking has been considered necessary.

Arogyata Vishe Samanya Jnan, by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, printed at the International Printing Press, Phoenix, Natal, Part. I. pp. 102. Paper bound, unpriced. (1913).

These hints on health by Mr. Gandhi are the result of his own varied experience in the preservation of health. His stay in England, his numerous imprisonments, and his simple, Spartan life has made him acquainted with many hygienic truths; truths about food, dress, cleanliness &c., and he has set them out here, in a very "taking" style. We are sure, that whoever reads this little book, would when he finishes it, find himself the wiser for the exertion.

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He says, avoid tea, avoid tobacco, avoid rich food, and idle life, and then see how you prosper.

Pardeshagaman Nirnaya, by Motilal Tri'hawandas Dalal, High Court Vakil, Printed at the Lohana Steam Printing Press, Baroda, pp. 163 Cloth bound, unpriced (1913).

This translation of Babu Srish Chandra's epoch making judgment in the Benares foreign travel case is presented to the Gujarati readers, by the Editor of the "Satya." It is preceded by a short sketch of Srish Babu's life, and his photograph. The erudition of the learned Judge, his linguistic attainments, and his personality are so well known to the readers of the Modern Review, that we need not dilate on them. The translation is very well done.

Jivan par Prakash, by Mohanlal Vithaldas Gandhi, B.A., Printed at the Subodhini Printing Press, Bombay, pp. 107. Paper bound, unpriced. (1913).

Baba Bharati's religious work in America is well known. This is a readable translation of the fine lectures he delivered while in that country on the esoteric side of India's philosophy. They throw an amount of light on the religious philosophy of the East and West.

Jyotish Shikshak, Parts I and II., by Hemathal Gabubhai Master, Bombay, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, pp. 158. Cloth bound. Price, Re. 1 8-0. (1913).

The writer of this book claims that a perusal thereof is likely to acquaint the reader with the principles of Astrology. The exposition of the Science seems at least to have been made by one who understands his business. Otherwise the work is a bit technical.

Adwaita Muktavali, by Narbheshanker Pranjivan Dave, M.A., Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, Printed at the Anand and Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, pp. 224. Cloth bound, Price Rs. 2-0-0. (1912).

As a translator of Shakespeare's plays Prof. Dave is well known. He has now essayed other branches of literature, and this book embodies a logical treatment of the Vedanta System of Philosophy, based on the Siddhanta Muktavali of Prakashanand. It is interspersed with the author's own ideas and compassion with certain phases of Western Philosophy.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Professor Homersham Cox on Religious Education

If some articles contributed by Professor Cox to this Review have been a delightful surprise to the Indian reader, his last article on religious education can by no means draw forth the same remark. One salient point which strikes the reader at once when perusing the article, is that the learned professor is labouring under a sad mistake in his conception of religion. According to him religion is a jumbled mass of superstitions and rituals having a use in the ethical development of the primitive races only and utterly unfit for the present age of reason and science and that science and religion cannot be taught side by side and therefore the present educational schemes must do away with one or the other.

Every one will no doubt acknowledge the value of science, but when the question arises, as it must in every thoughtful mind, sometime or other 'why do I live and what is my relation to the infinite Universe around me', modern science with all its array of facts and laws is dumb. It cannot give a convincing answer to the 'why' of life though its claims in explaining the 'how' of life are unquestionable. All that which tries to answer the 'why' of life is religion beginning from forms, rituals, deities and external worship and ending with the highest flights of philosophy. And we believe there is no religion which has not at its root some idea, however vague, affording an explanation of the relation between the Universe and its Cause.

In the case of Hinduism we find ourselves possessed of a singularly complete and all embracing conception of religion. If we go deeply into the matter we find man existing in a two-fold nature, viz., Subject and Object, Spirit and Matter, Soul and Body. Every great religion of the world recognises this dual nature of man. But Hinduism lays particular stress upon it. According to it the circle of man's life is made up of two arcs, one spiritual and the other material. A Hindu believes that his life does not lie between one birth and one death but that he will come again and again to this world to complete his evolution, not only of body but of soul also. To attain this highest goal of life, a Hindu has to realise what we call soul or self and here science fails miserably. This is the reason why religion is all in all to the Hindu. The very significance of the word Dharma in Hinduism is not religion in the modern sense of the word but the totality of human duties in all life's occupations, pursuits, and daily actions. According to him religion is not a mere name for rites and ceremonies but is Sanatan Dharma, "that system of the *eternal laws of right living* gathered together from all the sciences, *Veda* and *Vidya*, whereby human beings as well as others are held together in an organised society in such a manner that every member of that society has the greatest opportunity given to him of securing the greatest happiness and avoiding the most pain, here as well as hereafter." This is the definition of religion in Hinduism.

But perhaps Prof. Cox would call this religion in name only. According to him religion as

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practised, consists only in 'miracles,' 'Namaz', and 'Puja'. Even these are one aspect of religion but to say that the whole religion is nothing except 'miracles,' 'Namaz' and 'Puja', would be committing a plain fallacy. Even rituals and ceremonies are not without meaning. If we try to find out the underlying meaning of these, it would appear that they are only preparatory classes for the higher spiritual education. They are only steps necessary for the undeveloped mind in its progress towards spiritual truths. Every man can not at once grasp the high philosophy of religion. When Mr. Cox's friend has risen to the sufi stage "a few minutes meditation might be enough for him" but what about his punkha-puller. Every word of a genuine 'Mantra' 'Ayat' or 'prayer' glows with the fervour of fellow-feeling, co-operation, sympathy, and perfect confidence in the power of the Almighty God. One absorbed in prayer forgets for a moment his own personality and obtains a touch of the Universal Consciousness. Leaving aside this higher meaning of rituals, ceremonies, Namaj and Puja, if we only try to judge them from the standpoint of every day life they would provide ample food for thought. We would only remind the professor the table manners of the English Dining Hall and the formalities connected with the preparation and presentation of tea in Japan. These two functions involve greater ceremonies than perhaps many a religious ceremony in Hindudom. But no one would dare to violate them because they are checks to free will and independent action. So religious ceremonies cannot be dispensed with for similar reasons. Social manners would be defended because they are only signs of good breeding in the man of the world, so the religious ceremonies are only landmarks in the spiritual advancement of a religious man under certain conditions. A levee of an earthly potentate requires a lot of formalities, but should a man pass on without offering some marks of respect physically as well as mentally to that king of kings, the Almighty.

As regards miracles a hasty judgment will not do. To one who has faith in his religion, miracles are no miracles but the ordinary actions of the All-powerful Supreme Spirit. A true Christian does not doubt the miracles of the Christ because he believes him to be a superhuman being. Moreover modern science is daily trying to prove these miracles as actual facts. Many of the Western scientists have become believers in telepathy, clairvoyance, hypnotism, internal autoscopy and a hundred other exploded superstitions. The 'Annals of Psychic Science,' a monthly journal which appeared till a short time ago dealing with such superphysical matters used to contain articles from the pens of such famous scientists as Sir William Crookes, Prof. Caesar Lambroso, Dr. Joseph Maxwell and many others. The late Mr. W. T. Stead was a great believer in such miracles. In this connection we would refer the learned professor to Myer's book on 'Human Personality' and the little work on 'Psychical Research' in the Home University Library by Sir W. F. Barret, F.R.S.

But all this may not suit the palate of Prof Cox with his sad experiences with a 'Namazi butler,' 'a hypocritical Pujari,' and 'a bribe-taker Christian.' In his opinion religion has been superceded by science, and Christianity, inspite of religious education, is decaying day by day in Europe. So far as the need for facts is concerned we can easily agree with him but we entirely disagree with his sweeping conclusions from such limited data. If to-day religion does not make men morally good, it is not because religion is ineffective to cure the evils but rather because it has lost its high significance and is not followed in the true spirit in which it was once followed. Therefore the greater reason is there for its being repurified and restored to its original high place than to be flung away altogether.

Fingers are pointed towards the West which, it is said, has reached its present wonderful prosperity because it relegated religion to a secondary place. But is this true? If in modern civilisation religion has been thrust into the back-ground it is not because of its inability to effect moral improvement and to withstand the onslaught of reason but it is because the mind of the West has fallen under the full sway of the lust of materialism and bowed down before the disastrous temptations of the merely mundane life. Europe has obtained a physical prosperity of doubtful permanence at the cost of great superphysical advantages. Moreover this prosperity has brought no harmony to the society but only intense discontent, social, economical, and political. We daily read of strikes and militant operations of the suffragettes.

The complete disorganisation requires an overhauling. The very soul of men has been corrupted and so patchwork business of reforms can be of no avail. We must first cure the soul, the source of all human progress. The business of the physical science is not to comfort the soul. This is the monopoly of religion alone. We, in India, should rather take warning from such state of affairs in the West. We have already got some fore-taste of Western civilisation in its aspect of a disintegrating influence, and therefore refuse with thanks the vista of glory which Mr. Cox promises us from scientific studies.

According to the Hindu schools of philosophy and also in accord with the results of the Western psychology, the psychological succession of progress is Right Knowledge, Right Desire, and Right Action. Keeping this in mind, young Indian students should be taught first 'what are the most essential laws and facts of the Universe to know and to believe in.' Secondly 'what are the right desires to entertain', and finally 'what are the most important acts to do.' The first would give them the basic truths of religion, the laws and facts of the supremacy of the spirit, of the soul's evolution through many forms of the cousequences of sin and merit; the second would teach them manners and morals and the third would tell them their duty in connection with the orderly conducting of the individual and social life. The student stage is devoted to the acquisition of knowledge principally and if this knowledge is of the right kind, then the actions of the succeeding period of life will be right also and not otherwise.

On such broad and scientific principles Hindu religious education is or ought to be based. As Hindu religion does not consist of 'puja' alone but of *all the laws of right living* in relation with the lower and the higher kingdoms and the Supreme Spirit—this is the reason why so much importance has been given to religion in India. Here religion is not one of the duties but the whole duty of man.

For such reasons, we believe, in the scheme of the Hindu University, Religion has been given the foremost place and "not as a bait to attract subscribers." We lay so much stress on this, because we want to be of some help in stemming the onrushing tide of scepticism, disbelief and indifference towards religion. The aim of the Hindu University will be to turn the hypocritical pujari into a perfect devotee who will serve God intelligently through the service of man. The learned professor may rest assured that intolerance and bigotry will not take the place of religion. He need not fear that the study of science side by side with that

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of religion would create discontent and disbelief either in religion or in science. The old Sanatan Dharma is so comprehensive that every branch of knowledge, physical and superphysical is included in and drawn upon it: All the high flights of philosophy as well as various rites and ceremonies form only part of Hinduism. "It is like a river which has shallows that a child may play in, and depths which the strongest diver cannot fathom." Views of every shade are given their appropriate place and no more in the Sanatan Dharma.

Professor Cox raises one more objection as to the principle of compulsion in connection with religious education. According to him "a University student is old enough to decide for himself whether religious teaching is profitable to him or not." It is true that he can think a little but still he has not seen the ins and outs of life and is not at all matured in his judgment and therefore is utterly unfit to decide such an important question. Why should not these young men as well, be allowed to prescribe their own courses for study or make their own rules for holding examination etc., instead of having an immense mass of harassing rules compulsorily imposed on them obviously because youth cannot be trusted to decide in all things for itself. This duty naturally devolves upon the elders.

Religious teaching will not turn young students into "men with the minds of pious old women" but *if properly and scientifically given as it can be given,* will mould their life according to the ideals of the Sanatan Dharma and will prepare them to perform their duties better and more unselfishly for the happiness of themselves, their families, their communities, their nation, and then Human Race.

HARISH CHANDRA MISHRA
and
GANGA SHANKER MISHRA
Students of the Central Hindu College,
Benares.

SATIRE IN ART

SATIRE has to all intents a psychological significance and in order to understand its expression in art, it is desirable that its various aspects should be carefully studied. The desire of ridicule comes essentially from the appetite for an emotion of pleasure through humour. In its intention satire is generally but not always innocent. A joke or a flash of humour tending to ridicule need not necessarily have any bitterness behind it. It is the exercise of the faculty of appreciating something laughable as distinguished from the seriousness of things. But there is also another phase of mockery —the earnest one. This aspect of satire has none of the lightness and gaity of mere banter or raillery. It is deliberate, grave and purposeful. Its grim irony serves the purpose of unsparing criticism. It may be a silken lash or it may be a whip of scorpions, but it stings and it hurts and it is intended to hurt.

Sometimes the bitterness of satire may be clothed in the garb of wit. One may be droll, merry and satirical even to the extent of apparently playing the fool himself, but it is just possible that if his jest is correctly understood some one else will be found to be its object.

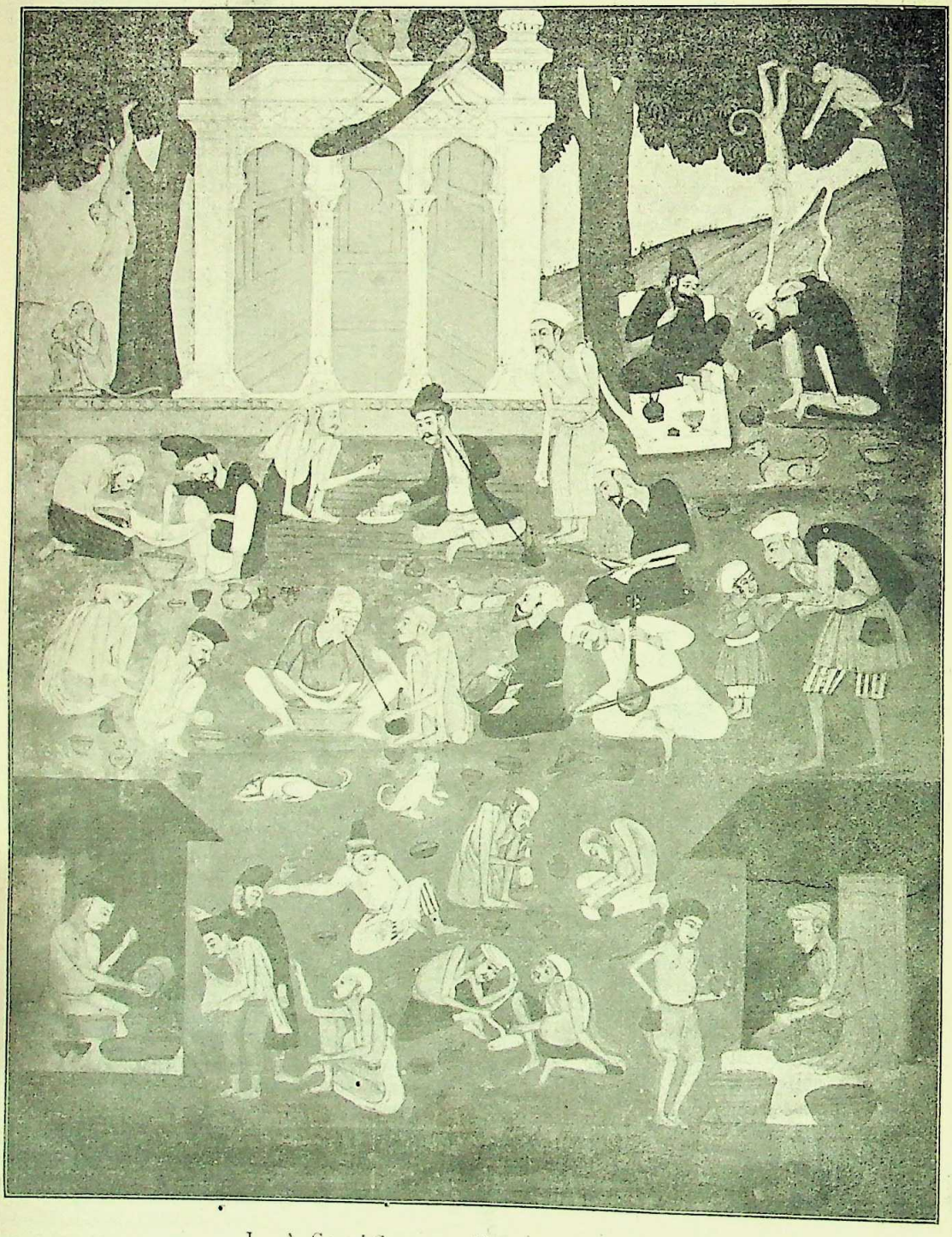
Both these characteristics, the frivolous and the critical, may be suggested in all the fine arts, when sarcasm and humour are intended to be the chief expressions. Both poetry and music may be satirical. A poem or a song may be comical without being either bitter or offensive. Humour in that case is created for the sake of pleasure only. Again, there may be a touch of grim reality, and the satire may be keen and cutting as the lash of a whip.

The realisation and reproduction of what is fantastic, ludicrous and laughable lead to the development of the sense of humour. Absurdity and exaggeration form the basic elements of all representations of satire. The motif employed to delineate this feeling in drawing and painting is caricature.

Humour is more or less a secular enjoyment and its suggestion in pictorial art therefore necessarily has a secular significance. And as the chief motive of Indian art was religious expression, secularism in the form of caricature was never very much emphasised. But this aspect, though not very frequently represented, was not entirely absent in Indian art. Even the oldest records of Indian painting bear evidence to the fact that the sense of ridicule or satire was not altogether divorced from the canons of art of those times. Some of the Ajanta caves have excellent caricatures of musicians and persons engaged in drinking.

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I. A *Serai* Scene.—(Lahore Museum.)

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They are full of all the essential characteristics of humour.

Both in Mughal and Rajput paintings this spirit of satire occasionally found expression, although it probably never gained a wide prominence. A true secular caricature is represented on Plate I. It is a *serai* scene; it is full of life, movement and all that characterise a place where travellers young and old, and from all quarters meet. All the figures and other details have been drawn with special knowledge and skill. A sense of humour pervades the entire composition. It is both fanciful and humorous and yet extremely naturalistic. On the right at the top are two men deeply engrossed in conversation and one of them is so wholly occupied that he does not appear to know that his turban is being stealthily snatched off from his head by a monkey hanging down from a branch of the tree under the shade of which the traveller is sitting. What could be more funny than this? At the bottom on both sides are caterers and some of the travellers are making purchases. Others in the centre are differently engaged. Two are playing music, but probably their music is such that no one cares to listen to it. Another is kneading flour into dough to prepare his *chapati*. Two others are straining something, probably the intoxicating *bhang*. The *hookka* is a prominent feature in the picture. Every figure, every pose in the painting is awkward and fantastic. Even the pariah dogs have been drawn with the same feeling. Every one seems to be extremely emaciated, pale and fatigued, probably an exaggerated suggestion of what a traveller feels after a long journey. The whole picture moves to ridicule, but it is clearly innocent humour and is free from all bitterness.

It cannot be said with any amount of certainty as to what an extent caricature was employed in Mughal portraits. No one of course likes to be caricatured and presumably caricatures are to be found of only those who were common objects of ridicule or suffered themselves to be ridiculed. There are very few records to show that caricature was a motif which was sometimes adopted by Mughal artists. Of such works the portraits of Mullah-do-Piaza may be said to be notable. The Mullah was a celebrated wit and humorist in the court of Akbar. This made him a great favourite of the Emperor and roused the jealousy of Birbal, Todar Mall and Abul Fazl. But his penetrating and bitter wit was always effective in humiliating his opponents in court. Some of his satirical sayings are well known in the Punjab even to this day. The Mullah was an object of constant and unsparing ridicule, and received the funny name of 'Do-Piaza' on account of his fondness of a dish of that



II. MULLA-DO-PIYAZA.—
Collection of Babu Gogonendranath Tagore.

name. The artists who made his portraits probably took the liberty of overdoing his likeness till it moved to ridicule, not only to please their patron, probably Akbar, for he had ordered the court artists to draw the likeness of all his courtiers—but also probably to maintain the fitness of things. A portrait of a man who was looked upon as the principal court jester often tended both consciously and unconsciously to caricature. In all the portraits of Mullah-do-Piaza this suggestion of ridicule is present. His portrait reproduced on Plate II shows him mounted on the back of a wretched and jaded horse, like Don Quixote on his famous charger. It is doubtful whether the Mullah ever had or bestrode such a curious animal,

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III. MOLLAH-DO-PIAZA.—(LAHORE MUSEUM.)

but to the artist it served as a suggestive accessary of a portrait intended to excite ridicule. The drawing, clever as it is, is full of satire and is an attempt to make the Mullah look ridiculous. He made so many people ridiculous that an attempt to turn the laugh against him must have been generally appreciated.

Another portrait of the Mullah appears on Plate III. The portrait in point of features is different but the horse and the Mullah's awkward pose and look make it satirical. The picture may be said to be suggestive of a certain amount of malice on the part of the artist.

Amongst Kangra paintings humour is occasionally suggested in domestic and dancing scenes. In such cases however there is practically no intention of direct ridicule or satire.

There are a few extra-ordinary caricatures of ascetics in the Lahore Museum which deserve special mention. A few of them are reproduced on Plates IV., V., and VI. In Plate IV the ascetic in the centre is probably the chief, round whom a few of his followers have assembled. Neither pride nor vanity nor luxury has left him though he has renounced the world and adopted the life of a *sadhu* or religious devotee. The *chtaba*, a piece of cloth wrapped round his folded legs, gives him a comfortable seat. His head-dress is decorated with beads and a peacock feather. The man next to him on the right is offering him a cup most likely of some intoxicating drug to which the *sannyasis* are very often addicted. Lower down another man is yawning. Laziness is stamped on his face. On the extreme right one of the *chilas* or disciples is enjoying a luxurious *hookka* and is yet holding a rosary in his right hand. On the left is sitting a woman. She is a *Vaishnavi* as is evident from her dress and demeanour. But her delineation in the drawing is by no means free from bitter satire. A young baby is sucking her pendent breast. This shows that she is still a worldly woman. Next to her sits a man whose complete nudity is prevented by a scanty loin-cloth. He has probably given up all that he possessed in the world and yet the *maya* of worldly attachment has not at all left him. In his right hand he is holding a rosary, in his left a *bulbul* and forgetful of turning his beads he is playing with the bird. A bitter sarcasm of false and perverse asceticism is latent both in the different individuals represented in the drawing and also in the entire composition taken as a whole.

Equally amusing and satirical caricatures are shown on Plate V. A haggard dancing woman in rags is singing and

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IV. Caricatures of Ascetics.—(Lahore Museum.)

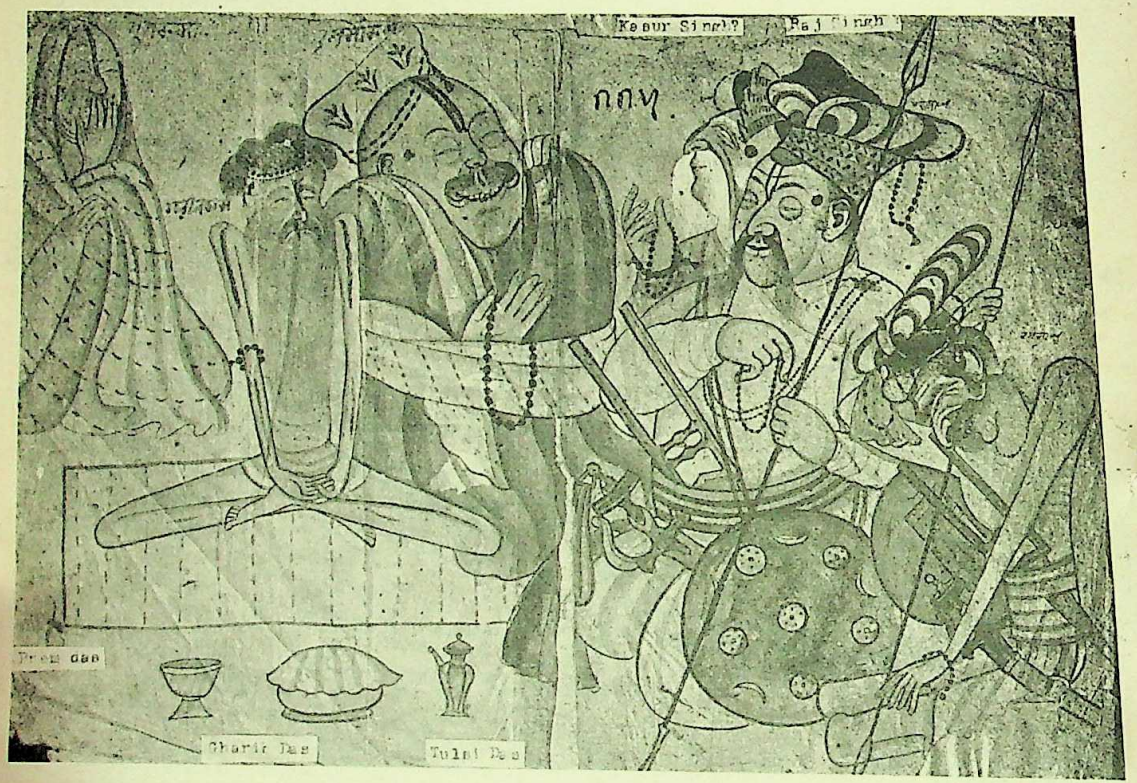


V. Caricatures of Ascetics.—(Lahore Museum.)

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dancing before an ascetic who is a curious specimen of humanity, A religious recluse though he seems to be, his luxuriant and flowing moustache and beard appear to have received greater care and attention than is usual among ascetics. His rotund and inflated belly is strongly suggestive of good living. And the fact that he is resting his right arm on a small crutch and the other on the shoulder of a woman, probably a follower of his, makes it self-evident that laziness has a greater charm for him than religious devotion. The other figures on the right are all equally humorous, fantastic and satirical and each of them contributes in a way an expression of bitter ridicule of which the entire picture is a wonderful delineation.



VI. Caricatures of Prem Das, Gharib Das and Tulsi Das.—(Lahore Museum.)

The preceding plates are examples of impersonal caricature, that is, they do not refer to or particularise any individual but ridicule a certain class of men and women. The caricatures on Plate V are however of a personal nature. The persons ridiculed are labelled and distinctly specified as Prem Das, Gharib Das and Tulsi Das, all of whom were great Vaishnava poet-saints. Two Rajput chiefs with an attendant—evidently their admirers—are seen sitting before them. They are counting the beads of their rosaries and yet they are fully equipped with all the paraphernalia of deadly weapons of war. The representation of the Vaishnava saints is extremely incongruous. It 'presents extraordinary pictures of vacuous self-satisfaction, smug cunning, bombast and attenuated pessimism.'* The persons caricatured are saintly persons and are held in reverence and love by the Hindus but in the drawing probably "it is not they who are caricatured but only the excesses of false asceticism, under their names."†

Nothing can be definitely said about the place where these drawings were made. The *Nagari* script probably suggests that the caricatures are Hindu work. And as some of their characteristic motifs, particularly the reatment of draperies by dotted lines are found in some Kangra paintings,

* and † *Indian Drawings* II, p. 28.

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it may be suggested that they were probably painted in some part of the Punjab hills.

One thing is very remarkable about these drawings. They are entirely conventional and the human types have been exaggerated either by corpulence or by attenuation. But in both cases hideousness is carefully avoided. Even in the bony structures of most of the ascetics there is no representation of naturalistic ghastliness.

At the very first sight one is struck with the queer, fantastic and yet clever and humorous delineations in these drawings. A subtle sense of satire is expressed in them all. They exemplify all that is objectionable and detestable in affected asceticism. The elaborate profusion of the long *tilaks* and the association of women with men suggest that those who have been caricatured are the Vaishnavas who latterly became vile, corrupt and degraded. The caricatures are full of reproof and are meant to censure all imposture practised in the name of religion. They illustrate and satirise the hideousness of form and rituals when divorced from feeling and devotion and suggest the passing from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Such satire as this has a deep-rooted significance. It teaches one to be true to his own self, forbids him to wear a mask to conceal his real identity. It teaches him to speak the truth, to adopt the truth and to give up the false and the base. Hypocrisy is more vicious than naked vice; and these caricatures of ascetics and saints convey this lesson. They urge,

"माला फेरत जनम गया।
पर गया ना मनका फेर।
हाथका मनका छोड़के
मनका मनका फेर॥"

Counting the beads thine life is spent and yet thine soul receives no emancipation! O! leave the beads thou hast in thine hands, count those that are treasured in thine heart!

SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

MY IMPRESSIONS OF ENGLAND

BY GURMUKH SINGH MONGIA.

THE outstanding impression which three years' residence in England has left upon my mind is the consciousness of the fact that human nature is one; that, inspite of the distance which separates India from England, that irrespective of the difference in colour and complexion of the inhabitants of the two countries, that despite the hundred and one differences however great in their social customs and manners, there is something common between them, something that proves, and proves to my mind beyond all dispute, the common origin, the Unity and Brotherhood of Mankind. When I left India the people were, (and, I believe, still are) working for and looking forward to a New Era. The people were seething with discontent; they were dissatisfied with the "present state of things," and longing for better and brighter times. When I reached England I found the same spirit of unrest abroad. I saw the same story being re-enacted, though of course, in a different form. And this, as soon as I began to appreciate my surroundings, made me feel thoroughly at home in this country.

My personal experience in this country gives a lie direct to the assertions of Kipling and his followers who would have us believe that "East is East, and West is West; and never the twain shall meet." That there are at present many circumstances which prevent a free and frank intercourse between Englishmen and ourselves I do not deny, but the idea that there is some natural and radical difference between our temperaments which makes it impossible for us ever to understand each other, or to hail each other as brothers, seem at least to me too silly and childish to deserve our serious attention, even for a moment.

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Whatever difference there may be in its form or expression, the same spirit is working alike in the East and in the West—the spirit of Unrest, which spurs men on towards higher ideals. If there is any difference at all, it consists merely in the fact that, while any manifestations of this spirit in India are labelled "sedition," and instantly suppressed by a bureaucratic government, in England, they are wisely appreciated and encouraged by all except perhaps by a few surviving representatives of old "Toryism." In England, as in India, people have begun to think, to question and to criticise. No longer is a thing taken for granted as a part of Divine Dispensation; no longer is an old institution suffered to exist or continue simply because it has had the sanction of popular prejudice for centuries. No longer does the Workman take his Employer's position as a matter of course, or accept his own relative poverty without protest; no longer does Woman acquiesce in the superiority which the male animal has assumed unto himself; no longer does the man-in-the-street submit himself to any authority—temporal or spiritual—without demur.

"Why," asks the Workman, "when Labour and Capital are equally necessary for the production of Wealth, should the Capitalist pocket all or nearly all the profits of Industry and leave me to a life of misery and starvation?" "Why", he enquires indignantly, "should the Capitalist squander his money at Monte Carlo, or run about in motor-cars at home, while *my* children are crying for a plain loaf of bread?" Why, indeed? It would be absurd to suggest that this frame of mind is due to jealousy. It is, in my opinion, the outcome of popular education, and of cheap and independent Press, which have made the Workman of to-day, morally and intellectually, his Employer's equal. What the Workman demands to-day is not as it is often misrepresented "equality of condition" but merely "equality of opportunity." He does not see any reason why he should work himself to death when others who "neither toil, nor spin" appropriate unto themselves all that he helps in creating. He cannot understand why all the good things of life are denied to him; while men who have nothing but their birth to recommend them can satisfy themselves to their heart's content.

When the Revolution broke out in China, it was said that the whole trouble arose from the people's dislike of a "foreign loan" policy; in India we have been told that the root of the so-called "sedition" lies in famines and poverty; in England some pundits of Political Economy would have us believe that this Unrest in the Labour World is due to a "rise in prices." As a matter of fact, while all such things might have added force to the movement, the real cause of the recent Revolution in China, the "sedition" in India, and the "unrest" in England, lies in the New Spirit—the Spirit of Freedom and Equality, which is moving the whole world alike.



A SUFFRAGETTE SELLING PAPERS IN THE STREET, NEAR LUDGATE CIRCUS.

In England the New Spirit is working to wipe away the last remaining traces of feudalism, and towards the establishment of true Democracy. It has made the Workman conscious of his own individuality, and of his own importance in the World of Commerce. This has, naturally, led to some evils, such as a very deplorable spirit of self-sufficiency, and snobbery, among the Working-class people, but, on the whole, I think, its influence has been, and will be, for the good.

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The Woman's demand for a larger life, for a greater share in the duties and responsibilities of the world, and hence for a more liberal treatment in the matter of privileges, can also be traced to the same cause—to the new-born consciousness of individuality and desire for self-development. The New Woman does not, like her grandmother, consider her sole duties to be to dress like a doll, to keep herself in touch with the current fiction, and to talk pretty nonsense in the drawing room. She no longer looks upon herself as a hot-house plant, preserved merely for the purpose of administering to the pleasure and passion of man. She takes herself seriously, resents being treated as a child, or as insane, and is yearning to share the griefs and glories of public life with her male opponents.

It is a pity that women in this country have been driven to militant methods, because my personal impression is that these unwomanly tactics have proved more harmful to the "Cause" itself than to the victims; though a Suffragette friend of mine, in the course of her conversation, expressed the opinion that "there still remains something of the brute in the nature of man, and that physical violence and brutal force would often succeed where all other means have totally failed."

Women in England have, however, already hurled themselves in the very midst of the battle of life, heedless of all its dangers and difficulties. In many cases they have been driven to this course by circumstances wholly beyond their control, but not infrequently by their own free will and by their own passion for economic independence. What the ultimate outcome of all this would be, is difficult to divine, but for the present, at any rate, we are faced with a number of by no means welcome corollaries. This desire for economic independence has, for instance, betrayed many a young woman into a strong and pronounced dislike for matrimony and motherhood. It has, I will even venture to say, unsexed them. That tenderness, gentility and sweetness which has inspired many a brave and noble deed in the world's history, and which we, in the East, always associate with Womanhood, is threatening to disappear, if, indeed, a considerable number of English-women are not already devoid of it. It is a bewildering struggle, this struggle between what has been the world's ideal of Womanhood for ages, and this New Spirit of equality and independence. One hardly knows which side to pray for. Let us hope that it would be possible to strike a mean between the two extremes, and effect a reconcilement, between the two apparently irreconcilable ideals. That the old order, with its sex tyranny, its unjust laws, its outrageous assumptions, of woman's physical and intellectual inferiority to man, and its ridiculous social rules, which expect a woman not to pick up her dropped handkerchief, but to wait blushingly for a man to hand it to her, which forbid her to cross the road until



A Suffragette Parade at Westminster.

her male companion offers his arm—that all this, is bound, in course of time, to disappear altogether, can not be doubted. I hope, nevertheless, that an attempt would be made to retain all that is sweet and noble in the Old Order.

It would be seen, from what I have written above about the Labour Unrest and the Woman's Movement, that the chief effect of the New Spirit in England has been the birth and development of an utter disregard for precedence and authority, and therein, I think, lies the true

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secret of what is called "Progress". The greatest need of India at the present moment is the growth of such disregard among her children. Do I shock? Pray let me explain myself. I do not ask my countrymen to defy the Government, neither do I invite the youths of India to cultivate a spirit of impudence and insolence. Nothing would be more foolish. What I do mean is that we must learn to think independently, honestly, and boldly. At present, we are all, in some measure, like the Councillor who, on being asked by the Viceroy what he thought about a certain matter, expressed his complete and unqualified agreement with the "hazoor", although the "hazoor" had not, up till then, said a single word, either for or against the matter in question. We must also free ourselves from the shackles of prejudice and precedence. We must get out of the habit of liking certain things because our ancestors liked them, and disliking others which failed to find favour with our forefathers. This way lies our safety as a nation; the other path leads to stagnation.

In England, however, I must note that this New Spirit—this spirit of independence and disregard for authority—has not proved an unmixed blessing, but has led to evils against which we, in India, must remain on our guard. It has, for instance, been partially responsible for that gross materialism which is the curse of Western Civilisation, and which is so shocking to an Indian, coming, as he does, from a country where the whole of a man's life, his every act, almost his every thought, springs from and is inspired by religion. In this country politics seem to take the place of religion. A person is not a protestant or a catholic, a methodist, or a non-conformist; but a conservative, a unionist, a liberal or a socialist first and foremost. Party feelings evoke as much enthusiasm and create as much bitterness in England, as religious differences sometimes do in India. Religion seems to be but of secondary importance to the average Englishman. "Resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also". "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you". Such are the noble and beautiful teachings of the Founder of Christianity but the people of this country, who call themselves Christians, in their National Anthem pray to God "to arise, and scatter their enemies, and make them fall". The Gospel of Jesus Christ is one of universal love—"Do unto all men, as you wish they should do unto you" and yet the very foundation of Western Civilisation is Selfishness. People in the West have come to look upon this life as an end in itself. They all seem to be running a mad and breathless race for riches. An innocent occupation, do you say? Ah! my friend, it is necessary to know, but the elements of Political Economy, in order to understand that the art of making yourself rich involves the art of keeping your neighbour poor—or else what would be the use of your riches?

This disregard for religion and decline of Christianity in England is, no doubt, partly owing to the fact that the struggle for existence under Western Civilisation is so very keen that a lot of people can scarcely get any time to think about religion or anything else, and partly due to what the late General Booth called "the tendency of the Church towards exclusiveness, that is, its tendency to become an institution where the wealthy and well-to-do congregate, and where the poor man feels that he is not at home." But it is also my impression that Christianity seems to have lost the hold which it exercised on the mind and imagination of the man-in-the-street when he could not think for himself, but believed implicitly all that he was told to do. Things have considerably changed of late. Having learnt to think for himself the man-in-the-street has begun to ask awkward questions. He positively declines (there are, of course, a good many exceptions) to believe in miracles and finds it impossible generally to reconcile the truths of Science with the dogmas of Christianity. There being no other alternative, he turns to the teachings of Darwin and Huxley, or Ernest Haeckel and Schopenhaur, and is thus tossed about on the waves of doubt and despair. All this may be rather hard to believe at a time when Foreign Missions sent out from England to deliver "heathen" lands from "error's chains" are particularly busy and prosperous, but the truth is even so.

If India could, at the present moment, send over here a few of her best religious teachers she would render a unique service not only to England but to the whole of humanity. Will they attempt to thrust Hinduism on England? God forbid. "Whosoever comes to *ME*" said Lord

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Krishna, "*through whatsover form I teach him,* they are all struggling through paths that, in the end, always lead to *ME*."

Ah! If the self-righteous Christian Missionary could but appreciate and realize the beauty and truth of that Message, not only would he avoid all the misunderstanding between India and England, for which he, more than anyone else, is directly responsible, but also would he relieve himself and his countrymen of a lot of needless expense and unnecessary worry. That may be so, but cheap martyrdom seems to appear more attractive to him than the true spirit of Christianity. This, however, by the way.

It is my firm conviction that we, the people of India, alone of all the nations of this world, are in a position conscientiously to ask the people of England, or that of any other country, in the words of Christ "What *shall* it *profit* a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ?" If India were, therefore, to send over here, as I suggest, a few of her best teachers, they would not, indeed, attempt to force Hinduism down unwilling throats, but they would, by their words and conduct try to teach the inhabitants of these Isles the true interpretation of Christ's Message, which in substance and in spirit, if not in form, is identical with the Message, which we, in India, received through the Divine lips of Shri Krishna—"He alone attaineth Peace, into whom all desires flow as rivers flow into the ocean, which is filled with water, but remaineth unmoved—not he who desireth desire." "He who acteth, placing all actions in the Eternal, abandoning all attachment, is unaffected by sin, as a lotus leaf by the water."

Here, then, is a golden opportunity for India to stem the rising tide of materialism which threatens to engulf England, and to repay with compound interest, the debt which she has incurred from the British people in the form of an introduction to Western Civilisation.

THE DATA OF ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY IN SUKRANITI

By Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, Panini Office, Allahabad.

SECTION 3.

General Aspect of the Country.

THE physical features or relief of the country described in *Sukraniti* can be understood but vaguely from the incidental references to hills and rivers, seas and islands.

Hills.

That hills and mountains were some of the familiar sights to the poets of the Sukra cycle would be evident from the simile which compares the stature of an elephant with the peak of a mountain* as well as the mention of the fact that when people became miserable through abject poverty they used to leave this world out of despair and have resort to hills.†

The strategic importance of hills and mountains was also understood. Thus the site of the capital city is to be not very far from the hills.* These are perhaps to be regarded as the storehouse of mineral and other resources in normal times as well as strong defences against foreign aggression in times of danger. That the hills should be made to serve the purpose of the ramparts for the capital situated in the plains is clear from the following suggestion of Sukracharyya: "The wall (of the Capital city) should have many strong shrubs and have a system of well-built windows, *and if a hill is not hard by,*† should have a *pratiprakara* or a second wall but less than itself in height."

Among the various fortresses mentioned in Section vi of Chapter IV there are *giridurgas*‡ or hill-forts which are described

* Sukra I. 205-6.

† Sukra III. 372-74.

* Sukra I 425-28.

† Sukra I. 478-9.

‡ Sukra IV. vi. 8-9.

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as being on high level and well-supplied with water. These forts* are known to be the best of all in point of military efficiency as presenting the greatest amount of difficulties to enemies. Thus "the fort that is protected by ditches only is the lowest of all and the hill-fort is the best."

It is not probable that the regions for which this *Nitisastra* is intended are mountainous or roçky in any special degree. The hills do not seem to have been the characteristic features of the lands though they have been mentioned as some of the objects with which people become familiar through travel. "Through travel the numerous religious customs, materials, animals, races of men, hills† etc. come within the cognisance of man."

Rivers.

The country of the poets of the Sukra cycle is not only a land of hills but it is also a land of rivers. The suggestion that the capital should be built at a place that is bestirred by the movements of boats‡ indicates the importance given to rivers by the sage in his description of an ideal economico-political organisation. That the authors were very familiar with rivers would be evident from the political application that naturally suggested itself to them in the matter of diplomatic relations. Thus in advising rulers to bow down to powerful enemies Sukracharyya illustrates his point by the mention of the fact that the 'cloud never moves against the current of the wind' and that 'the rivers § never leave the downward course.' A common natural phenomenon has been here pressed into service to explain what in terms of modern statesmanship would be called 'moving along the line of least resistance.' So also in advising the king to restrain passions and try cases or administer *Vyavaharas* according to *Dharma*, the author mentions that the subjects follow the king who does this, "as the rivers the occean."¶ The fact that Sukracharyya has to lay down the humane rule that if a "bound-down' or *asiddha* person‖ violates the limitations imposed upon him when swimming a river &c., he is not guilty (and should not be punished) is also an evidence in point." The rule that "anybody who can save somebody's wealth from absolute destruction owing to the ravages of water or deluge * (from rivers &c.) has right to one-tenth" points to the same adaptation of juristic ideas to the physical features of the country.

Rivers are no negligible features in the topography of the country for which Sukracharyya's code has been designed. The fact that rivers† are very changeful and constantly shift their beds was well-known. And the advice‡ that one should not cross the rivers by arms or get into a boat that is likely to give way indicates the familiarity of the authors with rivers. These are to be wisely used in the interests of the state's commerce. Means must be adopted to make them highways of water-traffic, as also the impediments presented by them to land-communication must be removed. That rivers should not be allowed to remain barriers to intercourse as naturally they are sufficiently suggested in the following advice: "Bridges should be constructed over rivers.§ There should also be boats and water-conveyances for crossing the rivers." "Roads are to be provided with bridges."¶

But rivers have been mentioned in Sukraniti specially in connexion with agriculture and land-revenue, and the inferences that can be made from accounts of the natural resources of the state do also point to the importance of rivers as sources of the country's national wealth. The observation of Herodotus that 'Egypt is the gift of the Nile' is in the Hindu sages' language expressed by saying that the lands are the 'daughters' of rivers, or rivers are the 'mothers' of soils. But rivers are not the sole irrigators of lands, there are other mothers of lands also, e.g. rains, tanks, wells, &c. In the assessment of lands the ruler is advised to make a distinction between land and land on the basis of the nature of the source of water-supply. Thus "the king should realise one-third, one-fourth, or one-half from places which are

* Sukra IV. vi. 11-12.
† Sukra III. 262-63
‡ Sukra I. 425-28.
§ Sukra IV. vii. 492.
¶ Sukra IV. v. 210-211.
‖ Sukra IV. v. 564-64.

* Sukra IV. v. 601-2.
† Sukra III. 283-284 "one should not trust the abodes (beds or channels) of rivers."
‡ Sukra III. 52-53.
§ Sukra IV. iv. 125-129.
¶ Sukra I. 35.

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irrigated by tanks, canals and wells, by rains and by rivers respectively." The equity of this diversity of assessment lies in the fact that where rivers are irrigators the cultivation is certain and hence the Government demand is heaviest. But Sukracharyya is also aware of the fact that though rivers are superior to all other sources of irrigation in point of certainty, the moisture yielded by them, however, is not copious, and do in fact yield the palm to clouds which, though precarious and uncertain, give abundant water when they do pour down their contents. The difference between rivers and clouds is like that between ordinary well-to-do men and sovereigns in the matter of riches. And the analogy that naturally suggest itself is expressed in the following lines: "Can the nourishment that is due to the rain water from clouds be derived from the water of rivers* &c.? So also the promotion of the people's weal depends on the property of the king. Can this accrue from the wealth of the rich folk?"

From the above accounts of rivers† it would have been sufficiently clear that the authors of the Sukra cycle were well acquainted with the importance of rivers in Politics, Commerce, Agriculture and Public Finance and that the general aspect of the country is that of a plain intersected by rivers rather than that of rugged mountainous defiles and precipices.

Seas.

Coming now to the hydrosphere of Sukracharyya's country we find that the sea is a familiar sight with the poets of the Sukra cycle. The connexion between the moon and the sea is too well-known to all Hindu poets. In describing or defining the seven 'constituent elements' of a state Sukracharyya characterises the first element, the sovereign, as by nature or by connotation of the term the person who is the cause of the prosperity of this world, is respected by the experienced and old people and gives pleasure to the eyes (of the people) as the moon to the sea.‡"

A phenomenon connected with the sea which appears to have been very familiar with the poets or at least known to them by hearsay, viz. the maritime navigation by boats, is very naturally pressed into service by the poet in describing the evils resulting from the imperfections of the ruler. Thus we read that "if the king is not a perfect guide his subjects will get into trouble as a boat without the helmsman sinks in a sea.*" The comparison of the king with a *karnadhara* † or helmsman piloting the 'ship of the state' is very suggestive. Nor is this all. The importance of sea and maritime commerce is adequately recognised by the statesmen of the Sukra cycle in the plan they have framed for the site and structure of the Capital city. It is to be situated at a place which, like the 'city of the seven hills' in ancient Italy, is to be near but yet distant from the sea.

Pliny ascribed much of the importance of Rome to this condition. We find Sukracharyya also suggesting that the spot is to be "bestirred by the movements of boats up to the seas." The capital is to enjoy the advantages of both rivers and seas. Communication with the sea has thus been recognised as an integral factor of the state's commercial wealth. It is also an important element of the sovereign's political importance and dignity. The ambition of swaying the destiny of an empire from sea to sea or ruling the world encircled by the ocean has always fired the enthusiasm of Hindu kings and statesmen as would be evident from even a superficial study of Sanskrit literature as well as the inscriptions ‡ on copper plates and other materials describing gifts of lands &c., to worthy persons or to the gods by sovereigns and ministers. §

Flatterers and sycophants as well as court-poets when applauding the merits of their protectors never stop short of the reference to the seas as the natural boundaries of their conquered territories. This ideal of having an empire bounded only by the sea

* Sukra IV. ii. 227-229, cf. also chapter III. 552-554. "Agriculture which is said to have rivers for mothers is a good occupation."

† Sukra V. 14-16.

Sukra I., 127-28.

* Sukra I., 129-30. † The mention of *navikas*, boatmen or sailors among the various crafts or industries to be maintained by the King (II., 404-5) also points to the importance of rivers and seas in the topography of *Sukraniti*.

‡ Sukra I., 425-28. § Mr. Aiyangar's *Ancient India* contains various accounts of the maritime importance of the Chola Empire and Kingdom in South India; and Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra's *Gaudalekhamala* or the Manual of the inscriptions of the Pals and Sens of Bengal gives numerous evidences of the natural [illegible] masters of the Seas.

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is also present in the imagination of Sukracharyya who in urging the necessity of moral education of princes sets before them this laudable mission of their lives as a sufficient spur to their self-culture. Thus "how can the man who is unable to subdue one's mind master the world extending to the sea*?" Verily, the sea is the natural limit of one's ambition—the "scientific frontier" of Indian Napoleons.

An indirect knowledge of the sea and its inmates is suggested in the lines which advise people always to be humble and modest. Thus "the wise man should never consider 'I am superior to all, I am more learned than others,' for one should remember that there is the animal which devours the devourer of whales, † *Raghava* is the devourer of that even, and there is the destroyer of *Raghava*." The whale is certainly a sea-animal, and the mammoth fish *Raghava* is a monstrous marine creature celebrated in Hindu folk-lore.

Among the islands of the sea we have found that *Sinhala* or Ceylon has been mentioned definitely by name as the place where people can make artificial pearls. References to islands are to be met with only in two other places in this treatise. Thus in describing the grades of rulers in the order of their revenue Sukracharyya mentions the highest as the *Sarvabhauma*‡ or the paramount sovereign to be the ruler whose income, calculated according to modern Indian monetary standards, would exceed Rs. 416,666,666, and "to whom the earth with its *seven islands* is ever bound." The second mention of islands is in connexion with the punishment of offenders. "Persons who are wicked by nature should be expelled from the commonwealth and bound and transported to islands.§" The use of islands as convict settlements is unmistakably suggested here.

From the foregoing description of general physical features of the country as are suggested by casual references or "internal evidences," it is not at all possible to make any definite inference as to the exact locale or surroundings in the midst of which *Sukraniti* might have been composed. The accounts are all of a very general character and cannot be traced to any special sets of geographical influences. It is, however, certain that the country does not present a dull monotony or uniformity of physical aspects both in lithosphere and hydrosphere.

SECTION 4.

Climate and Soils.

The same diversity and variety of natural facts and phenomena of the land of Sukracharyya would also be clear from an analysis of the other aspect of its physiography, e.g. its meteorology, geology and vegetation.

I. Meteorology.

Though *Sukraniti* is not a text-book of physical geography, the varied atmospherical and climatological conditions of the country familiar to the authors can be gathered from various duties prescribed to kings and people as well as from the description of customs and rites during the several periods of the year and from the metaphors or similes occasionally used in elucidating or illustrating the ideas.

Heavenly Bodies.

The sovereign is the lord of both "movable and immovable worlds"*; and among the thirty-two *vidyas* or sciences there is the mention of *Jyotisha* as one of the six *Vedangas* or branches of learning auxiliary to the study of the Vedas. It is the science which "measures time by studying the movements of *nakshatras* (stars) and *grahas*† (planets)" and the aid of other sciences. Besides it is said that the movements, shape and nature of the *nakshatras*‡ (stars) are one of the factors in the division of time into epochs or periods. In all these instances it is evident that Sukracharyya displays a knowledge of the heavenly bodies, both planetary and fixed, and is acquainted with the facts of their movements and their efforts on time.

Some of these heavenly bodies have a double character—first as members of the Solar System governing the conditions of time, season &c., as noticed above, and secondly as apotheosised into divine beings and made rulers of certain directions of the Universe. The sun and the moon are two such gods in Hindu mythology, and Sukracharyya mentions that the sove-

* Sukra I., 197-198. † Sukra III., 446-447.
‡ Sukra I., 368-74. § Sukra IV. 215-216.

* Sukra I. 141-143. † Sukra IV. iii. 88-89.
‡ Sukra I. 41-42.

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reign, besides being made out of the permanent element of other gods, e.g. Indra, Vayu, Yama, Fire, Varuna and Kuvera (who are the lords of six specified regions marked out by six points of the compass), has in him the attributes of the sun* and the moon also. Thus "just as the moon pleases human beings by its rays, so also the king satisfies everybody by his virtues and activities." Also, "as the sun is the dispeller of darkness (and the creator of light) so the king is the founder of religion and destroyer of irreligion."

Besides the above comparison of the king with the heavenly bodies which is a common device in all *Nitisastras*, the poets of the Sukra cycle have displayed another popular fancy about the orbs of the celestial world. The nine *Maharatnas* or great gems mentioned in *Sukraniti* have each a deity presiding over it. These deities have to be satisfied by people by putting on the gem that is favourite to each. These deities are the *navagrahas* † or nine planets of the heavenly firmament, viz. the Sun, the Moon, the Mars, the Mercury, the Jupiter, the Venus, the Saturn, the Rahu and the Ketu. The subject will be treated at length in the chapter on precious stones and metals. It may be mentioned here in passing, that the colour attributed to these deities apotheosised out of the heavenly bodies, the *navagrahas*, in the propitiatory hymns addressed to them exactly corresponds with the colour and lustre of the *Maharatnas*,—*vajra*, *mukta*, *pravala*, *gomeda*, *indranila*, *vaiduryya*, *pushyaraga*, *pachi* and *manikya* which are supposed to be the favourites of those beings respectively.

The Sun.

The Sun has been already referred to as having something to do with Time in its capacity as a member of the Solar System. Its second character is that of a deity who gives light, whose attributes the king possesses. Its third character is that of one of the *navagraha*, in which capacity it is to be propitiated by people by the use of the *manikya* ‡ or ruby, "which has red colour and the bright lustre of the Indragopa insect."

Besides these super-terrestrial references, the mundane phenomena of the Sun as the "dispeller of darkness"§ and the source of heat have also been mentioned in *Sukraniti*. Among the general rules of life it is stated that one should not always look to the Sun (III. 61). Sukracharyya compares the companionship of wicked characters to the rays of the burning Sun: "One should abandon the company of bad men which is terrible like the desert scorched by the Summer Sun,* frightening and inhospitable." The Sun's rays, however, are not all terrible, they are of varying degrees. So it is only towards enemies that the king should display his character of the "Summer Sun."† But towards his own people he should present the milder front of the "Spring Sun."‡

As to the division of time suggested above it is mentioned that there are three systems of temporal measurements. "Time is divided according to three systems—solar movement,§ lunar movement (period from full moon to full moon, i.e. two fortnights) and according to Savana (period from morning to morning, i.e. 24 hours)." These three ¶ systems do not yield equal results, the solar day being longer than the lunar; and so it is suggested that "in making payments of wages one should always take the solar ‖ time, in augmenting interest, the lunar time."

The Moon.

The moon, also, like the sun, has threefold characteristics: (1) those of a member of the solar system governing time, seasons &c., (2) those of a deity who gives pleasure, whose attributes the king possesses, and (3) those of the apotheosised celestial being who has to be propitiated by people by the use of its favourite gem, viz. *mukta*** "which is of red, yellow, white and *shyama* (greenish blue) colour."

In Sukraniti, the sun and the moon have been mentioned very often together;†† and this not only with reference to the supermundane affairs as noticed above but also in the matter of secular references. Thus, if the influence of bad men is like that of the burning sun, that of good people is like that

* Sukra I., 325-26. † Sukra II., 566-67
‡ Sukra II., 566-67. § Sukra II. 788-789.
‖ Sukra II. 789-790. ¶ Sukra IV. ii 85.

** Prof. Yogesh Chandra Ray has treated the subject very elaborately in his scholarly work in Bengali on the *Astronomy and Astronomers of the Hindus*.

†† In describing feathers and hairy rings called *bhramas* on the horse's body Sukra says that two such marks on the forehead with space between indicate good and are like the Sun and the Moon. (IV vii. 206-207).

* Sukra I, 141-151, † Sukra IV. ii. 84-92
‡ Sukra IV. ii. 84. § Sukra I. 146.

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of the moon. "The man who is attended by good men gratifies the heart in the same way as the moon* with its cool rays pleases the tank with its newly blossomed lotuses." This parallelism is carried forward to the elucidation of the various attitudes the king should have. Thus if he should be the Summer Sun to enemies, and the Spring Sun to his own people, he should bear the attitude of the "Autumn Moon" to the learned people. The autumn is the season after the rains, hence very clear and generally cloudless and the moon would then shine in all its glory. The king who has this attitude must have the most pleasant bent of mind; and this is what should be his mood towards the learned people. But the sun in spring season is hot enough, though milder than the summer sun; and this blending of mildness with severity should characterise his relations with his subjects, whereas he is to be solely severe and terrible towards the enemies. Again, as mentioned above, not only the sun, but also the moon governs the time. Among the three systems of temporal measurement ‡ one is that of the division of time according to lunar movement, and this is to be adopted when the object is to augment the interest.

In Indian literature generally, the moon plays an exceptionally conspicuous part. The poets of the Sukra cycle also have given indications of this partiality in their composition. We meet with references to the moon alone over and above the parallelism or antithesis between itself and the sun as detailed above. Thus it was mentioned in connexion with the sea that "the king is the cause of prosperity of this world &c. and gives pleasure to the eyes of the people as the moon to the sea." Then again, in enumerating the divine parts or attributes of the sovereign, Sukra asserts that he should possess all the qualities of the eight gods. Otherwise he is a mediocre. "As the moon¶ does not shine well if deprived of one of its parts, so the king does not flourish unless he has all the parts described above." The moon is thus beautiful and splendid only when it is full. But there are beauties and beauties; so the beauty of the moon, when deprived of some of its parts, say a quarter or a half or even seventh-eighths, * is not insignificant. The shape of the half moon is a beautiful sight to the poets of the Sukra cycle, who have suggested that "the capital should have the beautiful shape of the half moon† or circle or square." The moon in Indian literature is not only a standard of beauty, but is also common object lesson of a gradual growth. Thus the crown prince is "to grow slowly like the portion of the moon‡ in the bright fortnight." There is another convention with Hindu poets regarding the parts of the moon. If the waxing of the moon in parts through a whole fortnight supplies the analogy for the development of adolescence in infants, especially princes and princesses, the waning or the gradual reduction of its parts throughout the dark fortnight supplies the stock in trade for comparison with the giving away of wealth and property in charity. In the chapter on general rules of morality for the people Sukracharyya thus describes the effects of gifts: "In this world there is nothing more capable of subduing others than charity and simplicity. The moon§ that has waned through gifts, when waxing, is beautiful though in the form of a curve." Here we have both the beauty of the curve and the comparison of giving away with waning in the same line. It has to be noted moreover that shape is only one of the elements in the beauty of the moon. The other element is lustre. Sukracharyya mentions it when describing a weapon of war, e.g. the "*Kshurapranta* which is high to the navel, has a strong fist and the lustre ¶ of the moon."

The Atmosphere.

We have seen above that the ambition of paramount sovereigns in India was never restricted to the lithosphere and that in quest of victory they must reach and govern the hydrosphere also. The glory of swaying even the atmosphere is likewise another touchstone of monarchical sovereignty. With Hindu poets it is a common device in extolling their heroes to cry them up to the skies both literally and figuratively. The man or sovereign whose fame does not reach the skies is not a famous person indeed. Kalidasa in introducing

* Sukra I. 323-324. † Sukra II. 566-567.
‡ The Astronomical knowledge of the poets of the Sukra cycle will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.
§ Sukra I. 127-128. ¶ Sukra I. 152.

* Sukra I. 429-430. † Sukra II. 101.
‡ Sukra III. 432-433. § Sukra III. 432-433.
¶ Sukra IV. vii. 427.

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the rulers of the solar dynasty to the readers of his celebrated *Raghuvamsam* mentions their mastery of the three worlds, the land, the water and the aerial regions in one short line, *asamudra-kshiteeshanam anakarathavartmanam* (*i.e.*, his heroes were rulers whose sway included the earth and the sea and whose chariots used to traverse the highways of the sky).

Sukracharyya, therefore, in order to make his precepts of discipline and self-control palatable to the princes, does not forget to give them a sugar-coating by mentioning the glorious and enviable results of practising them in life. Thus "of the monarch who has conquered his senses, and who follows the Nitisastra, prosperity is in the ascendant and fame reaches the skies."*

There is another reference to the sky in *Sukraniti*. This is in connexion with the adoption of proper policies and methods of work with regard to friends and foes. "By appropriate means the terrestrial beings can soar into the sky† and even the thunder can be pierced." The efficacy of human intelligence is here illustrated by allusion probably to the air-chariots of ancient times, called *Vimanas* or *Pushpakaratha* which have had a strong hold on Hindu popular tradition. Such an air-chariot piercing the thunder, i.e., going beyond the region of clouds &c., and traversing the whole distance of India from Ceylon in the South to Ayodhya in Upper India has beeen immortalised by Kalidasa in the 13th canto of *Raghuvamsam*.

The Air or Vayu has been mentioned as one of the eight gods whose attributes the king possesses. Its function is propagation or diffusion. Thus "as Vayu ‡ is the spreader (and diffuser) of scents, so the king is the generator (and cause) of good and evil actions." The current of the air has been suggested in the line which advises the king to move along the line of least resistance, just as "clouds do not move against the wind." The poet of the Sukra cycle have also mentioned the air as the friend of fire in order to draw the moral that Right always should follow Might and that morality does not flourish where there is no strength. The precept is given in the following lines : "One should follow *niti* or the moral rules so long as one is powerful. People remain friends till then ; just as the wind* is the friend of the burning fire." A common phenomenon regarding the air has also been recorded : "It is possible to protect the lamp with its wick and oil from the wind † with great care."

* Sukra I., 301-302. † Sukra IV., 50.
‡ Sukra I. 145.

The Clouds.

Clouds and rains have been often referred to in *Sukraniti* as we have seen above in connexion with rivers. Rains‡ are some of the physical factors in the division of time into periods or epochs. The analogy by which the poet of the Sukra cycle illustrate the advantages of punctuality, regularity and keeping to time generally indicates the very important place rains occupy in the physical and economic life of the people among whom they lived. The work done at the time appointed for it is certain to produce good results. Thus rains § in time give rise to plenty, but otherwise are highly injurious. In India, the land of monsoons where people depend on the rains for cultivation, uncertainty and precariousness of the rainy season mean famine and ruin. This observation of the author, therefore, is certainly to be attributed to one of the predominant features of the physical environment. The same idea has been repeated in section 1 of chapter IV: "Where the clouds do not pour rain ¶ in season, there the lands are not productive and the commonwealth deteriorates, &c."

The lands that are irrigated by clouds pouring their contents upon them are said to be *devamatrika*, *i.e.*, to have the gods or natural agencies, *e.g.* Indra, the cloud god, for their parent; just as land watered by rivers are known to be *nadimatrika*, *i.e.*, to have them as their mothers.

We have noticed previously that Sukracharyya's Land-Revenue-Policy is equitable and elastic. Thus where rain is the source of moisture agriculture is precarious and uncertain since the monsoons do often fail. Hence the demand of the Government is to be very small compared with that from lands irrigated otherwise. "The king should realise one-third, one-fourth or one-half from places which are irrigated by tanks, canals and wells, by rains ‖ and by rivers

* Sukra IV. vii. 376-377. † Sukra I. 41-42.
‡ Sukra I. 573-574. § Sukra I. 106.
¶ Sukra IV. i. 122-123. ‖ Sukra IV. ii.227-229.

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respectively." It has also been noticed above in connexion with rivers, that though rivers are certain when compared with rains, they cannot however yield the plenty that nature does. Thus "can the nourishment that is due to rain-water from clouds * be derived from the water of rivers?"

There are two other references to clouds in *Sukraniti*, one is about their colour. *The Maharatna Indranila* which is Saturn's favourite, has the "colour of black clouds.†" The other reference mentions them as the source or mother of pearls.‡ This will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The Seasons.

The foregoing accounts of the country of the poets of the Sukra cycle leave no doubt that, generally speaking, it is (1) land of the powerful sun and (2) a land of rains. It is thus both hot and moist.

It is a noteworthy fact that there is no reference to extreme cold throughout the whole treatise though there often occurs the idea of extreme heat. All the six Indian seasons of two months each have been mentioned in the treatise; and their explanation has been given to be the influence of temperature (i.e, hot and cold) and moisture (i.e. dry and wet). Sukracharyya divides Time in two ways: (1) Social or human, i.e. historical, according to the events and movements in man's social life, e.g. the age of Asoka, the epoch of the Reformation &c., and (2) Physical according to (a) the seasons and (b) the rotations and revolutions in the solar system which bring in days, nights, months, years. We have already alluded to the influence of the "movements, shape and nature of the planets" in connexion with the heavenly bodies. Here we shall point out the references in Sukraniti to the weather and seasons affecting the country's climate as determined by heat § and cold as well as drought and moisture. The summer ¶ which presents the sun scorching the desert has been already noticed; and we have also found that the king should present the front of the summer sun‖ towards the enemies. The summer being a terribly hot season, Sukra's advice to horsemen and jockeys of the Cavalry Department is that they should ride the horse * in the evening during that period, and to gardeners† that they should water the plants twice a day in the morning and evening. Again, as for the seasons of warfare, the "summur ‡ is the worst." In India the summer is technically known to be the period of two months from the middle of April to the middle of June.

The rainy season extends from the middle of June, when the monsoon generally set in to the middle of August. We have already noticed the importance given by the poets of the Sukra cycle to the regularity or punctuality of the rains, also the place they occupy in the economy of nature from a calculation of which equitable assessment of Land Revenue are to be made. In the rainy season horses require to be carefully treated, and Sukra's positive advice to horsemen § is not to use them during that period. It is not a good season for the use of carriages ¶ cars or chariots. Nor is it a convenient time for warfare. "In the rainy season ‖ war is not at all appreciated, peace is desirable then."

But it is very convenient for gardeners and agriculturists who are advised never to water the plants ** during this period.

The Indian Seasons have played a great part in the history of Indian warfares. The monsoons which give rise to tempests and heavy downpours, swollen rivers, and malarial swamps have decided the issue of many battles and sieges in Eastern India. Relativity of politics to geographical environment is nowhere better illustrated than in the influence of the rains and rivers in Bengal and Assam. Can this, however, point indirectly to the locale or surroundings of the poets of the Sukra cycle?

The autumn is a delightful season in India, generally cloudless, or rather with deceptive invisible clouds, extending from the middle of August to the middle of October. The autumn moon is celebrated in Indian poetry because its lustre is then gloriously set off against the background of a pure blue sky. We have seen that Sukracharyya in advising the sovereign to put on his most agreeable attitude when

* Sukra V. 14-15. † Sukra IV. ii 90.
‡ Sukra IV. ii. 117-118. § Sukra I. 41-42.
¶ Sukra I. 325-326. ‖ Sukra II. 566-567.

* Sukra IV. vii. 266-267. † Sukra IV. iv. 105-106.
‡ Sukra IV. vii. 446-448 § Sukra IV. vii 268.
¶ Sukra IV. vii 352-353. ‖ Sukra IV. vii 446-448.
** Sukra IV. iv 105-106.

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he has to receive learned men, asks himto be like the autumn moon. As for riders, they are enjoined to use the horse* in the morning in this season. The autumn is also one of the best seasons† for warfare.

The *Hemanta* is the season which forebodes the advent of winter. It extends from the middle of October to the middle of December. There are only two references to *Hemanta* in *Sukraniti*, both in connexion with military affairs. The *Hemanta*‡ being a mild season, of decaying heat and increasing cold, horses may be used both in the morning and evening. It is also, like autumn, one of the best seasons for warfare.§

The winter is the next two months and has been mentioned in connexion with the riding of horses and also as a season for warfare. As in the preceding season horses may be used both in the morning and evening in winter. It is also one of the most convenient periods of the year for military operations. It is also enjoined that gardeners need not water the plants every day in winter,¶ they should do this every alternate day. As we have said above the Sukra poets have dilated on the summer and its effects, but about the cold and the effects of winter generally they are very reticent. There is a mention of *hima* as one of the agencies that may injuriously attack the grains of the fields. But it is not clear what the purport seems to be. It may mean both dews and snows. The king has been advised to preserve in a store-house against future calamities such "grains as have not been attacked by poisons, fire or snows‖ (dews?) or eaten by worms and insects &c."

There may be a presumption that the summer being the principal season of the area within which the poets lived has left its influence upon their work; while the winter there being only one of the six seasons, and of no considerable inclemency, has been but scantily noticed and has had a very subsidiary effect on the poets' thought and life. If anything can be argued from the negative, it may be mentioned, as we have had reasons to state above, that the country of the poets of the Sukra cycle is a land preeminently of the summer and the rainy seasons.

The last Indian season is the Spring extending from the middle of February to the middle of April. It is the season *par excellence* of Hindu poets, the period of the hegemony of Madana, the Cupid of Indian mythology. But the poets of the Sukra cycle are prosaic statesmen and diplomats to be swayed by the conventions of orthodox poetical style. In fact the whole work of Sukracharyya bears throughout the character of a serious matter of fact treatise on the most momentous problems of human life; and the authors have systematically and consistently maintained their dignity by not indulging in a single superfluous epithet or unnecessary descriptions and digressions in the midst of rhetoric, word-painting or the like, though no doubt the arrangement is occasionally diffuse and inconsequential like the works of Adam Smith and Montesquieu. *Sukraniti* is the last work to be handled for specimens of literary grace or embellishments. This is unfortunately one of the many reasons which prevent it from being characterised as the work of a certain epoch of literary history. Its style is that of solid scientific Sanskrit and cannot be easily put into one of the classes of ordinary poetry in Sanskrit literature. This will be elaborately discussed in a subsequent chapter.

There are four references to the spring in *Sukraniti*. The first is that in which the king is advised to be like the spring-sun, i.e., neither too mild nor too severe in the treatment of his own people. The second is in connexion with the use of horses. As in the Hemanta and winter, one should ride the horse both in the morning and evening in the spring season.* The third reference describes it as a good season † for warfare, better than the rains and the summer but worse than the autumn, Hemanta and winter. The fourth mention of the spring is in connexion with the watering of plants. This is advised to be done in the fifth part of the day, i.e. in the afternoon during this period.

* Sukra IV. vii, 266-267. † Sukra IV. vii. 446—448.
‡ Sukra IV. vii, 266-267. § Sukra IV. vii, 446—448.
¶ Sukra IV. iii, 56-57. ‖ Sukra IV. iv, 105-106.

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THE PATRIOT

Seven times the Mongol hordes of Kublai Khan
Ravaged the peaceful lands of old Cathay.
Like forest-leaves wind-swept the people shook
And quivered at the onset, while the king,
Weak and infirm with age, was fain to yield
Fair freedom and his own imperial throne
To the Barbarian. Wen, his minister
And leader of his host, met each defeat
With dauntless resolution unsubdued.

Seven times he sent the message to his lord
To scorn all base surrender, and maintain
Freedom inviolate even to the death :
Then, in the last assault and desperate fight,
O'er-whelmed beneath the Mongol spears, he fell.

Wounded alike in body and soul, and brought
Before the tyrant, Wen was offered wealth,
Honour and full release, if he would stoop
To urge capitulation on his lord.
Should he refuse, his lot was to be cast
Into a fetid dungeon.—Wen refused :
And thus he told his thoughts in later years :—

"Only the marsh fire lights my cell by night :
By day, no breath of spring passes to cheer
The murky solitude wherein I dwell.
Drenched by the mist and dew full many a time
I had thought to die, yet death and fell disease
Hovered in vain around me, while the dank
And feverish soil became my Paradise :
For I had that within me which no pain
Could steal away. True to my lord I stayed,
Watching the white clouds floating o'er my head,
And bearing in the silence of my heart
A sorrow vaster than the midnight sky."

At length the Mongol tyrant over-awed
By Wen's endurance, summoned him once more
To ask what royal boon would bring him peace.
'Death,' he replied, and quietly composed
Himself for the death-stroke, making the first
Obeisance toward the palace of his king ;
The second, to the soil which gave him birth,—
His country, loved beyond all human love,—
The third, to his own ancestors : and thus,
Death's ceremony completed, took the blow.
'My work is done,' were the last words of Wen.

DELHI. C. F. ANDREWS.

The incident may be found recorded in Prof. Giles' 'Civilisation of China' (Home University Library), p. 74.

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INDIRA

By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

Translated By J. D. Anderson, I. C. S. (Retired)

AT last I was being conveyed to my husband's home. My nineteenth birthday was past, and yet, contrary to Hindu customs, I had never left the home of my childhood. Why? The explanation is simple. My father was wealthy, my father-in-law poor. A few days after the wedding—I was only a child at the time—my father-in-law, in accordance with custom, sent people to fetch me away, but my father refused to part with me. "Let my son-in-law", he said, "first learn how to earn his own living. How can he maintain a wife under existing circumstances?" When this message was conveyed to my husband, he was much hurt and offended, (he was then only twenty years old,) and he made a vow that he would set to work to earn a livelihood for us both. He set off for Western India. In those days there was no railway, and travel was difficult and dangerous. Nevertheless he made his way to the Punjab on foot, without means and without influence to help him. A young man who has the resolution to face perils and hardships is bound to overcome all obstacles. In a short time, he began to earn money, to make remittances. But for seven or eight years he neither returned home nor made any enquiries about me. Shortly before the period at which my tale begins, he had come home for the first time. The rumour ran that he had gained much wealth by taking contracts under the Commissariat. (Is that the right spelling, I wonder?) My father-in-law wrote to my father to say that Upendra (old-fashioned people must forgive me for thus boldly using my husband's name; I suppose ladies of the present day would not blush to say "my Upendra") had returned "by your worship's blessing", and was now in a position to maintain his wife. He had sent a palanquin and bearers. Would my father kindly send me to my new home? Or, if such were his orders, arrangements would be made for seeking a bride for Upendra elsewhere.

My father smiled to see that these were indeed newly enriched folk, with the manners of their kind. The palanquin was richly lined, over it was a silver canopy, the poles ended in grinning shark's heads in silver. The servant girl who had accompanied it was dressed in silk apparel, and had a fine gold bead on her necklet. Four stalwart black-bearded up-country retainers acted as escort.

My father, Hara Mohan Datta, was a gentleman by descent. He laughed and said, "My dearest Indira, I can keep you no longer. You must go now, but you must come back soon to see your old father. Mind you do not let all this magnificence make you conceited. In our homely Bengali phrase, do not smile at a swelled finger posing as a banana tree!"*

So it was that I was at last on my way to my future home. My father-in-law's house at Manoharpur and my father's house at Mahespur were some twenty miles apart. So I rose early and took a hasty meal, knowing that however early we started it would be nightfall before we reached our journey's end. Halfway, there was a great lake of water known as the Black Tank, nearly a mile long, lying in the midst of lofty banks looking like hills, through which our road lay. The lake was surrounded by dense groves of ancient banyan trees. Its waters were as the dark thunderclouds in colour, very beautiful to look upon. The place was almost uninhabited. There was a single shop at the spot where travellers drew water when they halted by the lake. Not far distant was a little village, also called Kaladighi, after the Black Tank.

People feared to pass by this lake. The region had a bad repute for robbers, and travellers made up strong parties if they had to go this way. In fact the lake was commonly known as "Dakate Kaladighi", the Black Lake of the Dacoits. The sol-

* That is to say, "do not smile at their upstart ways!"

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itary shopkeeper was suspected of being in league with thieves. As for me, I entertained no fears. There were many attendants with me—sixteen bearers, four armed retainers, and others as well. When we reached this place, it was already past mid-day. The bearers declared that they could not proceed further without stopping to eat and drink. My armed guards objected that the place had a bad name, but the bearers argued that, with so numerous a party, there was no fear. All were fasting and weary, and finally a halt was resolved upon.

My palanquin was deposited close to the water's edge under the shade of the banyan trees. Presently I gathered from the sound of their voices that my attendants had gone to some distance. I summoned up courage to draw the sliding doors and look out on the lake. I saw that the bearers were taking their meal under a tree at a distance of about a hundred yards. Before me the lake spread its blue waters. Around it were the lofty yet rounded masses of the banks looking like hills; between them and the shore grew many mighty forest trees; on the slopes cattle were feeding; in the water the water-birds were joyously playing; a gentle breeze caused tiny waves to break in drops that glittered in the sunshine, and the lotuses rocked on the crest of the waves. I noticed that my armed guardians were in the water bathing. As they splashed they threw up drops that shone like diamonds in the brillant rays of the afternoon sun. Then I observed that, with the exception of the bearers, all my attendants were in the water. Near me were only two helpless women, one my own maid, the other the woman my father-in-law had sent. I began to feel a little perturbed. There was no one near but my women. The place had an ill fame. I was fairly frightened. But what was I to do? A zenana lady, it was not for me to call even my own people to my rescue.

At this moment I heard a sound on the other side of my palanquin, as if some heavy object had fallen from one of the trees. I opened the door on that side, and peeped out. Before me was a tall, dark-visaged man. As I gazed, horrified, another and yet another man jumped from the branches above me. Four of them picked up the palanquin, placed the poles on their shoulders, and started to run.

Seeing that, my stalwart guardians shouted "Who is that?" and emerging from the water, ran in pursuit. Then it was that I knew I had fallen into the hands of robbers. What was the use of maidenly modesty now? I threw both doors of my palanquin wide open. I saw that my people were running with angry shouts after my captors. At first I had some hopes of a rescue, but these hopes were soon dissipated; for, as we proceeded, more and more robbers sprang from the trees. I have already told you that the lake was surrounded by dense masses of trees, and it was through these that my captors took their way, and were joined by fresh forces as they hastened. Some had bamboo staves in their hands, some had armed themselves with branches from the trees in which they had been lurking.

Seeing so formidable a crowd, my people began to fall behind. In despair I thought to myself, "Shall I jump from the palanquin?" But my bearers ran so fast that a leap was not without peril, and moreover one of the robbers threatened me with his staff and cried, "If you try to get out, I will break your head." So I kept my seat.

One of my attendants succeeded in catching us up, and laid hold of my conveyance. Alas, one of the robbers smote him on the head, so that he fell senseless on the ground. I did not see him rise again. My belief is that he never rose again.

Seeing this, the others desisted from pursuit, and my captors bore me off without further impediment. They continued their flight uninterruptedly till long after night-fall, and then deposited the palanquin on the ground. I looked round me, and saw dense forest. It was intensely dark. One of the robbers lighted a torch. I was told to give up all I had on pain of instantaneous death. I handed over my jewels and ornaments, taking off even those I had on my person. I was given a coarse, dirty, and torn raiment which I was compelled to exchange for the pretty dress I wore. When they had thus stripped me, the robbers broke up the palanquin, and tore off its silver ornaments. They then lighted a fire and burned the wood-work, so as to leave no traces of their wicked deed. Then they prepared to depart, leaving me at the mercy of beasts of prey in the gloom of the jungle, far from all human help and

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habitation. I cried aloud in fear. "I fall at your feet", I said, "I entreat you to take me with you!" I was reduced to such extremity as to desire the company of these reckless and wicked men!

One of the elders among them said to me, not unkindly, "My dear, what are we to do with such a lovely young maiden? The fame of our exploit will soon be all over the country-side, and if we are seen in the company of such as you, we shall be caught."

One of the younger men said, "I am willing to go to prison for so charming a piece of goods. I cannot give her up." I blush now to think of the other odious things he said; I cannot write them down. The older man was, it seems, the leader of the gang. He raised his staff and said, I "will break your head, scoundrel, if you talk thus. Are such sins for the like of us?" So saying, he departed with his followers. As long as I could hear their voices, I retained consciousness. When I could hear them no more, I fell into a dead faint.

II.

I suppose I must have slept, for when I came to my senses the crows and kokilas were already awake and noisy. The light of dawn was shining through the delicate leaves of the bamboo clumps. I rose to my feet and started in search of a village, and after a time came upon human habitations. I asked the people I met if they could tell me the way to my father's village or to that where my father-in-law lived. No one knew. Soon I found, that I was safer in the forest than here. In the first place it was painful for me, a maiden bred in the zenana, to speak to males face to face,—and when I did speak to them, they looked at me with a hungry gaze whose meaning I could not misunderstand. Some mocked at me, some made insulting proposals. I resolved in my mind that I would die rather than again enquire of such creatures. As for the women, none of them could give me any information. They too seemed to take me for some strange animal, so amazed were their foolish faces. Only one old woman said, "My dear, who on earth are you? Is it fitting that such a slim and lovely little person should wander about unattended on the public highway? Dear me! Dear me! You come into my house." I followed her without a word. Seeing me perish with hunger, she gave me food. She said she knew Mahespur. I told her that she would be handsomely rewarded if she took me home. But she only stupidly answered that she could not leave her house and family. So I started once more along the road she indicated. I tramped along painfully till dusk, growing more and more fatigued. Meeting a wayfarer, I asked him how far it was to Mahespur. He stood astonished, and after a time asked me whence I had come. I told him the name of the village where the old woman dwelt. He told me that I was going away from my destination; that Mahespur was two days journey distant.

I was beside myself with fear and disappointment. I asked the man where he was going. He told me that he was on his way to the hamlet of Gaurigram hard by. Not knowing what else to do, I followed him. When we reached the village, the man asked me to whose house I was going. I said I knew no one, and would spend the night under a tree.

"Of what caste are you?" he asked.

"I am a Kayastha", I replied.

He said, "I am a Brahmin. Come with me. For all your torn and dirty raiment, I can see that you are of good family. Such looks as yours are not found in humble homes."

Ah, beauty, beauty! I was growing tired of these constant allusions to my pretty looks. But the Brahmin was old and of reverend aspect. I followed him.

I spent that night in the Brahmin's house, and was glad of a little repose after two days of terror and agitation. When I arose in the morning, I found that all my limbs ached. My feet were wofully swollen. I had not strength to sit up.

So long as I was in this weak state, I was compelled to stay in the Brahmin's house. He and his good wife were very kind to me, but I could not think of any means of arriving at Mahespur. None of the women knew the way, nor was any of them ready to be my guide. Many of the men were willing enough, but I was afraid to go alone with men, nor would the old Brahmin have allowed me to accompany them. He took me aside and said, "These are low fellows. Do not trust them. I dare not tell you what they meditate. I cannot, as a respectable Brahmin, allow you to go with such people." So I desisted. One day, I happened to hear that a gentleman named Krishnadas Basu was going

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to Calcutta with his family, and thought I had at last found a way of escape. Calcutta was far from my home and that of my father-in-law, it is true, but I had a distant relative who was engaged in business in the capital. I thought that if I could only reach Calcutta, I should have no difficulty in finding my relative, who would certainly send me home ; or else I might be able to send word to my father.

I announced my discovery to my host, who strongly approved of my plan. "Krishna Babu," he said, "is well known to me. I will take you to him. He is an elderly man of excellent character."

I was duly taken to Krishna Babu's house. The Brahmin explained that I was a young lady of good birth who had fallen into misfortune and had lost my way. "If you will only take this poor friendless girl to Calcutta, she will have no difficulty in finding her way home." Krishnadas Babu agreed, and admitted me to his women's quarters. Next day I started for Calcutta in the company of the ladies of his family. We had to walk some eight or ten miles to the Ganges, where we took boat.

In due course we reached Calcutta, whither my host was proceeding to perform his devotions at the shrine of Kalighat. He took up his residence in the suburb of Bhawanipur. One day he asked me where my relative dwelt. Was it in Calcutta or at Bhawanipur. I had not the slightest idea ! Did I not know his address ? I did not know that either. In my simplicity I had imagined that Calcutta was just a big village like our own where all the principal inhabitants were known ! I thought it was only necessary to mention a gentleman's name to be told where he lived !

I now found that Calcutta was an endless sea of masonry houses. I could think of no means of discovering my friends. Krishnadas Babu very kindly made enquiries on my behalf, but in a place like Calcutta the investigations of a simple country gentleman were of little avail.

It was Krishnadas Babu's intention to go to Benares after he had finished his pilgrimage to Kalighat. When his devotions were completed, it was time for him to resume his journey with his family. What was I to do ? I burst into tears.

My kind friend said, "Look here, listen to me. A friend of mine of the name of Ramram Datta lives hard by in Thanthania. I happened to meet him yesterday. He told me that he was in great distress for want of a cook-maid. It happens that girls of quite respectable families in our country go into service as cooks. He asked me if I could recommend some one. I promised to make enquiries. Now why should not you take this chance ? I see no other refuge for you. I must tell frankly that my means do not permit me to take you with us to Benares. Even if you came with us, you would be no better off than you are now. On the other hand, if you stay here, you can continue your search for your relatives."

What could I do but agree ? But the thought of the trouble my looks had given me returned to my mind. I had come to think of all male beings as my sworn foes. So I asked,

"How old is Ramram Babu ?"

"He is an old man like me."

"Is his wife still alive ?" I asked.

He had two wives, I was told.

Were there any other males in his family ? was my next question. My host replied that there was one little son, aged ten, by the second marriage. And there was also a blind nephew.

I had no further excuse for refusal. The very next day Krishnadas Babu sent me to Ramram Babu's house. I entered his family as his cook. This was what fate had written on my forehead ! Who would have guessed that I was destined to earn my living by cooking and waiting at table !

III.

My first idea was that I should soon be able to save enough out of my wages to be able to go home. But no one seemed to know where Mahespur was, nor did I meet anyone who could tell me how to go there. Myself a life-long denizen of the seclusion of a zenana, I did not even know in what district my home was, or in what direction it lay. How then could anyone else guide me ? In such fashion a whole year glided by. Then, all of a sudden, a ray of light shone on my darkness. It was as if I had seen a familiar star in a break in the clouds in the rainy season.

One day Ramram Babu called me to him and said :

"I have asked a very important guest to dine with me to-day. He is my banker, and I owe him money. See that to-day's

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meal is exceptionally good, otherwise I shall be greatly annoyed."

I did my very best. The dining-room was in the women's apartments, and so I was ordered to wait at table. Only Ramram Babu and his guest sat down to eat.

I had already served the first course when they arrived. Presently I went to serve the second course, a dish of meat. I was of course closely veiled, but when was woman's wit obscured by so trifling a matter as a veil? I managed to take a good look at my master's guest.

I found that he was about thirty years old. He was fair of complexion, and extremely good-looking. It was easy to see that he was the sort of man we women admire. Let me admit that as I stood with the dish of meat in my hand, I had another good look at him. While I was thus gazing at him through my parted veil, he raised his head and perceived that my looks were directed to his face. Our Bengali men say that as a light shines brighter in the darkness, so are a veiled woman's eyes brighter than an unveiled woman's looks. It seemed to me that he too was of this opinion. He smiled faintly, and once more bent over his food. I was the only one who caught his smile. In my confusion, I put all the meat into his plate, and hurried away!

I was half ashamed, half delighted. Let me make the dreadful admission that I was more pleasured than ashamed. This was the first smile that had ever given me such joy—no one had ever smiled at me quite like that before, and all the smiles of all the men in the world seemed like poison in comparison.

And now I am sure that all my lady readers who love their lords will frown and say, "Shameless one, but this is falling in love!" It is perfectly true, I had fallen in love. But reflect. Though I was a married woman, I had been practically widowed all my life. I had only seen my husband once at our marriage, and I was then only ten years old. All the desires of my youth were unsatisfied. When the net was thrown into such deep and unplumbed water, what wonder that it raised a big wave!

I must admit that in making this confession, I cannot be acquitted of blame. Whatever its cause, or even if there be no cause, sin is sin. A mere pleading of motives is no excuse for sin. But in all my life this was my first sin—and my last sin—of that kind.

When I returned to my kitchen, the thought came into my mind, "I have seen him before somewhere." To dissipate my doubts, I again went and secretly looked at him. I looked at him attentively, and then I knew!

At this moment, Ramram Babu called to me to bring in a fresh course. I had prepared many dishes. I took one of them into the dining-room. I could see that the guest had not forgotten the look he had intercepted. He said to Ramram Babu, "Ram Babu, tell your cook-maid that her cooking is excellent."

Ram Babu did not understand the secret meaning of this speech. He merely observed, "Yes, she does not cook badly."

But I understood, and mentally resolved that he should know what a clever cook could do to disturb a young man's fancies.

The guest went on, "What surprises me is that one or two of the dishes remind me of the way they cook in our country!"

Again I thought, "it is he!" As a matter of fact I had cooked one or two of the dishes according to the recipes of our quarter of Bengal. Ramram said: "May be, may be, the girl is not from this part of the world."

The guest seized the opportunity, and looking me boldly in the face, he asked, "Where is your home, my girl?"

I thought to myself, shall I tell him, or shall I not? Finally I decided that I would tell him.

But another doubt arose, should I tell him the truth or a lie? I decided that I would tell him a lie. Why I came to this decision, He alone knows who has made the mind of woman deceitful beyond understanding and fond of crooked ways. I thought that if need be, I could tell the truth at any time. Let me deceive him for the present. So it was that I replied:

"Our home is at Kaladighi!"

He was visibly startled. After a time he asked in a gentle voice, "Which Kaladighi? You don't mean Kaladighi of the Dacoits?"

I blush to say I answered, "Yes".

He did not utter another word.

All this time I was standing with the dish in my hand. I had quite forgotten that it was very unbecoming conduct in a Hindu cook-maid to remain standing thus

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in the presence of men. I noticed that he was no longer enjoying his food. Ramram Babu too observed this and asked :

"Upendra Babu, you are not eating ?" This was all that I was waiting to hear. Upendra Babu ! Even before I had heard the name, I knew he was my husband.

I ran into the kitchen, and throwing down the dish, seated myself in sheer ecstasy of joy. Ramram Babu called out, "What was that which fell ?" It was merely a dish of meat, after all !

IV.

What am I to do now ? From this time forth I must make mention of my husband's name a hundred times in my narrative. Will my lively lady readers kindly sit in committee and tell me what word to use when I make mention of him ? Shall I offend their delicate ears by saying "my husband...my husband" over and over again ? Or shall I in modern fashion speak of him boldly as "Upendra." Or again, shall I ring poetical changes in a continuous kyrielle of "my lord," "my master," "my dear spouse,," ? Alas, in the speech of our unfortunate country there is no word by which we can address the one being whom we love to call by name, the one person of whom a loving woman must always be talking ! One of my friends (she has had some tincture of town breeding) used to call her husband "Babu." But merely "Babu" seemed a dry mode of address, so she took to calling him "Baburam !"* I have half a mind to follow her example!

Well, I have told you how I threw down the dish of food. As I did so, I thought to myself, "since it has pleased destiny to restore me my lost treasure, I must not lose it in another fit of feminine modesty." With this determination, I went and stood in such a place that if any one looked carefully about him when he left the inner apartments, he could not fail to see me. I said to myself, "if he departs without looking about for another glimpse of me, then at the mature age of twenty, I do not know anything about the male sex." I will tell you the plain truth—and you must try to forgive me. I threw off my veil, and stood shamelessly with bared face. I am ashamed to write it now, but reflect in what trouble of mind I was then !

*Which made the loving title jocular, and even disrespectful !

First of all Ramram passed out. He of course looked straight in front of him, and did not notice me. Then came my husband. My heart throbbed when I saw that he was looking about him—as if he was searching for some one. His eyes fell on me. Of course I knew for whom he was looking. As soon as I caught his eye—how shall I say it ? I am covered with confusion. But as it is the cobra's habit to expand his hood before he strikes, so it is with a woman's glance. And why should I not put a little extra poison into my look, seeing that I knew that he was really and truly my "lord and master ?" I rather think that the poor man departed badly wounded.

Ramram Babu had another servant girl of the name of Harani. We were great friends. Why not ? After all, we were both companions in service. I called her to me and said, "My dear, if you would win my eternal gratitude, find out for me quickly when that babu means to take his deparure." Harani laughed and said, "Fie, *didi thakrun*. I did not know that you had *that* little infirmity !" I laughed too. "It is a long lane," I said, "that has no turning, and every dog must have his day ! Now spare me your sermonizing and tell me whether you will help me or not. I assure you there is nothing wrong in the affair, as you will know later." She answered, "Well, I will do it for you ; but remember, I would not do this for anyone else."

So, alas, ended poor Harani's attempt at moral instruction!

She departed on her errand and it seemed to my impatience that she was a very long time in returning. I was wriggling, it seems to me, like a fish on dry land. At last Harani came back and announced with a laugh :

"The Babu is not very well, he is going to lie down for a little, I have come for bedding for him."

I answered, "That is all very well, but suppose he goes away in the afternoon! You get hold of him quietly and tell him that our cook says that she is ashamed of her mid-day performance, and begs him to stay for the evening meal. But mind you don't let any one else know of the cook's invitation. You 'll see, he will find some pretext to stay longer."

Harani laughed and again said, "Fie, for shame!" But she carried my message never-

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theless. In the afternoon she came back to me and said, "I told him what you said. The Babu is a bad man, he agreed to stay."

On hearing this, I was pleased, to be sure. All the same I was a little ashamed of him. It seemed to me that there was no harm in doing what I had done, because I knew who he was. But there was not the remotest possibility that he had recognised me. I had seen him before when he was a full-grown man, and so had my suspicions from the first. He had seen me only as a little girl of eleven. I had not the smallest reason to suppose that he knew me. So it was that I felt aggrieved that, believing me to be another man's wife, he had yielded to the attraction he felt for me. Still he was my husband, I was his wife. It was not for me to think evil of him. So I banished these thoughts from my mind. I merely determined that if, some day, I could recover him, I should cure him of this wicked weakness!

He had not to make long search for an excuse for staying with us. He had recently extended his business operations to Calcutta and had to visit the capital from time to time. His friendship with my master had its origin in business matters. After consenting to Harani's naughty suggestion, he went to Ramram Babu and said, "As I am here, would it not be a good thing if we went into those accounts?" Ramram replied, "By all means, but the ledgers and books are all at my office, let me send for them. It will be nightfall by the time they come. Could you look in to-morrow morning? Or, better still, why not spend the night here?"

To which he replied: "You are very kind. Why stand on ceremony? My friend's house is my house. Let us go into the accounts to-morrow morning."

V.

In the depth of night, when everybody had supped and retired to rest, I stole silently into my master's guest-chamber, of which my husband was the sole occupant.

Remember, this was my first interview with my husband since I had come to woman's estate. How shall I tell you of the queer mixture of pride and shame I felt? I am a sad chatterbox, but when I first addressed him, the words would not come, somehow. I felt as if I dared not speak. I began to tremble in every limb. I could hear my heart beating. My tongue was parched in my mouth. Failing speech, what must I do but fall to crying!

The stupid man, he misunderstood my silly tears! Guess what he said. He said:

"Why are you crying? I did not send for you. You have come of your own accord, and now you cry!"

This cruel speech caused me horrible pain. He considered me a shameless wretch, a suppliant for his favours! My tears flowed afresh at the thought. For a moment I resolved to tell him at once. I could not bear the pain of his scorn. But again it occurred to me that if I told him, he might not believe me. I had told him that my home was at Kaladighi. He would guess that I had heard of his wife's adventure, and was impersonating her for mercenary motives. If some such suspicion were to cross his mind, how was I to convince him? So I resolved to keep my counsel for the present. I sighed, I wiped my eyes, I tried to engage him in conversation. After idle talk on different matters, he said:

"I was much surprised to hear you say that your home is at Kaladighi. I should never have dreamed that such a delightful little person could be born in such a place. I find it difficult to believe, even now, that such a charming girl comes from our rough countryside."

This gave my woman's wits the opportunity for which I was waiting. "You are pleased to flatter a poor servant," I said, "but everyone in our country knows that it was your wife who was our reigning beauty. Tell me, sir, have you any news of her?"

"No," he replied coldly, "how long is it since you left home?"

I replied, "it was soon after your wife was carried off that I came here. I suppose, sir, you have married again?"

The answer, to my relief, was "No."

Yes, I was very glad to hear that he had not taken another wife to himself. What I said was, "Of course with such big people as you, a second marriage is a serious matter. If you were to recover your first wife, there might be trouble between the two ladies."

The wretch laughed carelessly and said, "No fear of that, my dear! Supposing she were to turn up, I should not take her back. Think of the scandal! What has become of her caste all this while?"

It was like a thunderbolt! All my hopes

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were shattered in an instant. What, even if I had revealed myself to him, he would not have accepted me as his wife! Was my growing regard for the creature to be squandered by his cruel words?

I had the courage to ask nevertheless, "If you should meet her now, what would you do?"

He said, with a resolute air, "I should refuse to have anything to do with her."

The heartless wretch! I stood transfixed to stone! I was sick and giddy with disappointment and disgust!

And as I sat there, at the bedside of my dear, dear husband, I said to myself, "Either you shall take me to your arms, my own, my own, or else I shall die as Hindu widows die!"

VI.

And then I banished care from my face. I knew already that it was my smiling glance that had attracted his roving fancy. I thought to myself that if the rhinoceros does not sin in using his mighty horn, if the elephant is permitted to use his tusks, if the tiger defends himself with his cruel claws, if the buffalo can gore his foe with his huge horns, surely a poor little woman may use the feeble weapons at her disposal. "My darling," I thought, "I will use the powers Providence has given me—for your happiness and mine." I left his side and sat down at a distance. I began to converse gaily. He approached me. "Go away," I said, "I see you have made a mistake. You have misunderstood me." I smiled as I spoke, and (I must tell the whole truth, if you are to understand my story) I managed to shake down the braids of my hair. As I talked to him, I occupied myself in binding the coils afresh.

"You have completely misunderstood me," I repeated. "I am no wanton. I merely came to you because I wanted to hear news of home. It is so long since I have met anyone from our country!"

I suppose he did not believe me. He had the audacity to come and sit by me. I only laughed and said, "As you won't obey orders, I must go away. I must say good-night."

So saying, I rose to my feet. Seeing that I was in earnest, the poor man was in despair. He seized my hand. I angrily tore it from his grasp. But still I smilled, I smiled.

And yet I cried, "You are a bad man! Do not touch me! Do you think I am a wanton woman?"

As I spoke, I walked resolutely towards the door. My husband—I am ashamed to use the word as I think of it—restrained me by force.

"Have pity on me," he cried, "have pity on me! Do not go away, I am maddened by the sight of your beauty. Never have I seen such charm, such lolvliness!"

I turned back, but I refused to sit down again.

"Ah, Sir," I said, "you have me at a cruel disadvantage. I admit, yes, I admit I like you. Think what it costs me to say no to you! But what can I do? A woman's sole treasure is her virtue. Shall I buy one day's joy with life-long sorrow and shame? Let me go."

"Let me swear," he cried, "that you shall be my heart's mistress all my life long. Why talk of one day's pleasure?"

I laughed, and said I put no faith in such vows. I was going away again and had reached the door, when, no longer able to restrain himself, he fell at my feet and held me back.

I was filled with pain to see his evil plight. "Let us go to your lodgings," I said, tempting him. "If we stay here, you will go away presently and leave me."

Of course he was only too ready to consent. His lodging was hard by, in Simla, and we went thither, he and I together. When we got there, I noticed that there were two rooms. Into one of these I preceded him, slammed the door in his face, and drew the bolts! The poor man was left outside!

He made the most piteous entreaties to be admitted. I laughed and said, "I have now entered *your* service. But let me see if the flood of your passion will not have run dry by to-morrow morning. If I find that you are still as fond of me to-morrow, we will have some further talk. Now say good-night, and go away."

I utterly refused to open the door, and finally he went away elsewhere. I hope he slept! It was quite late in the morning when I opened the door. I found him humbly waiting my pleasure. I took his hand in mine.

"Lord and master," I said, "either send me back to Ramram Datta, or promise not to come near me for a whole week. Let that be a test of your patience and fortitude."

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My husband agreed to undergo this heroic test.

VII

Whatever means of inflaming males Providence has entrusted to our sex, these I heartlessly employed in the torture of my husband during his week's trial. How am I, a woman, to describe a woman's arts and wiles? If by right of womanhood I had not known how to kindle the flame, why was there such a blaze in the poor man's heart last night? But by what means I lighted the fire, how cunnigly I blew it when it smouldered, how I managed to set my husband's heart aflame, I cannot for sheer shame tell the tale of all this.

If any of my fair readers has ever engaged in the task of manslaughter, and has succeeded in her endeavour, then she will understand. If any of my male readers has ever suffered at the hands of a destroying angel, I need not tell him of my tactics. Are not we women, in short, the thorns of this weary world? Is it not mere history that the world has suffered more from us women than from all the men that were ever born of women? Luckily our sex is for the most part unaware of its destructive power, else by this time our poor globe would have been destroyed by fire!

During this week of trial I was constantly in my husband's company. I spoke to him affectionately and sympathetically. I carefully abstained from idle gossip. Smiles, and looks, and gestures, are not these the natural arms of our weak sex? The first day, I was condescending and kind. The second day, I showed signs of growing affection. The third day, I took it upon myself to supervise his domestic affairs. I was careful to see that due arrangements were made for his comfort in eating, sleeping, and bathing. Nothing was neglected that contributed to his well-being. I cooked with my own hand; I even cut up the firewood. Climax of shame—one day I wept! I refused to tell him plainly why I was crying. But I let him understand that I dreaded that when the trial was over, his passion might be sated, he might tire of me, and desert me. One day he was not very well. I sat up all night with him and tended him. Do not despise me for all this wicked behaviour. From my heart I say that it was not all cunning and pretences. I was beginning to love him very dearly. Shall I say that I was already almost half as much in love with him as he was in love with me? Need I say that before the week was up, I would not have left him if he had beaten me and tried to drive me away?

Nor need I tell you that fresh fuel was being added to the flame that consumed him. By degrees he abandoned all his other pursuits for the pleasure of being with me. When I was occupied with my house-work, he followed me about like a child. At every step I could see the growing strength of his passion, and yet at a hint from me he would restrain himself. At length he had come to such a pass that he would touch my feet in the Hindu way of showing submission, would entreat me not to leave him when his trial was over. And in truth it seemed to me that I had bebome so necessary to him that he would lose his senses if I deserted him.

When the last day of the probation came round, I wept and said to him, "Dearest, I did wrong to come with you. I have given you undeserved pain and trouble. It seems to me that this probation has been a foolish mistake. Who can predict the course of a man's passions? You have loved me fondly all these eight days. But eight months hence—can you yourself say whether you will still love me? And if you desert me, think of what my state will be!"

He rose to his feet with a laugh. "If that is your only anxiety," he said, "I can easily put your mind at rest. I had thought of doing it before, but now my mind is made up. I shall make due provision for you."

I had been waiting for a chance of leading him to say something of the sort. I was the more pleased when he said it of his own accord.

"Fie," I cried, "if you leave me, what need shall I have of money? If it is merely a question of living, a woman can live by begging. But I do not wish to live if you leave me. What I want is a proof, my dear, that you will not leave me all my life long. For to-day is the last day of my darling's trial."

"What will you have me do?" he asked, "I will do whatever you desire."

"I am only a woman," I replied, "what shall I say? Think it out for yourself."

Then I led the talk to other subjects. By degrees I fell to telling him a silly story

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—made up, of course—about a man who had made a deed of gift of all his property to his mistress. That was the gist of it.

He ordered his carriage to be got ready, and drove away. This was the first time he had left me during the whole week. Presently he returned, but did not tell me where he had been, nor did I venture to ask him. In the afternoon, he went out again. When he came back, he had a paper in his hand.

"Take this," he said; "this is a deed giving you the whole of my worldly goods. I got a lawyer to draw it up. If ever I desert you, I shall be driven to begging my bread in the streets!"

This time the tears that came to my eyes were genuine enough. Did my dear love me so dearly as that? I stooped to touch his feet, and said, "From this day forth, I am thy bond-woman, thy bought slave. The probation is ended."

VIII

Now it was that I could say to myself, "I hold in my hand the moon for which I was crying. How shall he leave me now? He said he would not recieve me back as his wife, did he?" The purpose for which I had spread all these nets was accomplished. If I were to tell him now that I was his wife, and he were to abandon me, he would have to give up all his worldly wealth and position.

It was my father who had named me Indira, after Laksmi, the goddess of good fortune. My mother used to call me Kumudini or "Lily." At my father-in-law's house I was known as Indira; at home nearly everybody called me Kumudini. At Ramram Babu's I had told them that my name was Kumudini, and had half forgotten that I was ever Indira. My husband too knew me by my second name, and it was under this name that I was described in the deed of gift.

Some happy days we spent together in Calcutta. All this time I refrained from announcing myself. I thought I would do so some day when we went to Mahespur. By various roundabout ways, I got my husband to tell me news of home. All was well with my dear ones, but I began to long to see their faces again.

One day I said to my husband, "I want to go to Kaladighi to see my father and mother. Send me home for a while."

He was not at all willing. How was he to exist without me? On the other hand he had become so accustomed to obeying orders that he could not definitely say "no." What he said was, "It will take at least a fortnight for you to go to Kaladighi and return. I shall die of weariness in all that time. I will go with you."

I clapped my hands and said, "That is just what I wanted! But where will you stay in a place like Kaladighi?"

"How long do you want to be at home?" he asked.

"If I cannot see you," I replied, "five days will be the longest time I can stay away from you."

"In that case," he said, "I shall go to my own home for five days. On the fifth day, remember, I shall come and take you away."

This arrangement having been arrived at, in due course we mounted in our respective palanquins and started on our journey. After we had passed the lake of unhappy memory and were in the village of Kaladighi, my husband left me and wended his way homewards.

When his back was turned, I said to my bearers, "I want to go to Mahespur first, I will come back to Kaladighi afterwards. Take me to Maheshpur. You shall be well paid for your trouble."

They carried me to my native village. Telling the bearers and my other attendants to wait on the outskirts, I entered the village on foot. When my old home came in sight at last, I sat down in a secluded place and shed happy tears. It was long before I could muster courage to enter the house. The first person I met in our old home was my dear father. I fell at his feet in obeisance. He was beside himself with joy when he recognised his long lost daughter. But I will spare you the details of all these happenings. Indeed, how shall I tell of things so sacred, so intimate?

I refused to tell them where I had been and what I had been doing. When my father and mother pressed me, I said, "I will tell you some other time."

The next day, my father sent a letter to my father-in-law's house. To the messenger he said, "if my son-in-law is not at home, find out where he is, and give this letter into his own hands."

I begged my monher not to let anyone know that I had returned. "I have been so long away from home," I said; "If he should be unwilling to receive me back, he

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may refuse to come. Bring him here on some other pretext. If only you can get him here, trust me to allay his suspicions."

My mother communicated my wishes to my father, who agreed to follow my advice. In his letter he wrote, "I am about to make a will. You are my son-in-law; you are dear to me, and my well-wisher. I want to consult you as to the disposition of my property. Please come here as soon as possible after receipt of this letter."

My husband came immediately, and my father at once told him the whole truth. For a while, my husband remained absorbed in thought. Then he said, "I have the highest regard for you, Sir. Though you have brought me here on a false pretext, I am glad to have had the privilege of seeing you. But your daughter has been absent from home this long time. No one knows where she has been, or what sort of a reputation she has made for herself. Therefore, I regret to say, I cannot admit her to my home."

My father was grievously offended. He reported the matter to my mother, who informed me. I told my companions to tell my parents not to be anxious. "Bring him to me," I said, "into the inner apartments. and trust me to deal with him."

But the obstinate man utterly refused to enter the women's quarters.

"I will not meet a wife," he said, "whom I refuse to take into my house." Finally, moved by the tears of my mother, and the laughter and sarcasms of my young companions, he consented to take a light meal in the inner apartments.

He took his seat in the room prepared for his refection. There was no one standing near him. They had all gone away. He was eating with downcast head, when I crept silently behind him, and suddenly put my hands over his eyes.

He laughed and said, "As if I did know that it was you, Kamini, with your silly baby tricks!"

Kamini was my youngest sister.

I said, "I am not Kamini. Tell me who I am, and I will let you go."

On hearing the sound of my voice, he started, and asked huskily, "Who is it?"

I took away my hands from his eyes, and stood in front of him.

"Chief of deceivers," I said, "my name is Indira. I am the daughter of Hara Mohan Datta, and this is my paternal home. My morning reverence to your worship! May I venture to ask after the welfare of your friend Kumudini?"

He was speechless! I could not help noting, however, that he was delighted to see me.

"What practical joke is this, Kumudini," he said, "and, how did you come here?"

"Kumudini is only one of my names," I replied. "What a stupid old thing you are not to have recognised me all this time! Why, I knew you the moment you sat down to eat at Ramram Datta's house! Do you suppose I would have allowed you to talk to me in the way you did otherwise, Sir? My own, my husband, your wife is no wanton."

For a time he was as one dumbfounded. Then he asked, "Why then have you deceived me all this time?"

The reply was easy. "The very first day you saw me, you said to me that if you recovered your wife, you would not take her back; otherwise I would have told you then who I was."

I had tied his deed of gift in my veil. I loosed the knot, and showing him the document, I said, "That first night, I resolved that either you would take me back as your true and loving wife, or else I would die. It was in order to carry out that resolve that I induced you to get this paper written. I see now that I did wrongly. If it be my lord's wish, let me come to your home as your wife. If you think me unworthy of so high an honour, let your servant sweep the courtyard of your house, so that at least she may see your dear face sometimes. As for your deed of gift, it has served its purpose." So saying I tore the paper into little bits.

He rose to his feet, he held me in his dear, strong arms. He said to me, "Dearest, you are my all, my own. I cannot live without you. Come, my wife, and be the mistress of your husband's home."

NOTE BY THE EDITOR. The above is a translation of the original version of "Indira." In the final version left by the author, the story was considerably enlarged and the plot essentially changed.

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SOME ECONOMIC THEORIES OF HINDU INDIA

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

ONE of the subjects for study by the Hindu politician was VARTA (वार्त्ता) or Economics. Hindu economics covered (*a*) agriculture (कृषि) and cattle rearing (पशुपालन) and (*b*) trade and commerce (वाणिज्य).* Finance and economic regulations fell within the province of politics.† Ushanas, the great authority on politics, treated economics as a mere branch of politics, while later thinkers, *e.g.*, the School of the Manavas, of Vrihaspati, and Kautilya, regarded it as a distinct science.‡ Economics was a necessary study, for it was upon it that the strength of the State depended.§

Up to this time no work on the *varta-vidya* has been discovered. That treatises on the subject existed is clear from references to the *vidya* in existing works. We have now recovered, thanks to Mr. Sham Shastri and the Mysore Government, a great work on politics. Let us hope that further search would likewise restore to us some lost legacy of our forefathers in the domain of the science of economics. In the meantime it would be interesting to notice economic theories found in other departments of Hindu Literature. I place before the reader to-day such theories collected from the *Shukra-Niti*,‖ the well-known book on politics.

Theory of Money.

The technical term for money is *dravya*.** Money, according to the theory, may be any thing—from a humble shell upto precious objects—any thing which serves the purposes of currency. It is for that purpose that silver, gold, copper and the like are coined. Coins thus are only a variety of money.

रजतस्वर्णतामादि व्यवहारार्थमुद्रितम् ।
व्यवहार्यं वराटाद्यं रत्नान्तं द्रव्यमीरितम् ॥

"Shells and the like—up to precious objects—for currency, (likewise) silver, gold, copper and the like, coined (lit. 'stamped') for currency, are termed money (*dravya*)."

Theory of Wealth.

But wealth (*dhana*) is not the same as money. Things of actual utility, *e.g.*, cattle, corn, cloth, down to straw, constitute wealth. As opposed to such articles, "gold and the like attain valuableness when they are used in exchange."* In other words, precious metals used as standard of value for measuring wealth, are really not wealth itself. Their 'valuable' character is a matter of convention.

Theory of Value.

Value is termed *mulyaka* (मूल्यक) lit. 'Small value', that is, "Normal value." Value is the cost of production. '*A commodity is produced by co-operation of external agency with land. The cost* (vyaya) *which is required to produce a commodity is its value.*'†

Theory of Price.

Price (*argha*), however, depends on (*a*) the degree of difficulty of availability (*sulabhasulabhatvat*) of commodities and on (*b*) the degree of 'desire' (—demand for them *yatha-kamat*), three considerations operating at the same time, *viz.*, the degree

* Artha-Shastra, I. 4. Manu, VII. 43.

† Some of the theories on taxation I have mentioned in my essay on Hindu Polity, Modern Review, September, 1913.

‡ A.S., I. 2. Vrihaspati excluded Vedic knowledge, from the curriculum of political training, which required according to him, only a study of economics and politics. (*Ibid.*)

§ A.S., I. 4.

‖ Jivananda Vidyasagara's *ed.*, 1890.

** Current in the same sense upto this time in the United Provinces, the modern representative of the classical Middle Country.

* सपशुधान्यवस्त्रादि तृणान्तं धनमञ्जिकम् । II. 354.
व्यवहारे चाधिकृतं स्वर्णाद्यं मूल्यतामियात् ॥ II. 355.

"From cattle, corn, cloth and the like—down to straw, (objects) are called wealth. Gold and the like attain valuableness when used in exchange."

† कारणादि समायोगात् पदार्थस्तु भवेद्भुवि ।
येन व्ययेन संसिद्धस्तद् व्यवस्तस्य मूल्यकम् ॥ II. 356.

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of 'worthlessness' and 'usefulness' and the 'basis' of the commodity (अगुणत्वगुणसंश्रयै:)

* The *samshraya or* 'basis,' 'receptacle',

* सुलभासुलभत्वाच्चागुणत्वगुणसंश्रयै: ।
यथाकामात् पदार्थानामर्घं हीनाधिकं भवेत् ॥ II.257.

'Price of commodities rises and falls by the reason of(their) availability & unavailabilility and of the degree of desire (for them), (influenced) by (their) worthlessness, utility and basis.

is an unexplained technicality. It probably denotes the difficulty of 'transferability' arising from the fact of the particular holder of a commodity or the locality where the object is situated.

These views of ancient Hindus would be interesting also to the comparative economist.

A NOTE ON THE PROPOSED TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE FOR CALCUTTA

By the Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.

THE best thanks of the people of Bengal are due to Government for its decision to start a Technological Institute in Calcutta. Although the scheme before us does not fulfil our expectations of a high class Technology, the institution will no doubt be helpful in opening new lines of industry in the country and new avenues of employment for our young men. We shall be grateful if Government will supply the omissions in the recommendations which have been put forward by Messrs. Nathan, Kuchler and Everett, and make the institution complete in every one of its features.

It is a matter of congratulation that Messrs. Nathan, Kuchler and Everett have included in their recommendations higher training in Electrical and Mechanical Engineering in the Institute. This will have the effect of removing much of the misapprehension that was created by the Atkinson-Dawson Report showing up, as it did, the alleged defects in the training and business capacity of the Bengalee Engineer in rather exaggerated colours. It is refreshing to turn to the pages of the Report of the Committee of Officials and Non-officials which was appointed to advise on the creation of a Technical Institute for Calcutta, for herein we find high testimony borne to the capabilities of the Bengalee Engineer by authorities of great eminence, such as Sir R. N. Mukerjea, Dr. G. W. Kuchler, Principal Dawson of Bombay and Principal Heaton of Sibpur.

Turning to the Civil Engineering side, I confess to a feeling of great disappointment and regret that the Official Committee should have excluded higher Civil Engineering from the scope of the Institute. It is all the more deplorable that they should have done this in the face of the recommendation of the advisory committee that "even if a residential College for Civil Engineering be established by Government, the authorities of the Institute should not be precluded from opening classes in higher Civil Engineering if such a course be found desirable."

The Official Committee seems to have arrived at this decision on the hypothesis that "the addition of a higher Civil Engineering class to the departments of the Calcutta Institute would not afford a training comparable with that proposed in the Dacca University, nor is there at present any scope in Bengal for two Institutions with higer Civil Engineering courses."

The hollowness of this argument becomes evident when we consider that there cannot be any inherent defect in the atmosphere of Calcutta which can possibly neutralise the effects of any salutary change either in the curriculum or in the method of teaching now in vogue in the Civil Engineering College at Sibpur. The future Dacca method may be an improvement upon the present one, but there is no reason why any reform which can be easily carried out elsewhere cannot be introduced into the

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Technological Institute with as much facility.

So far as we can judge, a striking difference between the Technological Institute and the Dacca Engineering College will consist in the non-residential character of the former, the latter being a residential institution. If then, the authorities claim superiority for the Dacca Engineering College on its character as a residential institution, there is much to be said in favour of a non-residential type of institution in an industrial centre like the proposed Technological Institute as well. We read in the advisory committee's report that Mr. Kuchler pointed out that the great majority of the Engineers who come out from England for higher appointments have been trained not at residential Colleges, but at institutions of similar character to the proposed Technical Institute. Dr. Denning also seems to think that the tendency in the Western world has been to favour day-time institutions in industrial centres.

It does not seem very clear why the residential type should be marked out to be the only suitable form of training institution for higher Civil Engineering, when Electrical or Mechanical Engineering admits of being studied in a non-residential college.

The only advantaages, as we find them stated in the Dacca University Report, which can possibly accrue from the inclusion of the higher Civil Engineering College in the Dacca University, are that :—(1) "the large and well equipped laboratories of the University, in which Engineering students would receive instruction from the general body of University Professors, would be far more complete and efficient than any that could be established in connection with a small Engineering College ;" (2) "Daily intercourse between the professors of the Engineering College and those of the other departments would have a marked effect in maintaining a high standard of professional and technical competency, and it would prevent that tendency to stagnation which sometimes affects small institutions ;" and (3) that there will be the "larger corporate life which becomes possible to the Engineering student as a member of a well-organised teaching and residential institution." It is needless to point out that every one of these advantages will be present in the Technological Institute, for it will not be a "small Engineering College" which the Dacca Committee had in mind as the only possible rival of their own Engineering Institution, but an institution affiliated to the University in the different branches of Engineering, and having several other important departments attached to it.

While I do not admit that a residential institution must, of necessity, be of a superior type, I would invite the attention of the authorities to the fact that the combination of the different branches of higher Engineering in the same institution is almost the universal rule in countries where the Science of Engineering has made any real progress. Such a system cannot but lead to greater effeciency and economy. Lt. Col. Atkinson and Mr. Dawson have declared themselves in favour of such a system of combination, because, "as much of the elementary theoretical work is common, the saving in staff will be obvious and the efficiency greater."

Then again, as provision is to be made in the institute for teaching Civil Engineering up to and including the Overseer grade, the courses can be so extended as to embrace the University standard with great advantage and at comparatively little cost. Messrs. Kuchler, Everett and Wyness and Dr. Denning have declared themselves in favour of dovetailing the higher courses on to the lower courses. Mr. Everett observes in his note that "It appears not unlikely that local public opinion may resent the removal of the higher course from the neighbourhood of Calcutta aud I question whether it should be refused if there is a decided demand." "The extra cost involved is not large."

I would say most emphatically that such a demand does exist, and higher Civil Engineering should be included among the scheme of studies for the Technological Institute, even in addition to an Engineering College at Dacca. There is no harm if higher Engineering classes at Calcutta were to admit day scholars in addition to such students as might be accommodated on the institute premises or in a neighbouring hostel. On the other hand, there would be an opportunity for the authorities and the employers of Engineering labour to judge between the Dacca and the Calcutta types of Civil Engineer, which would lead to nothing but a spirit of healthy rivalry and general improvement all round.

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A complaint is often heard that the Bengalee Engineer lacks in practical genius. In fact, in the Atkinson-Dawson enquiry this complaint was voiced by many official and noon-official employers of engineering talent. In the scheme before us, great stress is therefore laid on practical training, and an elaborate system of apprenticeship has been prescribed in every branch of the engineering courses. In fact, in higher Electrical or Mechanical Engineering, the University will confer degrees on students on the reports of their practical work, success being largely determined by their proficiency during their period of apprenticeship.

In the case of the Overseers as well in the Civil Engineering Department, Messrs. Nathan, Kuchler and Everett recommend that "the diploma of the institute should not be awarded until the apprenticeship has been satisfactorily completed: only those who are fit to work and willing to work should receive this hall mark of the Institute." The Dacca University Committee propose that Government should obtain employment for their B. E.'s in Government works, as also in Railways and other private firms, for at least three years, which will be their period of practical training. In the Calcutta Institute, the degree will follow the period of apprenticeship, and not precede it, as it will at Dacca. Moreover, the Dacca students, at least a majority of them, will probably have to be sent over to Calcutta to be apprenticed to private firms, which means that almost half of their entire period of training will have to be spent outside Dacca. The complexity of this arrangement is least likely to lead either to efficiency or economy. But I am not much concerned with that at present. The Dacca type of Civil Engineer may be most efficient in its own way. But I do not know why the peculiar facilities for practical training which Calcutta offers should be thrown away in the case of the higher Civil Engineers, if it is really the case, that hitherto the Bengal Civil Engineer has been lacking in practical genius. The close proximity of the Technological Institute to the greatest centre of industrial and engineering activity in Eastern India, should be availed of by those who have the real good of the Indian Civil Engineer at heart.

I read in the official recommendations that "a suggestion that separate courses should be prescribed in the Civil Overseer Grade in the Institute for Calcutta and moffussil students was negatived as unnecessary and undesirable.' If there could have been a serious suggestion on this point, one wonders what objection there could be to there being turned out two different types—if different they must be—of higher Civil Engineer from Calcutta and Dacca respectively. A very good proportion of the employers of Civil Engineers being in Calcutta they can well claim to have some opportunity of satisfying themselves as to the capacity and training of their recruits, who must be suited to their requirements.

If it is unjust to thrust unknown men upon the employers, it is equally, if not more, unjust to deprive the University of Calcutta of the faculty of Civil Engineering—the faculty which has helped in the production of the first Bengalee Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

This brings me to the question as to whether there is enough demand for Civil Engineers in our country to justify the opening of higher classess in this branch of the subject in the Technological Institute in addition to the proposed Dacca College of Engineering. It is difficult for one who is not in this line of business to speak with precision on this subject. But it is a matter of comnon knowledge that there are numerous respectable posts at the disposal of Government which are at present not available to Indians. Even responsible officials like Messrs. Kuchler and Finnimore do not appear to be in sympathy with the system which brings about this exclusion of the Indian Engineers (vide page 4 of the Report of the Calcutta Committee). Sir R.N. Mukerjea, we read in the report, suggested that half of all suitable engineering appointments in Government service should be reserved for men trained in India; and Mr. Nathan earnestly pleaded for an "improvenent in the prospects of the students.'

Again, the Hon'ble Mr. B. R. Finnimore, presiding at the last prize-distribution at Sibpur, declared that the field of employment of Engineers in this country is almost unbounded. And we have no reason to question the authority of the Chief Engineer of Bengal to speak on this matter. On a similar occasion in 1912, the Hon 'ble Mr Lyon said that there could be no suggestion of reaction in Engineering education in Bengal. At a meeting of the Technical Institute Committee, held on the 4th

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March, 1912, Mr. Nathan went so far as to say that even if the students of higher Engineering in Bengal were not all employed—whereas "they were practically all employed"—the "higher instruction should not be abandoned until every attempt had been made to improve the prospects of the students."

But as a matter of fact, we find that the Dacca University Committee have limited the number of annual admissions to the higher Engineering classes to 20, which is nearly one-third of the number who obtain admission in the College Classes at Sibpur every year. If we are to take Mr. Nathan at his word, the higher Engineering students of Bengal are "practically all employed." It would, therefore, be incumbent on Government to find accommodation for the forty students who will be refused admission at Dacca every year. The Technological Institute should be enabled to take them in, and provide training in higher Civil Engineering.

It is to be sincerely hoped that Government would decide independently of the Official Committee in this particular, and open classes in higher Civil Engineering in the Technological Institute.

The selection of the site for the Technological Institute has not been a happy one. It would have been a splendid idea to accommodate the Institute and the University College of Science close to each other, on the ideal of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of London. If that is not possible, Belvedere would make a very desirable site, and afford unique residential facilities for all students, including those of the higher Civil Engineering department, which, it is my hope, will be included in the proposed Institute.

AN INDIAN WRESTLER IN THE WEST

By M. R. Rao.

JATINDRA CHARAN GOHO, *alias* Gobar Babu, the amateur boy wrestler of Calcutta, came over to England, early this year. The Editor of the London *Health and Strength*, "The National Organ of Physical Fitness" wrote in his issue of the 31st May last an article entitled "Gobar, the 18st. Boy Wrestler from India, who wears a collar 160 lbs in weight," which runs as follows;—

In a garden at the rear of a house in Hampstead, within a stone's throw of the Heath, I saw him for the first time. A mat was spread upon the lawn, and he—that massive, that wonderful, Indian, J. C. Goho Gobar—was wrestling with an Englishman scarcely less massive than himself—the well-known Phil Lane, of Oxford. Phil was panting furiously; he was doing his level best to make that Indian go all out, but he was not going out at all.

He is only 20 years of age, but what a terror of a young giant he is; just like a great big boy with sparkling intelligent eyes—a boy to whom life is full of joy and beauty, because he is so strong and glories in in his strength. I do hope you, my readers, will have an opportunity of seeing him, and it will not be the fault of Mr. George Harrington, his manager, if you do not.

Wants to Meet Gotch.

Gobar has come to England to meet the best heavy weights we have, and it is not unlikely that the unconquerable Jimmy Esson will take him on. For Jimmy is afraid of no man, and if he and the Indian come to grips there'll be a match worth going many miles to see, and don't you forget it.

But there's one man Gobar has set his heart on meeting, and that is Gotch, the champion of the world.

After all there's nothing very remarkable in the fact that he is a good wrestler, for he comes of wrestling stock—one of the most famous wrestling stocks in India.

He was born in Calcutta in 1892. His uncle was a famous wrestler and his granddad a more famous wrestler still. He is a Hindoo and though he has met famous Indian wrestlers he has never yet been beaten. I wonder whether he will ever be. Gama (you remember Gama, don't you ? Zbysco does at any rate) used to train him, but even he could never throw the young giant. He has also wrestled with the brother of Ghulam who in 1900 won the championship of the world at Paris.

Intense interest is being taken in his progress over yonder in India I assure you : and I'm not surprised at that, for India has reasons to be proud of such strong men as he.

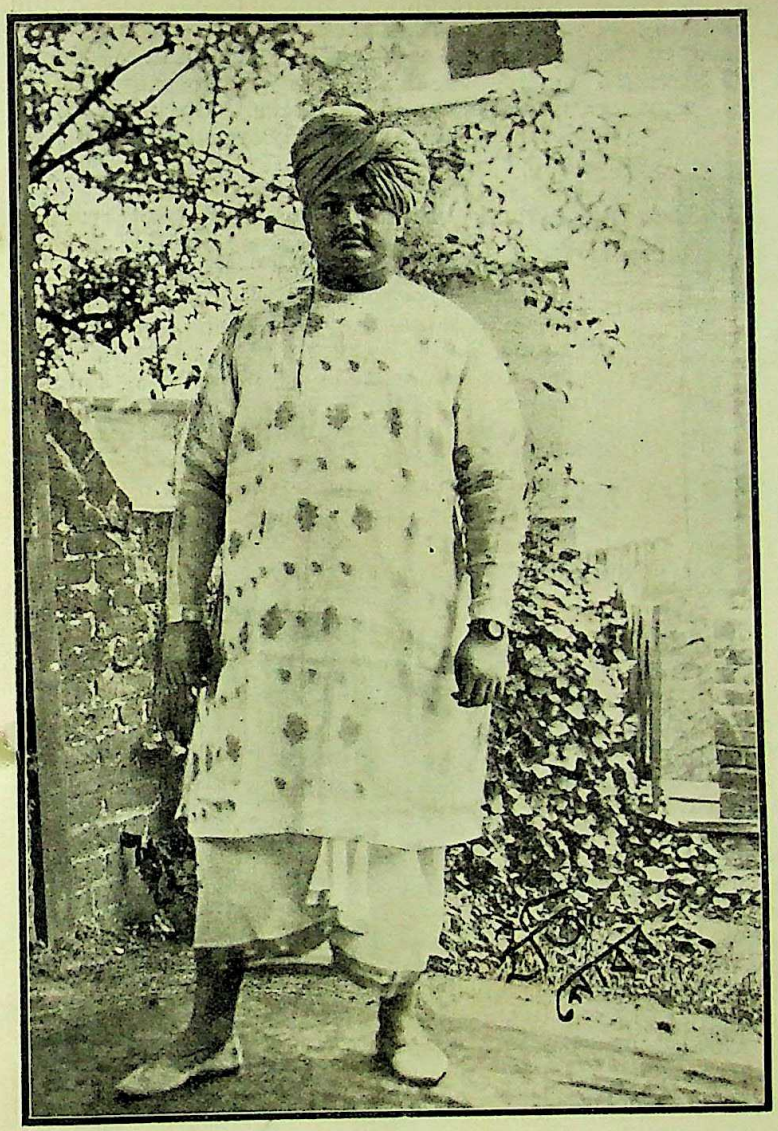
Gobar's Dietry.

The house at which Hardwar

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him to earth is inhabited

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BABU J. C. GOHO, *alias* GOBAR, IN EDINBURGH

by a select company of Indian students. Gobar comes of a good and well-to-do family. There are no female servants in the house, and here he trains just as though he were in his native land.

No English food will he touch: everything has to be cooked by his own servants. His food comprises fowls and plenty of butter, and he is very fond of almonds crushed and cooked with sugar and water—and a very dainty dish it makes.

He is an absolute teetotaler, but he smokes—or rather plays with a cigarette now and then—perhaps once in a month on the average.

I saw him training and I wonder how many of our British strong men will be able to keep pace with him.

CLUBS THAT WEIGH 100 LBS EACH.

He has two lots of clubs—one weighiug 50 lbs, the other 100 lbs each. I saw him lift the latter up by the knobs and swing them over his shoulders over and over again.

He tells me that in wrestling with his mat partners he never gets sufficient exercise for the neck muscles; none of them are able to get sufficient grip upon it.

A COLLAR THAT WILL NOT BE FASHOINABLE.

So he uses a stone collar in the shape of a life bouy, and with this round his neck and resting on his shoulders, he runs up and down stairs—just for a little exercise, I saw him do it and let me tell you it weighs 160 lbs.I shouldn't care to run many miles in that anyway.

Again, he has brought over with him from India, a family heirloom that has been handed down from his grandfather, who used it more that half a century ago. I'm quite sure when he came over he had to pay a big sum for excesss luggage on that. None but he was able to move that, but he lay down on his back and grasping the cylindrical bar that forms a bridge in the centre of the stone, he draws it towards him, and then raises it up perpendicularly above his body.

It is truly a wonderful feat but how the B. W. L. A. would describe it and whether they will grant him a certificate, I can't exactly say.

It is quite on the cards that Gobar will take part in the wrestling tournament in the Anglo-German Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, and, if he does, I advise you all to go and watch him. It would be worth your while only if just to see what this Indian Hercules really looks like. With all his massive strength, his muscles are as pliable and his limbs as supple as those of a runner, and on the mat he is as quick as lightning.

His measurements are as follows:

GOBAR'S MEASUREMENTS.

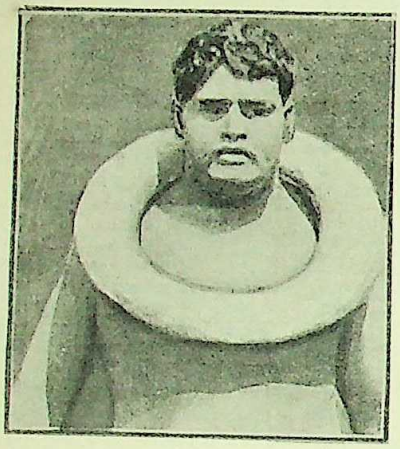
Height, 6ft. I in.; chest 48-50 in.; waist 42 in.; biceps, 18 in.; forearm, 13½ in.; wrist 8 in.; thigh, 30 in.; calf, 18 in.; neck, 18½ in.; weight, 18 stone.

It would be a matter of great pleasure to the Indian public to learn that Babu Gobar has made himself very prominent by defeating the two conspicuous British wrestlers. He came over to this country to compete for the world championship in wrestling but was quite disengaged until the end of August. He met Mr. Campbell, the Britith Champion in Glasgow, on the 30th of August and defeated him in about 50

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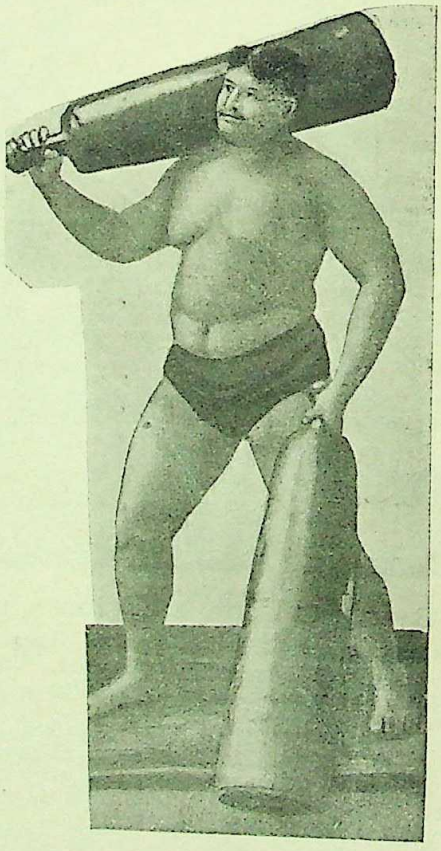
minutes. His success has won him much reputation and the spacious building of Olympia in Edinburgh was packed to the door when Gobar measured his strength with that of Esson (Aberdeen), another



GOBAR WITH THE STONE COLLAR WEIGHING 160 lbs.

famous wrestler of Britain, "the unconquerable Jimmy Esson", referred to in the above extract from *Health and Strength*. Their respective weights, Gobar 17st. 4 lbs. and Esson 16st. 4 lbs., and gigantic appearance attracted the attention of the people and the spectators were much interested and enthusiastic over the occasion. Though Esson displayed much strength and muscle he was rarely off from the iron hands and knees of Gobar, who secured the first grip and brought his opponent to the mat and kept him gasping for about 30 minutes. Esson was now and then cautioned for using prohibited tactics, but he succeeded in getting to his feet again. However Esson was again pinned to the ground and within 39 minutes and 5 seconds Gobar gained the first fall. But Gobar had to gain another fall to finish the contest; but Esson after repeated warnings from the referee was disqualified for having recourse to prohibited methods, and the match was decided in favour of Gobar. He was invited to dinner by the Andhra Brotherhood and garlanded at the Railway station with due honour and respect. He will shortly proceed to America to wrestle with Gotch, the present world champion.

Gobar's grand-father, the late Babu Ambica Charan Goho, commonly known as Ambu Babu, and his uncle, the late Babu Khetter Charan Goho, who was banian of several mercantile firms, were the greatest Bengali wrestlers and athletes. Both of them learnt the art of wrestling thoroughly. They invented several "tricks" unknown to Panjabi and Pathan wrestlers. The greatest of them never failed to pay them a visit when in Calcutta in order to learn something from them. Being the son of Abhay Babu (one of Calcutta's richestmen, earning some two lakhs of rupees per annum), Ambu Babu spent very large sums on his favorite hobby. In his *akhara*, which was quite a big place, he kept about 40 cows and 30 goats, to supply his pupils with milk after their daily exercises. The favorite ones used to get in addition substantial diet every day.



GOBAR SWINGING CLUBS WEIGHING 100 lbs. EACH.

Khetter Charan learnt the art still more scieutifically. He was besides a great box-

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ei and well versed in dagger-play and lathi-play, &c. He lived on 8 seers of milk a day and ordinary spare diet.

The Gohos have been a family of banians for four generations. Gobar's father, Babu Ram Charan Goho, is the banian of Messrs. Hoare Miller & Co. He also is a very strong tall and stout man of simple habits.

Gobar had his training from his uncle the late Babu Khetter Charan Goho, and after his demise, from famous wrestlers from all parts of India, such as Gama, Kalloo, Rahamani, &c. None of them could beat him. Their remuneration varied from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per diem.

Gobar has had English education up to the matriculation standard.

When in Calcutta, besides the ordinary diet of Bengalis, Gobar Babu took the following: *Akni* of meat mixed with *ghee* (¾ seer), 400 almonds and 2 ounces of small cardamoms; the juice of one and a half seers of Kabuli pomegranates; gold-leaf worth one rupee and silver-leaf worth two annas; *thandai* mixed with almonds and spices; one seer of milk; fruit worth a rupee a day.

11, George Square, Edinburgh.

THE SCOURGE OF BENGAL

I propose to give below a short summary of the variation of population in Bengal in the decade 1901-11 district by district, together with a very brief account of the climatic and other conditions affecting the health of the people of each district, as far as possible, in the language of the Census Report (Vol V, 1913) itself. The result of my enquiry will appear sufficiently gloomy without any comment on my part.

In the first column the name of the district is given, in the second the rate of variation, in the third certain noticeable features connected with the rate of variation, and in the fourth climatic and other condition's affecting the health of the people of the district. I have mentioned both the good and the bad points in the last column just as I have found them in the report, but the reader will have no difficulty in perceiving that the former are very few, and confined almost entirely to some of the East Bengal districts. He will also observe that in some cases the apparent rate of increase is far greater than the actual or natural growth of population, owing to the swelling of the figures by immigration.

I. West Bengal

Burdwan ...	+ 0·37	There would have been a decrease of population but for the heavy influx of labourers in the coal-fields.	Centre of the notorious Burdwan fever. Repeated epidemics of cholera. Inundations. 'Malaria continued to levy its heavy toll'.
Birbhum ...	+ 3·68		Serious flood (1902), Wave of fever and epidemic of cholera and serious mortality therefrom.
Bankura ...	+ 1·99	Semi-aboriginal population very prolific.	Malaria in the lowlands of Vishnupur.
Midnapore ...	+ 1·15		Epidemics of cholera and small pox. Fever, the most important factor in the health of the district, was rife in the waterlogged areas. In Ghatal subdivision, the people suffer from constant malaria and periodical epidemics of cholera.

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Hooghly ...	+ 3·91	Increase due to influx of immigrants rather than to natural growth.	Suffered severely from the ravages of Burdwan fever, which persisted for 20 years and the mortality was enormous. The drain caused by deaths from fever continued after 1891. It is still the prevailng disease of the district.
Howrah ...	+ 10·93	The city of Howrah accounts for nearly three-fourths of the increase of population, of which nearly half are outsiders from up-country or Orissa.	Fever is prevalent in the subdivision of Amta.

II. Central Bengal

24 Parganahs ...	+ 17·12	Half the increase is due to immigration to the mills &c.	Seven Thanas (Police stations) are malarious and return high rates of mortality.
Nadia ...	— 2·44		'The records of the district of Nadia for the past 50 years are a depressing chronicle of disease.' The Burdwan fever spread from Nadia, and was at first known as Nadia fever. The whole district was very unhealthy and feverish. There were also constant epidemics of cholera.
Murshidabad.	+ 2·93		Ravages of Burdwan fevers. Severe floods. Epidemics of cholera and small pox. Some portions of the district are extremely unhealthy, more so than Jessore and Nadia.
Jessore ...	— 3·03		'Its history during the last half a century is also one of recurring epidemics of disease and declining population.' The whole district is extremely unhealthy, and malarial fever prevails extensively everywhere.

III. North Bengal

Rajshahi ...	+ 1·37	Small as the increase is, it is mainly attributable to the fecundity of the Muhammadans. The Hindus have actually decreased by 2·79 percent.	One of the most malarious districts is North Bengal. Nator is the most malarious subdivision. Fever continues unabated.
Dinajpur ...	+ 7·72	Increase largely due to immigration.	Fever of a malignant type prevails. Death-rate highest in North Bengal.
Jalpaiguri ...	+ 14·79	This high rate of increase is due to immigration in the tea gardens &c. The natural population increased by only 7 per cent.	Severe floods. Epidemics of cholera. Fever, which is endemic in this Tarai district, continued unabated. Of all the districts in North Bengal only Dinajpur had a higher death-rate.
Darjeeling ...	+ 6·65	Tea garden coolies form one-fifth of the total population of the district.	

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Rangpur	...	+ 10·73	Increase largely due to immigration. Muhammadans who preponderate increased by 14. 54 per cent, Hindus only by 3. 46 per cent.	Population decreased at every census until 1901 when increase due to natural growth barely exceeded one per cent. The earthquake of 1897 improved the dratnage, but there was a recrudescence of the ravages of malaria after 1905. The Nilphamari and Sadar Subdivisions suffer from fever and epidemics of cholera.
Bogra	...	+ 15·24	Hindus have increased only by 8·24 per cent, but the Muhammadans, who form 82 p.c. of the population, have increased by 16 per cent.	The district suffers from malaria. The Thana of Sherpur is unhealthy.
Pabna	...	+ 0·51	If the immigrant labourers employed at Sara be excluded, the increase is entirely wiped out.	Malaria is a permanent scourge. High floods. Inundation. Persistent unhealthiness.
Malda	...	+ 13·88	'As in other districts of North and East Bengal, the Muhammadans have a larger share in the increase than the Hindus, owing to their numerical superiority, as well as to their greater procreative capacity.'	Malaria prevails

IV. East Bengal

Khulna	...	+ 9·08		Malaria is prevalent, the most unhealthy part being the northern tract adjoining Jessore. Severe cyclone (1909). Ravages of man-killing tigers.
Dacca	...	+ 11·95		'Malaria, which checks the growth of population in so many districts, has no strong hold over this district, except in a small area on the western side.' Unusually high floods in 1906.
Mymensing	...	+ 15·53	The rate of increase among Muhammadans—18·8 p. c.—is 12 p. c. more than among Hindus.	The greater part of the Tangail subdivision is malarious and also suffered heavily ftom cholera, but on the whole it is one of the healthiest districts in Bengal.
Faridpur	...	+ 8·71		The district is malarious, the mortality from fever during the past decade being exceeded only by Chittagong in East Bengal. Thana Bhusna is very malarious—as malarious as any part of Bengal. Epidemics of cholera. Madaripur is healthy.
Backergunge.		+ 5·98		Subject to the devastation of cyclones and tidal waves. Infested by wild animals. The disastrous cyclone of 1876, the cyclone of 1909. Perojepur Subdivision has become malarious.
Tippera	...	+ 14·74	Rate of increase of Hindus—8 p.c.—is less than half of that of Muhammadans.	In point of climate Tippera occupies the first place in North and East Bengal, its death-rate from fever being the lowest in these divisions. Heavy floods in 1906 and 1910.

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NOAKHALI ...	+ 14·05	77 per cent of the population are Muhammadans.	Disastrous cyclone of 1876, followed by terrible epidemic of cholera. Heavy floods of 1909, accompanied by a virulent form of fever.
CHITTAGONG ...	+ 11·47		Malaria is more prevalent than elsewhere in East Bengal. Disastrous cyclones, and epidemics of cholera consequent on the pollution of the water-supply.

Along with the above, take into consideration the following facts: In Bengal as a whole Hindus have increased by 3·9 p. c,, whereas Muhammadans have increased by 13·4 p. c. The figures for West Bengal are 1·7 for Hindus and 4·9 for Muhammadans; for Central Bengal, 5·2 and 3·1; but in this case the apparent higher rate of increase of Hindus is not due to natural growth, but to the immigration of up-country Hindus in very large numbers. The figures for North and East Bengal are respectively 2·9 to 8·2, and 6·6 to 14·6. The highest rate of increase for both Hindus and Muhammadans is therefore in East Bengal, but it is nearly two and a half times as great in the case of the latter as in that of the former.

"In Bengal the Hindu element steadily diminishes as one proceeds eastwards. The most distinctively Hindu districts are found in West Bengal, where Hindus represent 82 per cent of the total population. In Central Bengal the proportion falls to 51 p. c., while in North Bengal it is only 37 p. c., the minimum of 31 p. c., being reached in East Bengal.....Altogether, there are only ten districts in which Hindus outnumber Mussalmans, viz., the six districts of West Bengal, the 24 Parganas in Central Bengal, and the Chittagong Hill tract: in the district last named, however, the Hindus are largely outnumbered by both Animists and Buddhists.

We must also remember the fact that Bengal gained as many as 1,286,000 persons by immigration during the decade, so that the rate of increase in the case of some districts was more apparent than real.

When all these facts have been duly considered, it will be found that (a) the districts where Hindus prevail are the most insanitary, (b) the comparatively salubrious districts, very few though they are, are practically in the possession of the Muhammadans, and (c) the high rate of increase in some districts, when not due to immigration, is mainly due to the numerical superiority and the prolificacy of the Muhammadans. The districts of Bogra, Noakhali, Tippera, and Mymensingh, where the rate of increase is about 15 p. c., are preponderatingly Muhammadan.

But the table given above reveals the apalling fact that almost all the districts of Bengal are regularly ravaged by malaria, and many are periodically ravaged by cholera, small-pox, inundations, floods, cyclones and wild beasts. The only district practically free from malaria is Tippera, * and fever is also not very prevalent in Dacca (except Manickgunj), Noakhali and Mymensingh (except Tangail). In all other districts malaria prevails in more or less virulent form.

Except Howrah, all the West Bengal districts record a nominal increase, and so also the districts of Murshidabad in Central Bengal and Rajshahi in North Bengal. In the districts of Nadia and Jessore the history of which, according to the Report, is 'a dismal record of disease, and decline'—there has been an actual decrease. and the same would be the case in Burdwan but for the influx of immigrants. In Rajshahi the Hindus have actually decreased by 2·79 per cent, whereas in Pabna the population is stationary, if we omit the immigrant coolies engaged in the construction of the Sara bridge.

Before we congratulate ourselves on the healthiness of the riveraine districts of East Bengal, we should remember that according to the Census Report, which is supported by my own knowledge,

"Cholera is nearly always more prevalent in river districts than in drier areas. In the latter, epidemics rage sometimes with extraordinary virulence, but in the river districts cholera is almost an annual visitation."†

Bengal has no plague, and this is attri-

* Though the Census Report gives a glowing description of this district, I personally know that the Thana of Kasba, which is quite close to the sadar, is malarious and unhealthy.

† According to the Census Report, "the explanation seems to be the practice of defœcation on the banks of khals or rivers and the consequent pollution of the water."

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buted in the Census Report to the greater regard paid in Bengali houses to neatness and tidiness as compared to Bihar, and the structure and design of the Bengali home, which is said to afford little shelter for rats. As for fever, however, "year by year it is silently and relentlessly at work." Plague slays its thousands, but fever its ten thousands. Not only does it diminish the population by death, but it reduces the vitality of the survivors, saps their foundation and fecundity, and either interrupts the even tenor, or hinders the development, of commerce and industry.

"A leading cause of proverty—and of many other disagreeables in a great part of Bengal—is the prevalence of malaria. For a physical explanation of the Bengali lack of energy, malaria would count high." (Vernede).

"It must...be remembered that malaria is the indirect cause of a large proportion of deaths owing to enfeeblement caused by its repeated attacks. Malaria, and the lowered vitality resulting from it, is a predisposing cause in both pthisis and dysentery, so that it is responsible, in part, for the prevalence of these diseases and for the mortality ascribed to them. There can, in any case, be little doubt as to the prejudicial effect of mularia on the birth-rate, both by causing abortion and still-birth, and also by diminishing the reproductive powers of persons whose systems are weakened by continual attacks. Further, as stated by a statistical authority, 'from an economical point of view common sickness is more important than deaths, for it is the amount and duration of sickness rather than the mortality that tell on the prosperity of a community'." (Dr. Dickson).

This extract from the Report will show how all-embracing are the pernicious effects of Malaria in Bengal.

Among the causes of malaria, the Report mentions (1) the water-logged state of the country. The rivers are gradually hightening their beds—specially in Central Bengal—until the drainage is away from instead of towards them. When the river silts up at the mouth, the district at once becomes malarious. The result is, that the number of infected mosquitoes goes on increasing, and *pari passu*, the number of infected people, the one reacting on the other. (2) The insanitary condition of the villages, which are surrounded by jungles, dirty tanks, ditches and marshes. (3) The construction of railways, as to which the Report says as follows :

"Sometimes the construction of railways appears to be, actually or potentially, prejudicial to the health of the people, owing to the facilities they afford for the introduction or dissemination of disease. Their function is that of carriers, and they carry disease as well as goods.....There is also a potential source of danger in the form of 'borrow-pits' from which earth is excavated for railway embankments. They are not continuous but separated from each other by intervening banks of earth. In the rains they form stagnant ponds, from which water cannot drain away and in which the fever mosquito breeds and multiplies. So far there is ground for the common, though vague, belief of the people that fever is connected with the railway, but on the other hand, where such embankments exist, fever is as prevalent in tracts far removed from the railway as it is near the line."

The remarks of the Sanitary Commissioner in his Report for 1904 is quoted in this connection. Referring to roads in the district of Backergunge, he says, that all earth should be taken from one side of the road only, and all borrowpits should be made in the form of a ditch and should open into a khal.

"If this were done, the result would be a channel useful as a waterway for small boats. It would be scoured out at each tide, and thus could not possibly be a breeding place for mosquitoes, while it would be very beneficial to the drainage of the country.

The Census Superintendent says that these remarks apply *mutatis mutandis* to railway embankments.

The Census Report proceeds :

"Railway embankments may also obstruct the drainage of the country. The Indian Railway Act (section 11) requires railway administrations to provide waterways sufficient to enable the water to drain off the land near or affected by the railway as rapidly as before its construction, but it is open to question whether it is physically possible to do so, and there is no doubt that in areas liable to inundation, the embankment does frequently alter the drainage of the country. On one side the floods are deeper and last longer than before, and soil becomes water-logged; on the other, the land does not receive the same amount of moisture or the same fertilising deposit of silt.

A much more liberal expenditure of public money in drainage schemes therefore seems to be the only hope of Bengal for the eradication of this terrible scourge. Greater attention to rural sanitation, as well as in the construction of railway embankments, are two other accessory means for ridding Bengal from malaria and reducing her heavy annual toll of human lives.

POLITICUS.

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NOTES

"The Modern Review" and the Census Report.

In Chapter XI (Caste), Volume V, Part I, of the Census Report for 1911, Professor Homersham Cox's article on *Anthropometry and Race*, published in the *Modern Review* for May 1911, is quoted, and the Census Superintendent, Mr. O'Malley, I. C. S., concludes :

"So far as Bengal is concerned, my opinion is that the presence of the socalled Mongolian patches cannot be said to support Sir Herbert Risley's hypothesis that the Bengalis are a Mongolo-Dravidian race."

It is difficult not to believe that prejudice against the Bengalis had a great deal to do with Sir Herbert Risley's favourite theory.

"In Bengal, at the present time, differentiation of occupation is the most fruitful source of fission, new groups being formed by it either into subcastes or separate castes...A recent writer well describes this process, which he calls "upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation." (Census Report, Vol V, Part I, Page 496).

This writer is Babu Radha Kamal Mukharji, whose article on *Caste in Indian Economics*, published in the *Modern Review* for August 1912, is then quoted. At page 508 the same article is quoted again, in order to show the process of social differentiation in operation among the Tantis of Calcutta. The Mahisays are another interesting illustration of this differentiation.

Occupational Statistics.

The following extracts from Chapter XII (Occupations) of the Census Report for Bengal (Vol V, 1913) will prove interesting as well as instructive.

In Bengal 35⅓ millions, or three quarters of the population, are supported by agriculture, of whom 30 millions are ordinary cultivators. The number returned under the head of Industry is 3,441,000. Trade accounts for 2⅓ millions or 5 per cent. Nearly a third of a million subsist by service in the public force (mainly police) or in various branches of the administration. Professions and liberal arts (including religion) account for 2 per cent. Those subsisting by unproductive professions, such as prostitutes and beggars, number nearly 4½ lakhs.

Cotton spinning and weaving provide for 460,000 persons in Bengal and 393,000 in Behar. Of these, only 11,000 are employed in cotton mills, and the remainder work at home.

"In spite of the stimulus given to this industry by the *swadeshi* movement and by the efforts of Government to introduce improved and more profitable methods of work, there has been a serious decline since 1901 in the number who subsist by the produce of their looms : the actual decrease in both provinces is a quarter of a million or 23 per cent."

Among the weaving castes of Orissa however this industry still retains its vitality.

The silk-worm industry is on the decline in the districts of Murshidabad and Rajshahi, though it is still holding its own in Malda, as will appear from the following table. Disease among silk-worms is one of the causes of the decay. The industry is however progressive in Birbhum, Bankura and Bhagalpur, where the Bihar Trading Company has done much to improve it.

District	Number supported	
	1911	1901
Murshidabad	6,803	10,041
Malda	34,598	34,383
Rajshahi	766	33,155

In Bengal, 48,000 persons are engaged in making brass, copper and bell-metal articles. This industry holds its own, the number maintained by it having increased by 18 per cent. since 1901.

"This industry is better organised than any other in the province ; and it is most highly organised at Ghatal and Kharar in Midnapore district. The masters there are enterprising and wealthy ; they obtain the material in economically large quantities, —tin from Straits Settlements and copper from Japan and so on ; they distribute the labour, they pay by piece-work, and they have a steady demand from Barabazar in Calcutta." (J. G. Cumming, Industrial Review of Bengal).

The leather industry of Bengal has not yet been organised and developed by modern methods. Inspite of its large possibilities, there are as yet only 13 tanneries and 4 leather factories in the two

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provinces, and these are only small concerns employing only 1,740 hands.

Manufacture of chemicals and chemical products is attracting Indian specialists, not to mention capitalists.

"There are 11 chemical works in Calcutta and its vicinity, prominent among which is the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, started by Dr. P. C. Roy, D. Sc, F. C. S, which is one of the most go-ahead young enterprises in Bengal."

Owners and bearers of the archaic *palki* and their families number no less than 127,000 persons, thus showing that as a means of transport it still maintains its position.

"Insurance companies are increasing in number, but are often of mushroom growth."

The number supported by the legal profession has increased by 30 per cent since 1901. Of lawyers alone, such as vakils and muktears, there are 9,641 in Bengal. The profession

"is becoming more and more a monopoly of the Indian, even in its higher branches. In 1911 out of 170 barristers practising in the High Court of Calcutta, only 22 were Europeans ; in other words, there were six Indian barristers practising to every European barrister."

In Bengal as a whole, there are 36 workers to 64 dependants ; the dependants are most numerous among the lawyers, among whom there are four dependants to every worker. The proportion of dependants is highest among all classes of the population in East Bengal.

"Of the higher castes, the Brahmans live mainly by agriculture and not by the exercise of their priestly functions. In West and Central Bengal the number of Brahmans supported by agriculture, whether landlords and tenants, is double that supported by priesthood ; in North and East Bengal a quarter, in Bihar one-seventh, and in Orissa and Chotanagpur only one-tenth maintain themselves by their traditional calling."

There are 9,000 Brahmins among the jute mill employees.

Though there is only one literate Mussalman to every seven Hindus,

"Nearly half the professors, teachers and inspectors of schools and colleges in Eastern Bengal are Mussalmans, who are more numerous even than the Brahmans and Kayasthas taken together."

"It is interesting to note the extent to which the lower castes are taking a place in the professions. Among the Rajbansis there are 21 lawyers, 115 medical practitioners and 161 persons in educational appointments. The Namasudras claim no less than 522 medical practitioners, and the Baruis 223, while other low castes as Dhobas, Kurmis, Malis, Malas and Patnis are also represented. Of the persons in educational posts, the Namasudras contribute 192, the Chasi Kaibartas 245, the Shahas 214, the Baishnabs 122 and the Napits 168."

"The number of Musalman and Hindu convicts in Bengal is almost exactly proportionate to their strength in the population, and it cannot be said that either community has any particular propensity to crime."

Languages of the Border Districts.

Purnea, Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Mayurbhanj are the districts of the new province of Bihar and Orissa which border on Bengal. In the Pakur subdivision of the Sonthal Parganas, 11 per cent of the population speak Hindi and Urdu, 30 per cent speak Bengali, and 51 per cent speak Santali. In the Jamtara subdivision, 26 per cent speak Hindi and Urdu, 34 per cent speak Bengali, and 39 per cent speak Santali. In the Dumka, Deoghur, Rajmahal and Godda subdivisions, 14, 4, 13 and 3 per cent respectively speak Bengali. The Pakur and Jamtara subdivisions have therefore a very good claim to be included in Bengal, for in both the subdivisions Bengali is spoken by more persons than Urdu or Hindi, and indeed the whole of the Sonthal Parganas might well be included within Bengal, for no less than 34,414 persons in that district speak Mal Paharia, which is merely a corrupt form of Bengali.

In Manbhum, 2,117 persons per 10,000 of the population speak Hindi and Urdu, 12 persons out of the same number speak Oriya, and 6,354 per 10,000 speak Bengali. In the Sadar subdivision, 73 per cent speak Bengali, 13 per cent Hindi and Urdu, and the same proportion speak Santali, so that in this subdivision the Bengali-speaking population is overwhelmingly large. In the Dhanbaid subdivision, 46 per cent speak Hindi and Urdu, 36 per cent speak Bengali and only 17 per cent speak Santali. In the whole district, those who speak Bengali preponderate over those who speak any other language. In the case of this district, therefore, there is absolutely no reason for its inclusion in Bihar. The Kharia Thar and Pahira Thar, which are spoken by the Kharias and Pahiras of Manbhum, are, according to Sir G. A. Grierson, dialects of Bengali, and so also is the Kumrali, also known as Khotta Bengali, which is the language of 211,411 persons in Manbhum. Panch Pargania or Tamaria, another language spoken in this district, is written in Bengali characters, and 'looked at, so to speak, through Bengali spectacles.' It closely resembles the Kumrali. Mr. Coupland, Deputy Com-

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missioner of Manbhum, says that "the members of the aboriginal tribes are to a large extent polyglot, speaking Bengali or Hindi, usually the former, in addition to their own dialect even where, as in the case of the Santals, they are a sufficiently numerous community to force a knowledge of their own language on their neighbours, and on the courts and offices with whom they come into contact." The Census Report adds that the Mundas and Oraons also use the vernacular current in the particular district when speaking with their Hindu neighbours. The fact that in some subdivisions of these border districts a large number of people speak an aboriginal language need not therefore have prevented their incorporation in the Bengal Presidency.

In the case of the Dhalbhum Pargana of the Singhbhum District, the injustice done to the Bengalis is still more apparent. As many as 40 per cent of the population of this pargana speak Bengali, and only one per cent speak Ho, and 11 per cent speak Oriya.

Similarly, in Mayurbhanj the language of the Kurmis is Bengali. They came from Midnapur and settled in Mayurbhanj.

But the case of Purnea specially the Kishenganj subdivision of the district, is glaringly anomalous. In this subdivision as many as 97 per cent speak Bengali, and the Census Report adds that

"In a great part of that district it is difficult to say whether the language is Bengali or Behari, for Behari fades imperceptibly into Bengali and *vice versa*. In the main, however, it is Bengali, with an admixture of Kaithi, but it is written in Kaithi."

In the Bengal Presidency, Bengali is the language of 92 per cent of the population; in Bihar and Orissa, it is spoken by 2,295,000 or 6 per cent of the total population, the border districts of Purnea, the Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum, and Singhbhum accounting for over nine-tenths of the total number. In the Census Report of 1901 it was stated:

"The gradual disappearance of the non-Aryan dialects is only a matter of time. Even now it is only in the remoter tracts, and in the less accessible and inhospitable hills, that they still flourished. The process of absorption will doubtless go on with increasing rapidity, as communications begin to improve and intercourse with the outside world becomes more and more continuous."

The Report of 1911 adds:

"There can be no doubt that absorption into Hinduism often leads to partial defection from the tribal language."

In the Darjeeling district those who speak the Nepali language (21 per cent) exceed the Bengali-speaking population (17 per cent) but this did not prevent Darjeeling from being included in Bengal nor does it cause any inconvenience to anybody. Similarly in the thana of Ramnagar in the district of Midnapore two-thirds of the inhabitants speak Oriya but this did not prevent its incorporation in Bengal. The returns for the last three Censuses show that Oriya is being replaced by Bengali in the south of the district where it was hitherto a native language. The same would have been the case with the aboriginal languages of the Chotanagpur Plateau if this healthy tract had been annexed to Bengal.

In the celebrated despatch of 25th August 1911, Lord Hardinge made the memorable pronouncement:

"Half measures will be of no avail, and whatever is to be done would be done so as to make a settlement satisfactory to all the classes concerned."

Is it too late to expect that this statesmanlike utterance may yet be fulfilled?

"Bogus Medical Degrees."

Indian publicists have not, speaking generally, favoured the proposed legislation to penalise the use of "bogus medical degrees." It would be instructive to know what a medical expert and educationist of the standing of the Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M. A., M. D., has to say on the subject. The following expression of his opinion has been forwarded to the Bengal Government:—

"All are in general agreement with the opinion expressed in the Government of India letter that 'the public is clearly entitled to be protected against a practitioner who professes to treat his patients according to the European system of medicine under cover of spurious qualification, whether conferred by one of the correspondence colleges of America, or by proprietory institutions.' I am not, however, satisfied that the field of practice has yet been 'over-run with untrained or half-trained men, whose titles may convey to to the ignorant that they hold degrees or qualifications to which their actual attainments give them no claim whatever.'

"I do not think that it is possible for the State to regulate medical studies in every case, and the exclusion of Kavirajes, Hakims and Homoeopaths supports this

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view. But in view of the fact that several Medical Schools have sprung up in Bengal, some of which are not quite up to the mark so far as their equipment is concerned, I admit that it may be necessary to pass an Act empowering the local Government to extend recognition to such of the private medical institutions as merit it. I take this opportunity to point out that all private medical institutions in Calcutta, though not recognised by Government, are not proprietory; and that there is at least one—the Belgachia Institution, which is registered under Act XX of 1860—and which, though not directly recognised by Government, has got a sound and regular constitution.

"It is a welcome proposal of the Government of India that where 'a minimun standard of efficiency in equipment and training is insisted upon, every encouragement should be given to these indigenous medical institutions.'

"At the time of applying this principle in practice, it will be necessary for Government to remember that every private institution is necessarily a product of slow growth, and that the object with which the promoters of private institutions, like the Belgachia School, are actuated is nothing but diffusion of medical education, and, ultimately of medical relief in the country, and that the granting of any qualification is entirely secondary and incidental. In this view of the matter, the process of recognition should not work unnecessarily harshly, but should allow sufficient time and opportunity to the struggling private institutions to attain to the minimum standard of efficiency, which should not be too high.

"State Recognition is very often a tardy process. It has been so even in England in the case of such notable institutions as the Royal Society, the Royal Academy, the Royal College of Surgeons, and the Royal College of Physicians. And in the case of the Belgachia Medical Institution, although its conductors have always worked with the approval and direct support and occasional financial aid of Government, it has never been in the enjoyment of direct recognition. In the past, several Lieutenant Governors of Bengal actually presided at the distribution of prizes to meritorious students of this institution. The standard of preliminary entrance qualification and the standard of efficiency in equipment and training given to students in this School are not much inferior to those prevailing in many a Government Madical School. That it has not been formally recognised as yet, is certainly due to no fault of the institution itsef. And it is to be hoped that this circumstance will not be made an excuse for the destruction of the institution.

"I do not know if, as is stated to have been the case, any opportunity of reform was afforded to 'these medical institutions whose privileges would be threatened by legislation which the Government of Bengal had in view.' Neither am I aware if these institutions were informed as to the nature of the proposed legislation then before the Government of Bengal. As a matter of fact, they are still ignorant of the provisions of such a legislation. All that these institutions were asked to do was to combine their forces into one improved school which might receive Government recognition, and not a College, by which is meant an institution affiliated to the University with which, the Government of Bengal explicitly declared, they had no concern. The various non-official medical schools of Calcutta, after prolonged conferences and consultations, came to the conclusion that there was enough room for more than one such school in Calcutta: and they submitted separate proposals for their recognition by the Government of Bengal. No reply was, so far as I am aware, vouchsafed to these proposals. In the meantime, however, considerable improvements have been, and are being effected in these schools. I am not clear, therefore, on what grounds it can be stated that 'no such spontaneous reform can be expected.'

"As regards the granting of diplomas or qualifications by unauthorised institutions to their students, I am prepared to concede that necessity may have arisen to preclude people from using 'colourable imitations' of the genuine and recognised medical degrees. I beg, at the same time, to point out that if some of the private medical institutions have instituted some qualifications for their successful students, their practice is not very unlike that of the Government of Bengal, who created, without going through the formality of any legislative procedure, a new title called the 'L. M. P.' with may be interpreted to be a colourable imitation of the University 'L. M. S.'

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And it would be unjust now to stigmatise this action of the private medical institutions as fraudulent, regard being had to the fact that a certificate is essential for the purpose of signifying a certain standard of training which a successful student had attained to in a particular institution which is run by a large and representative body of professional men of some standing. Further, Government cannot move on the idea thatit is the sole and exclusive source of all titles and qualifications, so long as it is impelled to permit Kavirajes, Hakims and Homoeopaths, who not only practise their respective systems of medicine but also advertise titles received from non-official sources. On the other hand, Government has more than virtually recognised some of these distinctions by conferring upon the holders of them some of the highest academic and professional titles.

"I would submit, therefore, that if in the absence of any Government machinery for recognising the claims of *bona fide* medical students who, with a respectable preliminary qualification, entered and passed through a fairly high curriculum, with the usual examinations obtaining in properly equipped schools, some of these institutions felt the necessity of recognising the distinction of some of their students by conferring some qualifications upon them, there was nothing in their conduct that merited penalty.

"So long as a Medical Council does not come into existence, it is but natural that some distinctive mark should be desired for and granted to students who pass out from the medical institutions, official or non-official, after proper training. When the Medical Council institutes some suitable licences, there would be no necessity for these private schools to issue their own certificates.

"As regards the principle of the legislation, I beg to point out that the proposed legislation being confined in its operation exclusively to the practice of Western methods of medicine would set a premium upon the practice of the Oriental systems. In the interest of fairness and justice, the Government ought to try to put down quackery wherever it is found. But virtually the Government is going to repress a class who have got some sort of medical education, leaving out such as have got none.

"If colourable imitations of degrees and qualifications are to be prohibited, the necessary preliminary step should be to grant unobjectionable substitutes of such qualifications to those who deserve recognition by Government. It will not be difficult, I submit, for the proposed Medical Council to find out the deserving men from the others.

"I beg to observe further that the creation of a Medical Council representative in its constitution, and the extension of University affiliation and State recognition to deserving institutions, should at all events precede any such legislation. As soon as the proposed Act is passed, now that no Medical Council has been established in Bengal, the private medical institutions, good, bad and indifferent,—some of which have been built up at considerable expenditure of money, time and energy—will cease to exist at once. This will mean a serious loss to the Indian community.

"Such legislation should not, moreover, be retrospective in its operation so far as old students of private institutions are concerned. Otherwise it would go hard with those students was have joined the profession with honest intentions and after a thorough and *bona fide* training for a long period in a private medical institution. It is my earnest hope that nothing will be done to condemn men and their training institutions, who, if anything, deserve the most sympathetic consideration at the hands of Government, as striving, in whatever humble way, to bring the benefits of the healing art to the door of the Indian people."

The Sibpur Engineering College.

The people of Bengal view with great anxiety the proposed removal of the Civil Engineering College, at present located at Sibpur, from the neighbourhood of Calcutta. They fail to comprehend the necessity for such a step, and the grounds urged in the Bengal Government Resolution No. 302, dated the 20th January 1912, do not, on a close scrutiny, reveal any justification for the abandonment of Sibpur.

Although the sanitary condition of Sibpur was far from desirable some time ago, we have reason to believe that a decided change for the better has lately taken place owing to certain sanitary improvements recently carried out in the locality.

If, however, the surroundings of the

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present site are not yet of an ideal nature, it may be pointed out that they have not so long been generally found fault with and may at no considerable cost be bettered so as to suit the requirements of a high class residential institution.

The inadequacy of accommodation complained of in the Government Resolution referred to above, can be no serious obstacle to the retention of the College in its present site, and can be easily removed by making suitable additions to the existing buildings.

As regards the contention that the College site is required by the Port authorities to meet their growing needs, we are of opinion that the interests of education should not be suffered to be subordinated to any other consideration however important in itself.

But if after due consideration, the decision be in favour of removal, the Civil Engineering College should be located in an easily accessible site near Calcutta as recommended by Lt.-Col. Atkinson and Mr. Dawson in their report on the Technical Education Enquiry.

The city of Calcutta is the centre of great commercial and industrial enterprise, and with its steadily increasing building and other engineering activities, it affords the best facilities for practical training in all Engineering subjects, and is besides the great field of employment for trained engineers. The transfer of the Civil Engineering College from the vicinity of Calcutta, would therefore seriously handicap the students as well as the professors and prejudicially affect the quality of engineering education in Bengal.

In view of the proposed establishment of a Government Technological Institute and a University College of Science and Technology in Calcutta, we wish to impress the great desirability of linking up the Civil Engineering College with these sister institutions, on the model of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of London, which comprises the Royal College of Science, the Royal School of Mines and the City and Guilds (Engineering) College.

We invite the attention of the Government to the well-considered opinion of Lt.-Col. Atkinson and Mr. Dawson to the effect that "a well-equipped institution is of vital necessity to Bengal, and one should be established with sections for Civil Engineering and industrial chemistry," that the institution should be on which more than one professional subject was undertaken," and that "as much of the elementary theoretical work is common, the saving in staff will be obvious and the efficiency greater."

The system of complete separation of the different branches of Engineering, and their assignment to altogether separate institutions at places far off from each other will greatly impair their efficiency and is not generally favoured in countries where engineering education has made any striking progress.

If the present proposal of the removal of the Civil Engineering College to a distant town be carried into effect, it would greatly cripple the University of Calcutta and the Calcutta educational movement of which the institution has for half a century formed a valued and integral part.

Civil Engineering has offered a large field of occupation to the Bengali youths, and no arrangement should be countenanced which might have the effect of reducing the outturn of trained students or curtailing the facilities of education in the subject.

Dedicated to Liberty.

President Wilson, addressing the students of Swarthmore College on October 25, extolled the memory of William Penn. He said the profound purpose underlying the American conquests was to see that every foot of the Continent should be a home for a free, self-governing people, who would have no government whatever which did not rest upon the consent of the governed. He would like to believe that the whole of the Western hemisphere was devoted to the same sacred purpose, and that nowhere any government would endure which was stained with blood, or supported by anything but the consent of the governed.

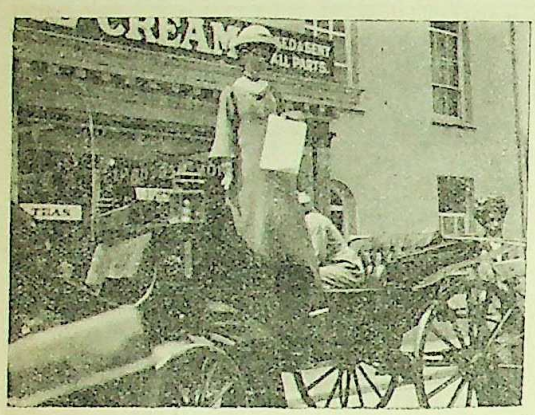
Votes for Women.

Replying in the *Review of Reviews* to Mr. Lloyd George on the subject of votes for women, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., says:

"He puts the whole blame for this failure on the shoulders of the comparatively small group of Suffragists who have adopted militant methods. It is safe to assert in reply to this that if the same line of reasoning had been applied to men, not a single man would now be exercising the parliamentary franchise. Revolution, riot and disorder have almost invariably been the unpleasing accompaniments of men's political movements, whether in Ireland, India, or Britain. The revolution and riot in which men have indulged who considered themselves the victims of political injustice have nearly always been accompanied by murderous attempts to murder; yet no

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SUFFRAGETTE PREACHING THE CAUSE AT A SEA-SIDE RESORT. PHOTO BY G. S. MONGIA.

one argues that all men should be placed under the ban of perpetual political disability because some men, maddened by long-continued injustice, have stained their cause with crime and bloodshed. Why should a different measure be meted out to women? It was at the very moment when Lord Morley was introducing his remedial measures in the House of Lords, for giving some degree of representation to the people of India, that the atrocious crime of the murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie at the Imperial Institute was committed by an Indian fanatic. Did that cause the Government to draw back and say that nothing could be done until disorder had ceased? We know that the reverse was the case. They held" that to draw back on account of local and sporadic disturbances, however serious, anxious, and troublesome they might be, would have been a really grave humiliation." Why should not a similar statesmanlike view be taken of the political unrest among women? All our political history proves that to treat large and intelligent sections of the population as political aliens, is certain to provoke revolutionary outbursts. Those politicians who say they can offer no redress for the acknowledged political grievances of women until all disorder ceases are acting in a manner which is perfectly certain to lead to still greater disorder.

The line of reasoning adopted by Mrs. Fowcett is absolutely sound; though she seems to hold exaggerated ideas of the political "disorder" in India and the "reforms" introduced by Lord Morley.

The Direst Insult to an Indian Woman.

What is the direst insult to an Indian woman? It is to tell her that she is not her husband's wife, but his mistress. Nothing can wound her more deeply than this implication of unchastity. Yet this is what the laws of South Africa are doing —branding all Hindu and Musalman wives there as concubines in the eye of the law.

Our readers are aware that among the passive resisters who have been sent to jail in South Africa are ladies of gentle birth, including Mr. Gandhi's wife and his two daughters-in-law. *Indian Opinion* says:—

The ladies wsre allowed to join the struggle after great effort was made by them to take part in it. When Mrs. Gandhi understood the marriage difficulty, she was incensed and said to Mr. Gandhi: "Then I am not your wife, according to the laws of this country." Mr. Gandhi replied that that was so and added that their children were not their heirs. "Then," she said, "let us go to India." Mr. Gandhi replied that that would be cowardly and that it would not solve the difficulty. "Could I not then, join the struggle and be imprisoned myself?" Mr. Gandhi told her she could but that it was not a small matter. Her health was not good, she had not known that type of hardship and it would be disgraceful if, after her joining the struggle, she weakened. But Mrs. Gandhi was not to be moved. The other ladies, so closely related and living on the Settlement, would not be gainsaid. They insisted that, apart from their own convictions, just as strong as Mrs. Gandhi's, they could not possibly remain out and allow Mrs. Gandhi to go to gaol. The proposal caused the gravest anxiety. The step was momentous. If the decision was based on the impulse of the moment, they and those who allowed them to join might have to rue the day that it was made and accepted. Then how could they ensure being arrested without making a fuss? They wanted to avoid all publicity till they were safely in gaol. Then there was the risk of the Government leaving them alone as being harmless maniacs and fanatics. If, at the last moment, they flinched, their prominence might seriously damage the cause they sought to advance. All these and several other considerations suggested that the best course would be to deliberately and openly decline to disclose their identity on courting arrest. And if the move failed even then, they were to proceed to Johannesburg and take up hawking without licences and compel arrest. Any hardship was light enough compared to that of having to bear the insult to them or their sisters of not being considered lawful wives of their husbands.

If this insult to our sisters over there, and the heroic stand they are making, do not move us to do our best, then it would prove us to be really a disgraceful people, a people lost to all sense of shame.

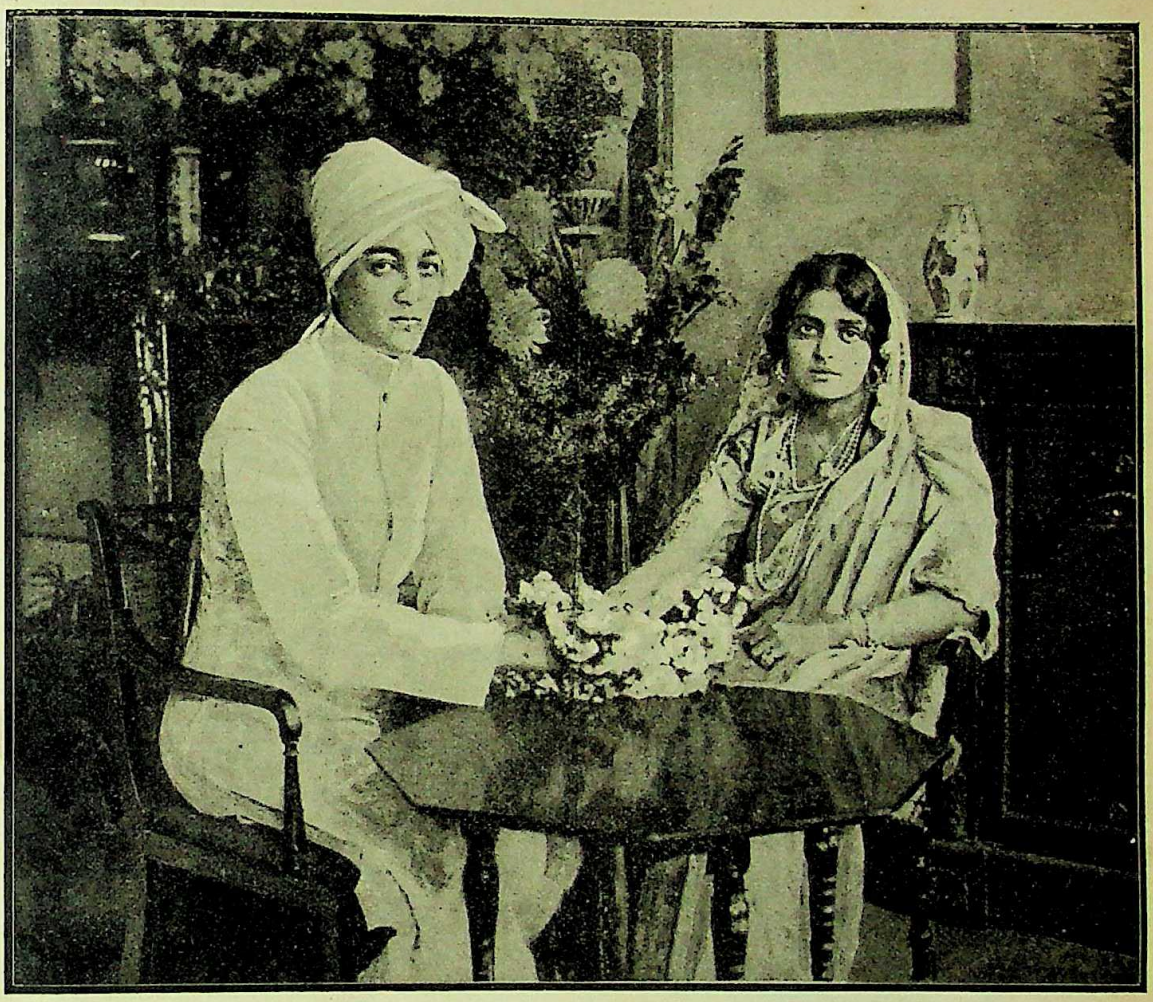
What is to be done?

Mr. Gokhale proposes to move in the Viceregal council a resolution urging on the Government of India the adoption of measures of retaliation. Let *women's meetings* and men's meetings be held all over the country to show that Mr. Gokhale truly voices the feeling and the demand of a united India. As to the means of retaliation, Mr. Gokhale said in the recent Bombay meeting:—

It may be said that there is not much scope for retaliation. That is true to a certain extent, but whatever is possible must now be done. The Union Government has notified in a lofty spirit that the Government of India should not interfere in its affairs. After that we should not [illegible] the Government of our

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THE COOCH BEHAR—BARODA MARRIAGE. THE TYING OF THE HANDS OF THE PARTIES WITH A GARLAND. FROM *Der Welt Spiegel* OF BERLIN.

country to send any official deputation to South Africa to negotiate a settlement. But the Government must now consider the desirability of declaring that the Public Services of India will no more be open to Europeans from South Africa. Then there is the South African coal which since last year railway companies have been permitted to use by the Secretary of State. I feel strongly that in view of what South Africa is doing to us this permission must be withdrawn, for its continuance will be nothing less than an outrage to our sentiment. There are other directions also in which something may be done by way of retaliation, but I will not go into that on this occasion.

Then there is another thing that we must do and which it is entirely in our power to do. We must all contribute to the fund for the relief of the families of the Passive Resisters sent to jail. This time the struggle is going to be the fiercest. The South African Government will do its worst to crush the Indians. So long as the struggle lasts, thousands of rupees will be required every month. We may pay, according to our means, either big donations, or small monthly subscriptions. Bombay and Madras have already made very good beginnings. Let us all follow their example.

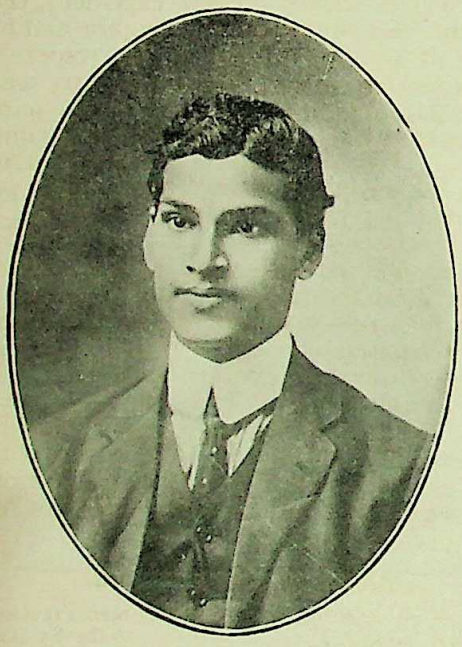
The Cooch Behar-Baroda Marriage.

The marriage of Princess Indira of Baroda with Prince Jitendra Narayan of Cooch Behar (who is now the Maharaja) is noteworthy as an interprovincial, inter-caste and inter-racial one. The South India States of Mysore, Baroda, Travancore

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and Cochin are now trying to overtake the progressive countries of the world. Maharani Indira is the daughter of a ruler whose court is not one of those which are addicted entirely to pleasure-seeking and worse; on the contrary her father is one who is held up as an example to other rulers. It is therefore natural to expect that her advent to Cooch Behar will really symbolise the coming of Indira, the Goddess of Prosperity, to that State, and that she will prove the "captain's captain," giving a progressive impetus to the administration.



Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Pillay, the first Malayalee I. C. S.

The First Malayalee I. C. S.

The results of the open competitive examination of 1913 for appointments in the Home and Indian Civil Service and Colonial Cadetships show that of the eighty-four successful candidates, Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Pillay of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, stands forty-first in the list. Mr. Padmanabha Pillay, a member of a very respectable Nair family in Malabar, has excellent University records. After a successful career in the Madras Presidency College he went to England and took a first class in Part I of the Natural Science Tripos of the Cambridge University. Mr. Pillay, who is the first Nair to enter the Indian Civil Service, was born in Idappally, a beautiful little village in North Travancore.

The crusade against Indians.

It is not in South Africa alone that Indians are "not wanted". Canada intends and is trying to drive them out. Even that land of freedom, the United States of America, is seeking to shut out even those "Hindus" who have already spent a considerable period in the Philippines, which are American possessions. Let Indians resolve to be strong, enlightened and united, so that none may dare to insult them, and let India be such a source of light and love that no country can do without her without detriment to itself: that is the only final and lasting remedy. And let these not remain mere words, but be transformed to lives of earnest endeavour. The following paragraph from the *Christian Register* of Boston shows what Japan is doing to eradicate anti-Japanese feeling:—

> Commercial interests in Japan, alive to the need of a good understanding with the neighbor on the hither coast of the Pacific, are carrying on a systematic and intelligent campaign in America in an effort to remove the prejudice with which the Japanese are contending in some sections of the country. It appears to be a fixed principle in Japanese policy that it is necessary for the dignity of Japan that the political disabilities under which the Japanese labor in America must be revoked if a complete and lasting understanding is to exist between the two countries. As a step toward the admission of their countrymen to full rights of citizenship in America, Japanese public men are devoting earnest attention to the task of impressing their nationals in this country with the necessity of accomplishing, in the land of their adoption, a degree of progress in industria , commercial, and cultural lines that will ultimately leonvince the public mind of the complete desirability of the Japanese as an American citizen.

Government and Industrial Capital.

In the note on "Lord Carmichael at the Swadeshi Mela" in our last number, we observed, "we cannot admit that under no circumstances should a government be expected to advance capital for industrial concerns." The following extract from Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's able presidential address at the Fyzabad Provincial Industrial Conference, will show that our remark was not made on merely theoretical grounds:—

> 4. The Government ought to help our industries

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and handicrafts by providing expert advice, advancing loans, by subsidising and by pioneering particular industries which there may be no other means of bringing into existenee. The sugar industry is being helped in more ways than one: there should be an extended application of the policy. In return for the assistance given, the Government can reasonably claim the right of periodical inspection, for which the concerns themselves will be all the better.

When I ask for such assistance from the Government I am sure I neither belittle the importance of self-help and self-reliance nor make an unwarranted demand for which there is no precedent in other countries. In a foregoing part of this address I have cited from Dr. Shadwell's book an eloquent passage which tells us of what all the German Government does for German industry. In Hungary, according to the report of the Minister of Commerce, £ 257,908 was given by the Government in the space of nine months for the establishment of 29 new factories, £ 115,125 for the enlargement of 27 existing factories, £ 39,190 for the supply of machinery to 61 factories, and £ 1,187 for the education of apprentices in two factories. State favours, such as exemption from taxation, etc., were granted to 12 industrial concerns and promised to 19 others. During the same period the State assisted the smaller industries by a grant of £27,035 and by gifts of machinery valued altogether at £39,747. The total of these grants is Rs. 78,77,880. This was, mind you, the amount of only the direct grants in no more than nine months. I would make a present of this to our Government, which for the first time in these provinces allotted Rs. 24,000 for industrial development in the year 1907-08, in which very year Rs. 295,000 was given for improvements and embellishments in the residences of the Lieutenant-Governor and for a new train for him. In Japan the Government has 'tried to encourage old industries by 'model factories and by obtaining foreign experts. It has 'maintained model works and industrial laboratories, it has 'hired out the latest machines of a costly character, it has 'sent experts round the provinces to encourage enterprise by 'lectures or practical experiments. I am content to leave it to the Government itself to say whether I have asked for more from it than the Governments of other civilised countries have been freely doing for the development of their industries.

As the British Indian Government claims all the homage and fervent loyalty which people in civilised countries willingly render to and feel for their national governments it should do at least as much for us in all directions as these national governments do for their people.

Machiavelli's "Prince" and the I. C. S.

Machiavelli's *Prince* (1513) has, we find, been prescribed as one of the text books for the Indian Civil Service Examination. It may be profitable to recall some of the doctrines inculcated in this book.

According to Machiavelli, if a prince is constrained to make his choice, it is better for him to be feared than loved. Love depends on the people, but fear depends on him, and hence it is better to prefer the latter, which is always in his own hands. The great aim of statesmanship should be permanence, which is worth everything else, being far more valuable than freedom. A ruler should always bear in mind that while the lower classes of men may desert him, the superior will not only desert, but conspire, and if such cannot with certainty be made reliable friends, it is clearly necessary to put it out of their power to be enemies. Hatred is just as easily incurred by good actions as by bad ones. Liberality in the end generally ensures more enemies than friends; it is in the nature of men to be as much attached to one by the benefits they render as by the favours they receive. If cruelties should become expedient, they should be committed thoroughly and but once—it is very impolitic to resort to them a second time. There are three ways of maintaining control in newly acquired states that have once been free—by ruining them, by inhabiting them, or by permitting them to keep their own laws and to pay tribute. Of these the first will often be found to be the best.

Over against these doctrines which the future administrators of India will have to learn, may be set the simple Biblical lesson, "righteousness exalteth a nation," which is being followed, however hesitatingly, by America in the Philippines. She has already given the Filipinos a majority in both the Houses. We hope the Bible is one of the text books for the I. C. S. Examination; otherwise the condidates will imbibe the poison, but not its antidote.

Industries and Swadeshi.

"Since the last decade there has been a revival of the small industries of Bengal owing to the Swadeshi movement, i. e., a movement aiming at the resuscitation of dead or dying indigenous industries, the development of such as have maintained their vitality, and the initiation of new forms of industrial enterprise, directed and managed by Indians and employing Indian labour. Its effect has been principally to enable weavers to regain some of the ground which they had lost owing to the produce of their looms being driven out of the market by cheaper machine-made goods. Interest in the movement has fallen off lately, but for some years it had a stimulating effect.....The Swadeshi movement has also been instrumental in the starting of a number of small factories in the metropolitan districts for the manufacture of such articles as soap, ink, pencils, tin-boxes, steel-trunks, combs, buttons, etc, but it had not made much headway as regards large manufactures employing mechanical power. Joint-stock companies have been started, but few have had any real vitality, and nearly all the important industrial concerns are still under European supervision and supported by European capital. There is one notable exception in the case of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, recently established at Sakchi,

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Singhbhum, which owes its creation to the enterprise of Messrs. Tata, but in this case also the management consists of Europeans and Americans." (Census of India, Vol V, 1911, Part I, Chapter II).

The Story of a Tiger.

The small township where I am spending the Dusserah vacation is the centre of a busy life and is provided with all the paraphernalia of British rule. There are law courts, civil and criminal, schools for boys and girls, a charitable dispensary, a police station, post and telegraph offices and a railway station. Any one visiting the station from the outside is at once impressed by these signs of order and progress. But one's self-satisfied complacency is apt to receive a rude shock when reports of devastation caused by small-pox and cholera reach one's ear from the surrounding villages. More than all this, what brings home to one the utter insecurity of human life under the benign *pax Britannica* is the sad tale of havoc caused by wild animals. For sometime past firewood has gone up in price, and on enquiry it transpires that this is due to the appearance of a tiger on the well-wooded spur of a low range of hills running parallel to this town at some distance from it. The spur itself is only about half a dozen miles off, and on it the entire countryside depends for its fuel. It is reported that already the tiger has made a feast of about a dozen day-labourers who had been to the hills to cut the wood. Last year the list of victims ran up, I understand, to seventy. And before the royal beast who has now established his seat on the hill with such excellent results to himself is either killed or dislodged from his coign of vantage, this year's toll may reach a figure not far below that of the year before. Verily the fabled Minotaur was not stricter in exacting its annual human tribute than the tiger I am speaking of.

But the Minotaur was killed at last, and the pity of it is that there is no knowing whether the man-eater will be killed at all. Rewards are of course declared, but even when a beast is killed, there is so much of red-tape to be gone through in order to establish one's claim to the reward that the *shikaris* do not feel encouraged. And then there are so few of these *shikaris*, and a serious practical difficulty lies in their inability to get up a sufficient number of beaters to drive the beast out of his cover. The people are thoroughly disarmed, and naturally do not dare to confront the beast which has tasted human blood and now disdains to taste any other.

Obviously, the introduction of the British peace has not, to these hardy villagers, been an unmixed blessing. Tiger or no tiger, they must make a living, and so they have to go to the hills to cut wood, and each day leave one or other of the party as a victim. That the anticipation of sure death is not enough to prevent these excursions shows the daring, the desperate poverty and the fatalism of these industrious rustics. Though one of the party is sure to be left behind, it is not known who that one is to be, and so in this glorious uncertainty everyone takes his chance, believing that he who was fated to die, would die. If the entire hamlet had even one or two rusty matchlocks to rely upon, the animal might have been killed, certainly he would have been driven out of his retreat, before so many human lives had been lost.

Human lives indeed ! I have before me the figures for some years, and they will serve as a fair sample. In 1905, 1906 and 1912, 2,051, 2,084 and 2,066 persons respectively were killed in India by wild animals. In the same years, 21,797, 22,854, and 19,461 persons respectively died of snake-bite. In 1911, as many as 25,312 persons died of snake-bite. The figure for destruction by wild beasts was somewhat lower in 1911, but the figure for 1912 compares favourably with the statistics for 1908, 1909 and 1910. In 1909, 455 persons, and in 1912, 417 persons were killed by tigers in Bengal, the total for India in 1912 under this head being 885, of whom no less than 396 are reported to have been killed in the new province of Bihar and Orissa. Leopards caused a total number of 261 deaths in 1912 against 253 in 1911, while the number of persons killed by wolves rose from 190 to 255. The total number of cattle destroyed by wild beasts in 1905 was 92,709 and in 1906, 86, 467. 'The statistics cannot be regarded as accurate,' so says the Government Resolution. That is to say, the actual mortality was much larger. One in every 5,500 had a gun-license in 1906, and absurdly inadequate as this number was, everyone knows that the restrictions against the issue of such licenses have been made far more rigorous of late years. It may be most likely that it would appear

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from the Government resolutions on the subject that the part of Bengal where now I am is not among the most tiger-infested regions of this province. Truly no other country in the world has to lament so apalling a mortality from such a preventable cause in these days of civilisation and science. But as Mark Twain wrote in his *More Tramps Abroad*:

"There is only one India! It is the only country that has a monopoly of grand and imposing spectacles..... There is the Plague, the Black Death: India invented it; India is the cradle of that mighty birth.....Famine is India's specialty. Elsewhere famines are small inconsequential incidents—in India they are devastating cataclysms; in the one case they annihilate hundreds, in the other thousands.....With her, every thing is on a giant scale,—even her poverty; no other country can show anything to compare with it."

In the neighbouring native State there is no Arms Act, and some of the poor peasants have ramshackle guns which have seen better days. And yet so useful and effective they have proved in the hands of these village folk, that in one single season of which I have personal knowledge, they killed half a dozen tigers of the true royal breed, some of which were so big that they had to be carried to the capital on the back of elephants. Here, on the contrary, I was told that about a decade ago Master Stripes used to extend his visits to the heart of the town, and had no reason to complain of the hospitality which the people were compelled to accord him. Nay, an incident which would be amusing had it not been so pathetic, connected with a stray dog which had gone mad, was told. The townsfolk, consisting of officers, lawyers, shopkeepers, had all to shut their doors, and not a single firearm could be discovered for love or money, till some enterprising sweepers, tempted by the prospect of a large reward, came out with their bludgeous and rid the worthy 'citizens' of the terrible scare. A seminary of young girls in any other country would be set a-giggling by such a funny story, and no doubt they would have felt an unspeakable contempt for the timid Indian who runs away for dear life and bolts his doors at the sight of a rabid domestic pet. But the Bengali has no gun or revolver to face the animal with, and herein lies the tragedy of the situation. The extent of the helplessness to which we have been reduced may be gauged from the fact that people to whom, here and there, gun licenses have been issued as a protection against dacoits have been sometimes known to be the very persons selected by the latter as their victims, for the burglars value the guns which the householder by long disuse has forgotten how to handle. To think of the silent emasculation of an entire nation, which feels that it is so utterly wretched and miserable as to be unable to protect itself even against the brute creation, the humiliation and the loss of self-confidence, the spiritual and moral degradation that lie behind it all, is sickening enough in all conscience.

To the foreigner, India is the land 'where every prospect pleases, but man alone is vile.' The sanctity of human life has not the same significance here as in other civilised countries. One case of cholera in a remote corner of Europe, the loss of ten lives by flood or storm or a railway smash, is flashed across the Wires by Reuter from one end of the globe to the other. Commissions are forthwith appointed to investigate the causes of the disease or disaster, the whole machinery of the Government is set on foot to prevent its recurrence, the head of the executive, be he President or King, visits the wounded in the hospitals and condoles with the bereaved families, and the nation makes a generous provision for them. The contrast here is too painful to narrate. The people of this little corner of a subdistrict pay their annual tribute of half a hundred lives to the tigers which infest the hills in the vicinity, and nobody ever knows. How many families are ruined, what economic difficulties arise,—these are questions which seem to be nobody's business to enquire. The people themselves are silent and patient as the hills, and so long as political considerations prevent the *Sircar* from granting them permission to carry firearms they must continue to suffer, for it is their *kismet*.

B.

The Bangalore Institute of Science.

It has just been announced in the papers that Dr. Morris Travers, F.R.S., has severed his connection with the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore, and that his successor will shortly be appointed. Since the Institute commenced work, nothing has been heard about it, and no report appears to have been issued by the governing council of the Institute to the press

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and the public bodies of the country. The public are entitled to know what is going on behind the scenes in the only institute of post-graduate research of which India can boast as yet. The Government of India issued a very optimistic resolution about the work to be done in this Institute, and certainly in view of the fact that the gift of the late Mr. Tata represented the largest individual donation in the cause of education in this country and protracted deliberations were held before the Institute was launched into the world, it was expected that its success would be commensurate with the care bestowed upon it by the sons of the illustrious donor, the Government of Mysore, and the Government of India. Possibly the former believe that the two Governments are taking every necessary care, and that they need not interfere. Some of their recent benefactions are of a somewhat cosmopolitan character. Their worthy father was certainly not a type of the patriot who is a friend of every country but his own. If Sir Dorab and Ratan Tata are not sufficiently alive to the needs of the Institute—as to which we know and can say nothing—the public are, and Bengal in particular would be glad to know that the Bengali post-graduate scholars at the Institute are giving a good account of themselves. Sometime ago a disquieting report was published in the newspapers to the effect that the finances of the Institute were in a hopeless mess and were not properly audited or checked. Another paragraph in an Anglo-Indian commercial journal seemed to indicate that Dr. Travers was not accorded what he considered to be his rightful place in Bangalore society. Anyhow there seems to be reason to believe that all is not well with the Institute, and that already it is in hot water. At any rate the causes of the resignation of such an eminent scientist as Dr. Travers and the true state of affairs in connection with the Institute since its inception should be published without delay.

What Rabindranath has done in England.

The Inquirer of London observes as follows on the results of Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's visit to England :—

He departed almost as quietly as he came ; but he has accomplished a noble work during his sojourn in our midst, which will, we believe, be of incalculable benefit both to England and to India. He has brought not only the imagination of a poet but the wisdom of a seer to bear upon the varied problems of civilisation, and shown us very clearly wherein lies the difference between the mental and spiritual outlook of the East and the West. This difference, with all that follows from it, must continue ; it is a foolish mistake to suppose that we can ever work out our salvation on precisely the same lines ; but there is the possibility of a deeper fellowship between all who have passed over the boundaries of a narrow patriotism into that realm of consciousness where the lower self is absorbed in the greater self of goodness and love.

Mr. Tagore has felt very acutely our need of peace and tranquillity, the absence among us of a unifying conception of life ; but at the same time he acknowledges that our passion for social service, and the readiness of people of no exceptional ability or position to work for the common good, is something which is lacking in his own country. Our error seems to lie, not in our intentions, but in our restless methods and too-strenuous activities. Over and over again he reminded us in the course of his lectures that the misery and discontent of the modern world was the result of its impatience to acquire material wealth, to "conquer" and "subdue" nature (as if it were something apart from ourselves), to substitute for the quiet strength of the soul which knows how to keep its serenity amid all the bustle and noise of the modern world, a disposition to be always excited about some great scheme, some fresh discovery, or some new possession. "In such a condition our successes are our greatest failures and fulfilment of our desires leaves us poorer." We live in a state of civil war "behind barricades," and "in civilisation which is selfish our homes are not real homes, but artificial barriers around us." "But the universal spirit is waiting to crown us with happiness if we will only submit to its sovereignty, realising that our individual self is not the highest meaning of our being, that in us we have the world-man who is immortal, who is not afraid of death or sufferings, and who looks upon pain as only the other side of joy."

* * *

This is the teaching of a serene optimism to which very few can attain, but it is not too much to say that it has started new currents of thought and idealism in our country which may affect not only the destiny of individuals, but our relations with India and the future of the Empire as a whole. We are responsible for the government of India, and for the happiness and prosperity of her vast population ; but we must bring to the task of administration a certain humility as well as the consciousness of power—a disposition to learn what this great country has to teach us as well as a desire to force our ideas upon her, together with a sympathetic understanding of the national aspirations which are already waiting to be directed into fruitful channels, if we would acquit ourselves honourably and redeem the promises which have been made in the past. In this work we have been greatly helped by Mr. Tagore, who has entered into fellowship with our religious philosophers, men of letters and administrators, revealed to us the conceptions of God hidden in the scriptures of the East, enriched our literature with translations from the exquisite lyric poems which made him famous in India long before we heard his name, and shown us with perfect simplicity how we can obtain that inner peace which the world can neither give nor take away.

Filipino Independence.

Mr. Harrison, Governor-General of the Philippines, has announced that the policy

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of the United States contemplated the ultimate independence of the Philippines. As a first step he promised to give the people immediately a majority in both houses of the Philippines Legislature.

The people of India, too, should fit themselves to do all the duties of an independent nation. For there is no knowing when the British people, whose cousins the Americans are, may take it into their heads, in a fit of magnanimity, to grant us independence.

Bengal Excise Department.

The total Excise revenue of Bengal for the year 1912-13 was Rs. 1,37,59,157, an increase of Rs. 3,69,450 on the previous year. The increase is accounted for under the heads Country Spirit (Rs. 2,28,546), Opium (Rs. 1,15,016), Spirits manufactured in India paying duty at higher rates than ordinary country spirits (Rs. 27,048). "Tari" (Rs. 23,924) and Pachwai (Rs. 15,135). There was a decrease of Rs. 21,905 under the head Ganja.

We are told :—

> Several causes contributed to the increase. The year was one of unusual prosperity particularly so in the trades which employ large numbers of the classes who are in the habit of consuming country spirit. Increased activity in the mills and factories and at the docks and good harvests, both of jute and paddy, improved the circumstances of the labouring classes and provided them with greater means for indulging in liquor.

If administration reports are to be believed, there is prosperity even in years of famine; for it would be by no means a difficult task to find out from excise reports for famine years figures indicating increase of revenue.

But suppose it were axiomatic that the more drunk a people are the more prosperous they must be held to be, cannot a civilized government teach the people to spend their extra wealth in other ways than in reducing themselves to a lower level than that of beasts?

The Cawnpore Mosque Affair.

There can be no question that what Lord Hardinge has done with regard to the Cawnpore mosque affair has been bold and just and generous ;—why he has done it is another matter and can only be guessed. None but fools will think with the *Englishman* that it proves that "Government trembles before violence." The only cause of anxiety is that there are fools among both Hindus and Muhammadans who may think so, and it is their existence which leaves the result of Lord Hardinge's action somewhat doubtful. But in reality there is no reason why Government should be afraid of the biggest unarmed or primitively armed mobs. It shows wise statesmanship when a ruler calmly tries to ascertain why people have got so excited as to risk life and limb and property, and having found out the cause, endeavours to allay the excitement by a policy of conciliation, even though this should go against accepted notions of prestige and be an acknowledgment of a mistake having been made by a subordinate authority.

But it would be childish to suggest or say that rulers, of their own motion, right wrongs because they are wrongs. The people must know how to obtain justice. The Musalmans have scored a partial victory over civiliandom in the United Provinces by their solidarity, their backbone, their readiness to suffer and by the lack of passivity in their character. In Turkey and, perhaps, Afghanistan they have trump cards, and they know when and how to play them with effect. They also know how to obtain a price for their loyalty. Whatever young novices in politics like Mr. Montagu may say, it is an undoubted fact that a large proportion of Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials set great store by the policy of *divide and rule*. Musalmans know it ; they know that most officials are anxious to have them on their side, not at *any* cost, but at any *reasonable* cost : and Muhammadan politicians are not so unworldly as not to take advantage of this anxiety. The reason for this anxiety is clear. Though the Government of India is really a "*benevolent* despotism." the British Government at home is a progressively democratic government. Therefore in India the semblance of government with the consent of the governed has to be kept up. But if both Hindus and Musalmans, the two principal communities, unite in their civic demands, how can these be refused and at the same time the semblance kept up ? For hitherto it has been usual to pay little heed to the demands of the Congress on the ground that they were not the demands of the Moslems as well, who (it has been alleged) would not be benefited and probably be injured if these were conceded ! In order, therefore, that the monopoly of power in the hands of the officials may be maintained intact, the day of a combined civic struggle should be put off.

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Though it seems to be approaching rather rapidly, all the same.

Statesmen can be seldom credited with gratuitous generosity. In the history of British India, the Cawnpore affair is not the first occasion on which local official action has run counter to the religious feelings or prejudices, if you like, of a section of the people; this is not the first time that the consequent excitement has led to bloody riots; this is not the first time that a fussy, unfeeling or panic-stricken executive and police have fired on a mob, killing numbers of innocent people. But before this when did a Viceroy step in? When before was a Commissioner made to open a relief fund for the families of rioters, high officials headed by the Viceroy contributing to it? When before did Lord Hardinge himself step in? For during his Viceroyalty only the other day the Ajudhia cow-killing riot took place, owing to the unsympathetic action of the district authorities, leading to the imprisonment of many Hindus whose offence was not of a deeper dye than that of the Cawnpore rioters.

We do not in the least call in question the clemency, justice or boldness of Lord Hardinge's action;—he has been just in permitting the re-building of the portion of the mosque demolished, he has shown mercy in ordering the release of rioters, and if he had punished those who were responsible for needlessly firing on the mob and causing bloodshed his act of justice would have been complete. But we can not honestly say that diplomatic considerations had nothing to do with it.

Compulsory Free Education in Mysore.

The Elementary Education Regulation of the Mysore State is expected to come into force shortly. The principal clause of the Regulation runs as follows:—

"In every area to which this Regulation applies, it shall be the duty of the parent of every boy, not under seven and not over eleven years of age, residing within such area, to cause such boy to attend a recognised school for elementary education for so many days in the year and for such time on each day of attendance as may be prescribed by the Education Department, unless there is a reasonable excuse for the non-attendance of the boy.

Any of the following circumstances will be considered a reasonable excuse for non-attendance:—

(a) That there is no recognised school within a distance of one mile measured along the nearest road from the residence of the boy which the boy can attend: (b) that the boy is prevented from attending school by reason of sickness, infirmity, domestic necessity, the seasonal needs of agriculture, or other sufficient cause: (c) that the boy is receiving instruction in some other satisfactory manner: and (d) that the boy has been exempted from such attendance by proper authority.

The penalty fixed for parents and guardians for not sending their boys to school without reasonable excuse is a fine not exceeding Rs. 2 for the first offence, and not exceeding Rs. 10 in cases of repeated non-compliance.

We hope every Native State will soon provide for free and compulsory elementary education. We note that Nabha has done so.

Why Indians are excluded from Canada.

In an article on this subject published in the *Literary Digest* of New York, the editor says: "If we be asked why these restrictions are placed on the East Indians, the answer is found in a long statement made by Sir Eric John Eagles Swayne, Governor of British Honduras, who held that Hindus in Canada learned to be independent, and to despise the institution of caste, so that when they returned to British India they were elements of discord and disagreement such as disturbed the relations of the British Government with its Indian subjects and threatened the stability of the British Raj in the peninsula." Is that the real reason?

In any case, henceforth when British citizens or colonials speak in favour of the system of caste and against our students going to foreign countries, assigning some reasons or other, it may not be unnatural for us to doubt the sincerity of such pronouncements.

The Andhra Brotherhood.

The Andhra Brotherhood, which has been recently formed in Edinburgh, provides the students of our country wishing to go abroad for education with all the necessary information about educational, financial and various other matters. Letters of inquiry should be forwarded to the Secretary, Andhra Brotherhood, 11, George Square, Edinburgh.

The Deccan Eduction Society and Politics.

The Government of Bombay have required all teachers in aided schools and colleges to sign a declaration of loyalty before a responsible officer of Government. The declaration forbids them to take part not only in

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movements intended to subvert the Government but even in those legitimate and lawful ones whose object is by criticism and representation to improve the administration and secure an increasing share in it for the people. This declaration was sent in due course to those in any way connected with the Deccan Education Society and Fergusson College. They protested against it. This took place in September 1912. We now learn the Government of Bombay have offered "as a matter of grace" to exempt life-members of the Society "on account of their somewhat exceptional position", at the same time reserving to themselves the right of withdrawing the concession "if it is abused by those who are privileged to enjoy it". But the Bombay Government "have refused to extend the exemption to professors and teachers who are not members of the Socicty as they see no reason to differentiate between them and the employees of other aided institutions, This was less than what those who protested wanted. But in view of the present attitude of the Government of India and of the fact that no other educational institution entered a similar protest, the members of the Society and the professors and teachers of the college and the school have accepted the decision of the Government." The action of the members, professors and teachers, has been, to say the least, disappointing.

"If nobody responds to thy call, do thou walk alone," says Rabindranath Tagore in one of his songs.

Government is very anxious to improve the character of our boys. It must be plain that that result can be achieved if only the very best men are drafted into the teaching line. But that profession is very ill paid and if now to poor pay loss of selfr-espect be added, the service must become very unattractive to able and honorable men.

To our own men our exhortation is not to sacrifice self-respect or civic rights for any earthly gain or even for the fancied privilege of doing good to the country.

The Leader has published the following letter on this subject:

> Sir,—The action of the Bombay Government in demanding an oath and declaration from instructors in Government and aided educational institutions, that they will not even criticise Government measures, is astonishing in the extreme. Well may those who have India's advance at heart, view such a measure with deep anxiety.

Should the Government of Bombay insist that no unfavourabe views regarding its policy be expressed in those institutions to which it gives its support, it would have much reason on its side. Yet even in such cases, objection might be made that such grants were not the gift of the Goversment to education, but that it was the people's money, held in trust by the Government for the public welfare, and that in devoting to educational purposes the funds at its disposal, the Government was but giving to the people, through a proper channel, that which was their own. If this view be taken. one may reasonably hold that in aided institutions, where the larger part of the support is given directly by the public, educationalists would be fully within their rights if—even within school or college hours—they gave expression in a sane and balanced manner to criticism of such government measures as appeared to them detrimental to India's progress.

However, the principle here involved is not as to whether educationalists should, or should, not, criticise Government policy *in* the schools and colleges in which they labour. It strikes far deeper than this. Indeed the action of the Bombay Government is so reactionary in character, and strikes so deeply at the root of individual freedom, that it is the duty—not only of every lover of India, but of every one who is labouring for the progress of humanity—to steadfastly oppose it.

When men in India devote themselves to the educational salvation of their fellow-countrymen, do they cease to be Indian ? Upon accepting appointments in institutions to which Government dispenses the funds collected from the Indian people for educational purposes, do they sign away their right as men to freedom of thought and speech in private life, outside of school and college ? Who from among the people of India, are to voice the needs and aspirations of the people, if not the men of letters ? The situation is absolutely unthinkable. Nothing could possibly justify such an action, but the conviction upon the part of the local Government that the wisdom of all its measures was infallible, and that it stood beyond the possibility of error. Little had one thought that such an anomaly could appear under a government headed by a Liberal of so many years standing as H. E. Lord Willingdon.

One cannot imagine such a situation in England. Suppose that some ultra-conservative ministry in Great Britain should issue orders that no professor or instructor in any institution recognised by Government, should—even in his unofficial capacity and outside of school or college hours—give written or verbal expression to any political views whatsoever that did not tally with those held by the Government, what would be the result ? Needless to say, it would mark the collapse of that too daring conservative Government, and a change of ministry.

In India, alas ! it seems that the representatives of a Liberal Government can do what the most fanatically conservative body would not dare to dream of attempting in Great Britain. There, such a measure would be met with furious indignation ; here, even to object is disloyal.

Speaking as a school teacher, and as a student of history, I am convinced that it would be better to relinquish all grants—nay, even close our schools—rather than to betray the cause of freedom of thought and speech, by setting hand to such a contract. As principal of a Government aided school, I say without hesitation, that if such a measure should ever be attempted in this province, I, for one, would rather lose all grants and forego Government

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recognition than allow my teachers to sacrifice their duty to India, and their freedom to voice what they might consider her needs, by subscribing to such an oath and declaration.

Kotgarh, West Simla.

SAMUEL E. STOKES, J.

There spoke a free man.

What workers must have.

In the speech in which Mr. Lloyd George opened the land campaign,

He declared that before we considered purchase of land we must recast the whole condition of the monopoly and put it on a businesslike footing. The labourer must have a living wage, a decent house and a piece of land. He must also be given the ladder to progress and the prospect of becoming a small holder and cultivator. There must be expert instruction given him and facilities to get his produce to the markets. The State must provide greater facilities to acquire land, especially where it was not cultivated. Financial State aid must be invoked to carry out the scheme.

It requires no demonstration that peasants and laborers in India are in a worse condition than their brethren in Great Britain. Is there any Lloyd George in India to promise legislation and "Financial State Aid" to improve their lot ? Out here we suppose self-help is better.

Annamite Plot.

SEVEN NATIVES EXECUTED.

A Paris, correspondent wrote on September 25th :—The "Temps" publishes a letter from its correspondent in Hongkong giving details of a revolutionary plot in Annam, the discovery of which led to the execution of seven natives at the beginning of the month. Investigations, pursued as a result of the murder of two French officers by a bomb at Hanoi in April, show the existence of a widespread conspiracy among the educated classes in Indo-China for the overthrow of the French Government and the establishment of either a kingdom or a republic with Prince Kuong-de at its head. This prince seems, however, to have been merely a tool in the hands of agitators who carried on work from outside the French colonies. They had organised a campaign of terriorisation of which the murder of the mandarin of Thaibing and the bomb outrage at Hanoi were the beginning. The bombs were manufactured in China and Siam, and young girls of good family at school in Hongkong or Canton were frequently used to introduce them into the French colonies. The conspiracy is said to date from the Japanese victory over Russia and to have received considerable stimulus from the revolution in China. It is known that the conspirators have received constant support from the "Young China" party. Investigations show that the native troops are not affected, and it has been noted that although the chief conspirators are Cochin-Chinese the revolutionary propaganda is mainly confined to Tongking and Annam.

It is hoped that the execution of seven of the chief conspirators and the deportation of several others, together with the close surveillance of all known to be implicated, will have the effect of stamping out the seditious movement.—*Selected.*

ENGLISH BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Messrs Longmans, Green and Co.,

Researches on Irritability of Plants—by J. C. Bose, D. SC:

Studies from an Eastern Home—by Sister Nivedita.

From Messrs. MacMillan and Co.—

The Gardener—by Rabindranath Tagore.

We regret owing to the illness of Rev. C. F. Andrews it has not been possible to publish the concluding portion of his article on "The Body of Humanity" in this number.

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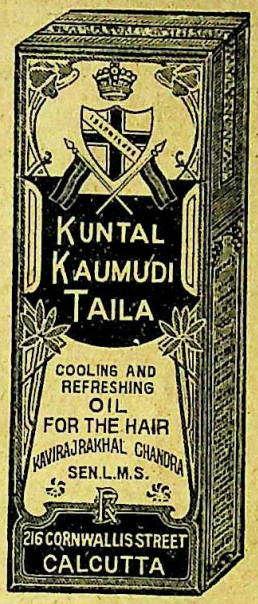
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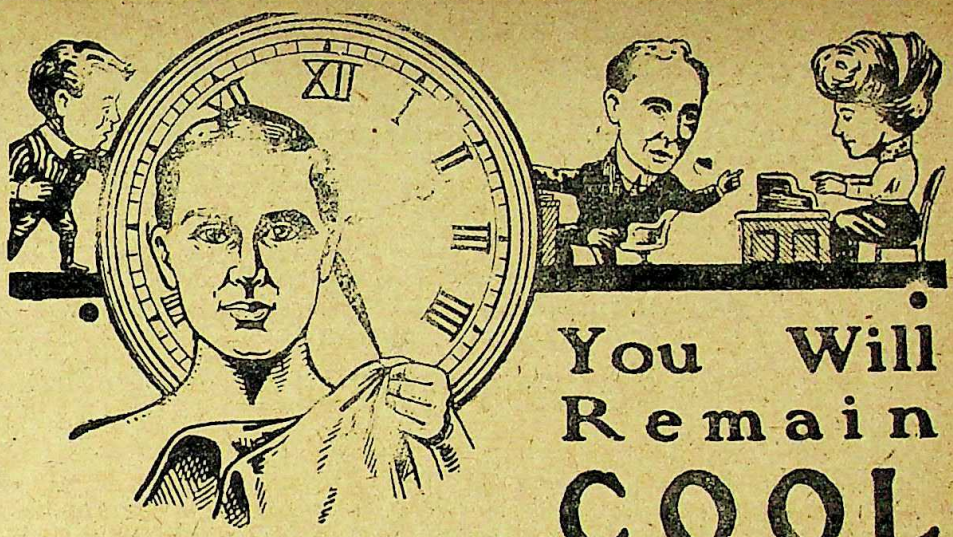
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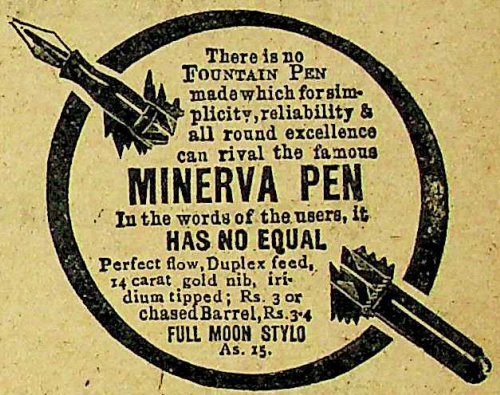
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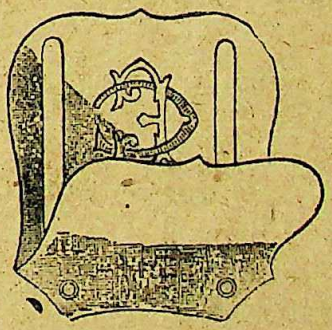


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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

Contents :

	Page
Frontispiece—Rabindranath Tagore (in colors) —Abanindranath Tagore	543
The Stage—Rabindranath Tagore & Surendranath Tagore	543
The Kangri Gurukala Academy—G. A. Chandavarkar	545
Radharani—Bankimchandra Chatterjee and J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (Retired)	550
The Classic Art of Ajanta—Samarendranath Gupta	560
A Work on the Commercial History of India: a Review—K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law	566
Cornwallis the Civil Ruler—Historicus ...	571
An Ancient Hebrew Prophet—Prof. P. E. Richards, B.A. (Oxon.)	575
The Brand of the Helot—Arcades Ambo ...	579
Polity in Ancient and Mediæval Kerala—S. Venkataraya Iyer, M.A.	591
Comment and Criticism— Some Bengali Idioms—Bireswar Sen ...	595
The Date of Bhasa—T. L. Venkataraman ...	597
Mr. Gurmukh Singh Mongia's article on "My Impressions of England"—W. E. Garman...	599
The Sapadlaksha Country—Har Bilas Sarda	600
The Data of Ancient Indian Geography in Sukraniti—Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A. ...	602
The so-called superiority of the Brahmans—A Bengali Brahman	611
The Gardener (a review)—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	617
Vikramaditya and Nahapana—K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law ...	622
How to realise the Good—Wilfred Wellock ...	624
Buddhism a Religion of Humanity—Walter F. Westbrook	631
Notes	636
Reviews and Notices of Books—B. C. Mazumdar, B.L., Mahes Chandra Ghosh, B.A., B.T., K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.	641

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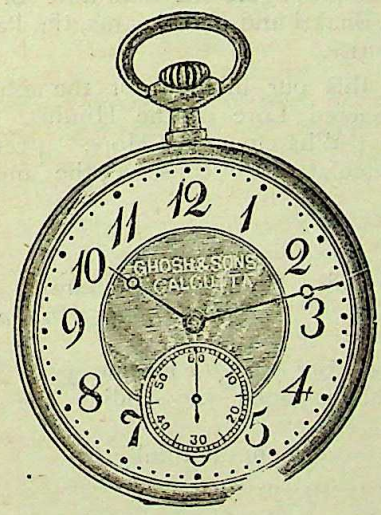
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The Hindustan Review Sept: 1913.

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The Modern Review Sept: 1913.

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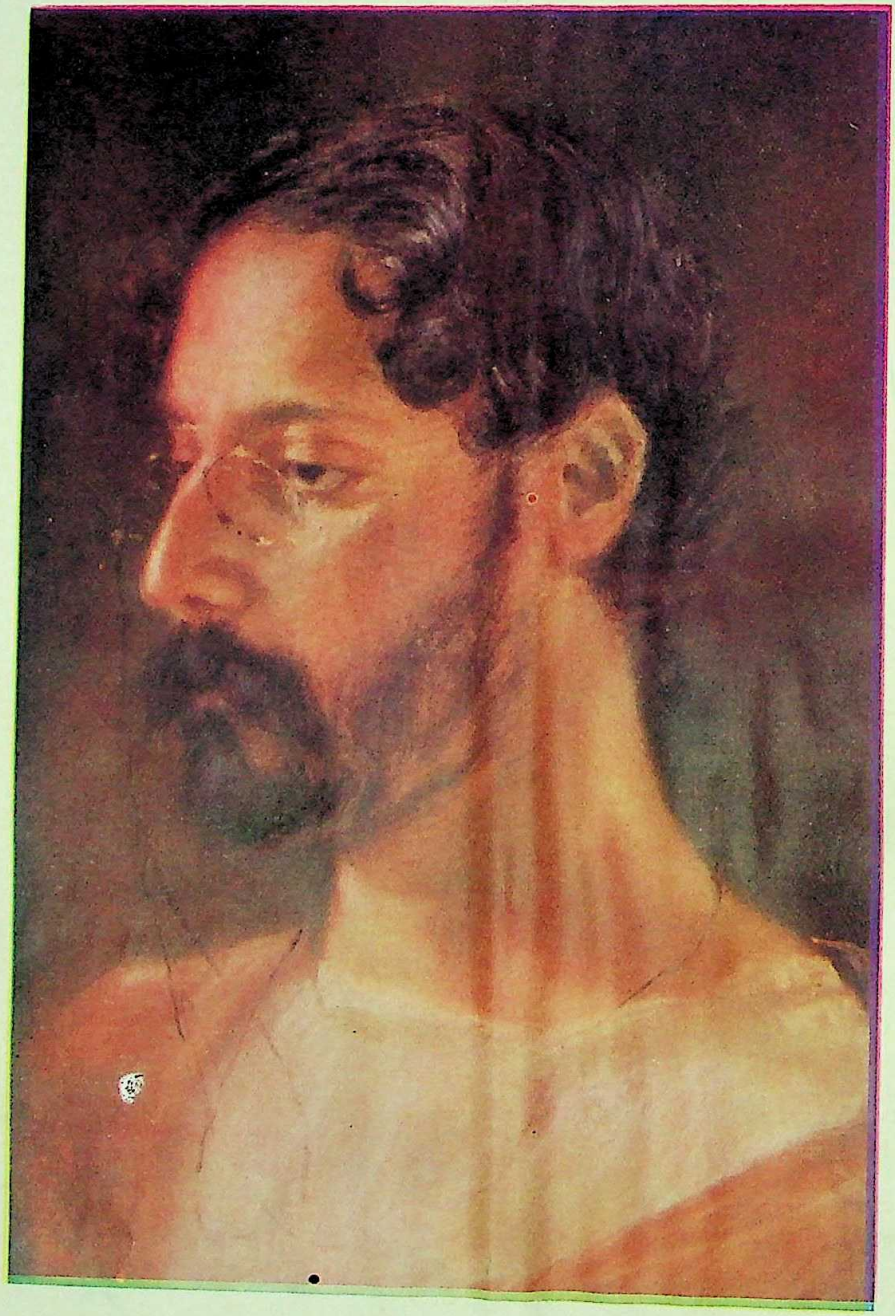
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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[AT THE AGE OF ABOUT 32].

From a painting by Babu Abanindra Nath Tagore, by kind permission of Dr. J. C. Bose.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE
No. 84

THE STAGE

By Rabindranath Tagore

IN the *Natyashastra* * of Bharata is a description of a stage, but no mention of scenes. It does not seem to me that this absence of concrete scenery can have been much of a loss.

In spite of Wagner and his idea of the combined arts, it may be argued that any one of the arts is only to be seen in her full glory when she is sole mistress ; it hurts her dignity and lessens her if she is asked to share her household with a rival, the more especially so if the rival happen to be the favoured one. If we have to sing an Epic, the tune needs to become a chant and to give up all hopes of rising to melodic heights. The true poem indeed furnishes its own music from within itself, and rejects with disdain all outside help. On the other hand the true song tells its story in its own way, and waits for no Kalidas or Milton, often doing quite as well with a Tan dar a dei and a tra-la-la. A sort of artistic pageant may no doubt be got up with a mixture of word and tune and picture, but that would be common or market Art, not of the Royal variety.

It may seem that dramatic art must needs be less independent than other forms ; that the drama is created with the very object of attaining its fulfilment with outside help, and therefore awaits the acting, scenery, music and other accessories. But I cannot agree in this view.

Like the true wife who wants none other than her husband, the true poem, dramatic or otherwise, wants none other than the understanding mind. We all act to ourselves as we read a play, and the play which cannot be sufficiently interpreted by such invisible acting has never yet gained the laurel for its author.

So far as the acting goes it would be more correct to say that it has forlornly to await the drama since only in its company can it display its charms. But the drama which cramps and curtails itself to fit in with the actor's skill, becomes, like the henpecked husband, an object of scorn. The attitude of the drama should be : "If I can be acted, well and good ; if not, so much the worse for Histrionic Art."

But because the art of Acting is necessarily dependent on the Drama, it does not follow that therefore it must be the slave of every other Art as well. If it would keep up its dignity, let it not accept any bonds other than what are absolutely needful for its self-expression.

It is superfluous to state, for instance, that the histrionic artist is dependent on the words of the play ; that he must smile or weep, and with him make his audience smile or weep, with the words of joy or sorrow which the author puts into his mouth. But why pictures—pictures that hang round about the actor and which he cannot help in creating ?

To my mind it shows only faint-heartedness on the actor's part to seek their help. The relief from responsibility which he gains by the illusion created by pictorial scenes is one which is begged of the painter. Besides it pays to the spectators the very poor compliment of ascribing to them an utter poverty of imagination.

Why should the actor imagine that he is in the witness box in a court of law where his every word must be supported by an

* A work on the Drama

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oath ! Why all this paraphernalia of illusion to delude the poor trusting creatures who have come there with the deliberate intention of believing and being happy ? They have not surely left their imaginations at home under lock and key. They have come to co-operate, not quarrel, with the interpretation of the drama.

King Dushyanta hidden behind the trunk of the tree is listening to the conversation of Sakuntala and her companions. We for our part feel our creative faculty quite equal to imagining the tree trunk, even though its image be not bodily there. The complex of the emotions appropriate to the characters of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, Anusuya and Priyamvada are doubtless more difficult to conjure up and retain in their exactitude, so we are grateful for the assistance you give to the corresponding play of our sympathetic emotions ; but what is the difficulty about imagining a few trees, a cottage, or a bit of a river ? To attempt to assist us even in regard to these with painted canvas hangings is only to betray a woeful mistrust in our capacity.

That is why I like the *Jatra* plays of our country. There is not so much of a gulf separating the stage from the audience. The business of interpretation and enjoyment is carried out by both in hearty co-operation, and the spirit of the play, which is the real thing, is showered from player to spectator and from spectator to player in a very carnival of delight. When the flower girl is gathering her flowers on the empty stage, how would the importation of artificial shrubs help the situation ? Must not the flowers blossom at her every motion ? If not, why need an artist play the flower-girl at all, why not have stocks and stones for spectators ?

If the poet who created Sakuntala had to think of bringing concrete scenes on his stage, then at the very outset he would have had to stop the chariot from pursuing the flying deer. I do not mean to suggest that the pen of that Master Poet would have had to stop with the chariot; but what I want to ask is : Why should the great be required to curb itself, for the sake of the petty ? The stage that is in the Poet's mind has no lack of space or appurtenances. There scenes follow one another at the touch of his magic wand. The play is written for such a stage and such scenes ; the artificial platform with its hanging canvas is not worthy of a poet.

So while Dushyanta and his charioteer standing in their respective places are representing the very spirit of a moving chariot in their words and action, is it too much to expect the audience to realise the simple truth that though the stage has its limits, the Poem has not ? No, for so easily do they forgive the poor material stage its shortcomings and lend to it the glory of the stage of their hearts ; but how hard would it have been to forgive the wretched wooden platform if it had compelled the Poem to limit and reduce itself !

It is, I repeat, because the drama of Sakuntala had not to depend on artificial scenes, that the Poet found it possible to create his own scenes. The hermitage of Kanwa, the cloud-path on the way to heaven, the woodland retreat of Marich—in these scenes of nature as in the portrayal of the various characters the Poet was free upon his own creative treasure-house.

I have elsewhere said that the European wants his truth concrete. He would have imaginative treats, but he must be deluded by having these imaginings to be exact imitations of actual things. He is too much afraid of being cheated, and before accepting any representation of imaginative truth with some amount of enjoyment he must have a sworn testimony of its reality accompanying it. He will not trust the flower until he sees the earth of the mountain top in which it has its roots. But this is the Kali Yuga, and mere faith will not move mountains; that requires engineering skill ; it is also costly. The cost which is incurred for mere accessories on the stage in Europe would swamp the whole of Histrionic Art in famine-stricken India.

In the Orient, pomp and ceremony, play and rejoicing, are all easy and simple. It is because we serve our feasts on plantain leaves that it becomes possible to attain the real object of a feast—to invite the whole world into our little home ; this true end could never have been gained had the means been too complex and extravagant.

The theatres that we have set up in imitation of the West are too elaborate to be brought to the door of all and sundry. In them the creative richness of poet and player are overshadowed by the wealth of the capitalist. If the Hindu spectator has not been too far infected with the greed for realism and the Hindu artist still has any

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respect for his craft and his skill, the best thing they can do for themselves is to regain their freedom by making a clean sweep of the costly rubbish that has accumulated round about and is clogging the stage.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE KANGRI GURUKULA ACADEMY

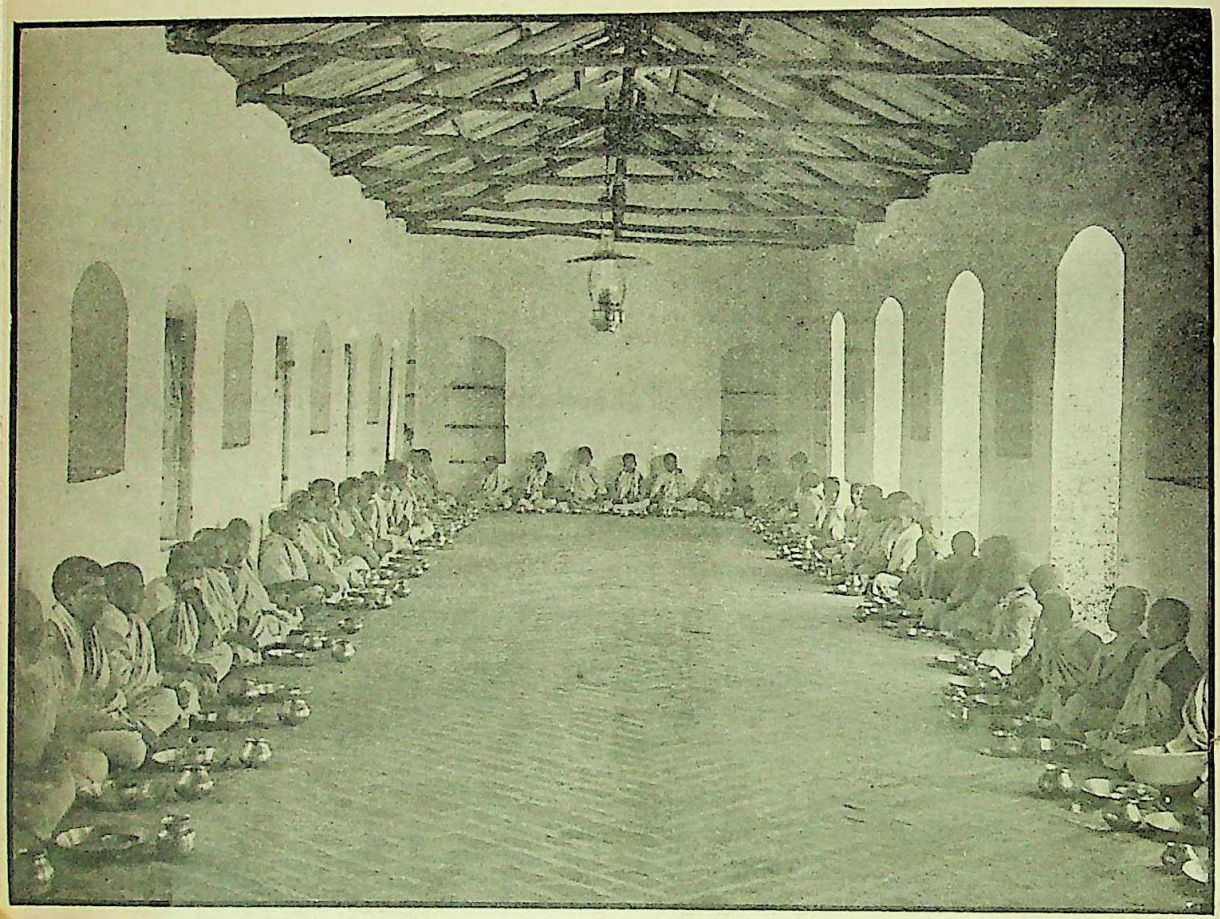
MAN instinctively desires to learn and progress. In response to the cravings of the human heart mighty intellects in all ages and climes have presented various ideals of education. But with the advance of times and with the inevitable changes in the social environments of a particular community these ideals of one age change and yield place to new ones. Every well-wisher of India would do well to pause and consider the ideals of education presented to us by Manu and other mighty seers of yore. Our admiration for every thing western need not deter us from revering our past. A sympathetic study of the past and a cautious inquiry into the conditions of the present are essential to build up our future. An entire neglect of the past, when that past happens to be glorious, is suicidal to the future well-being



THE STUDENTS OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASS WORKING IN THE GURUKULA GARDEN.

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THE GURUKULA BHOJAN-SHALA (DINING HALL).

(A BATCH OF BRAHMACHARIS DINING TOGETHER).

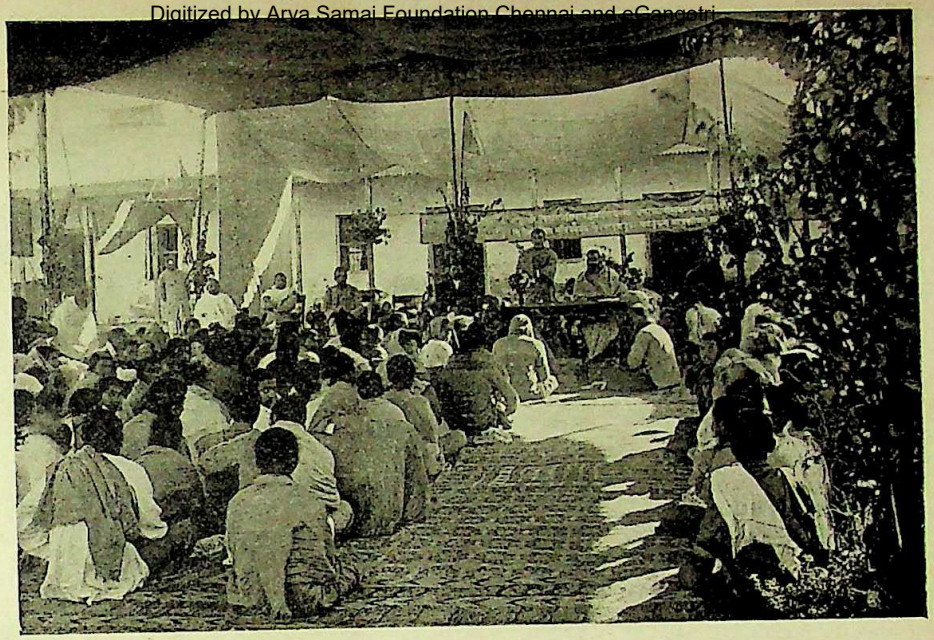
of a community. The past is as it were the parent of the future. Such were the thoughts that came surging into the fertile brain of Swami Dayanand Saraswati when he was surveying mankind from Kashmere to Comorin. The Vedic scholar after a mature consideration came to the irresistible conclusion that a defective system of education was in the main responsible for our social degradation. The saint argued that for our future well-being and for the creation of a class of physically, morally and spiritually strong citizens the revival of the Gurukula system of education was urgently needed. In the third Chapter of his Satyartha-Prakash, he discusses at some length the merits of this system. It was the earnest wish of the patriot to establish some Gurukulas but his premature death led to the abandonment of the scheme for some time to come. But some of his sincere admirers with Lala Munshi Ram at their head after surmounting tremendous difficulties established in the year 1901, a Gurukula near Kangri. Some features peculiar to the institution are noteworthy.

THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

While in schools and colleges affiliated to the existing five Indian Universities the medium of instruction is English, here it is Hindi pure and simple. The authorities believe that this is an easier process of imparting education to Hindu youths. Even such subjects as Botany and Chemistry are taught in Hindi. For the benefit of the students some useful books in Hindi have been published. The Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces too

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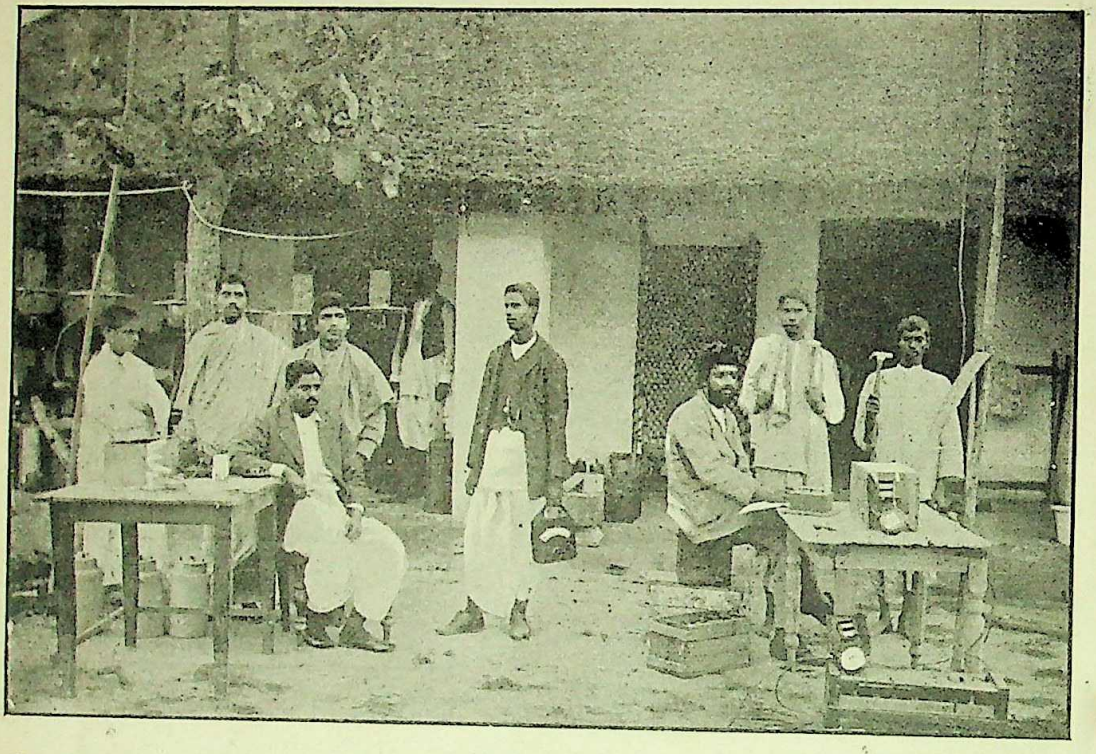
THE ACHARYA, THE PROFESSORS, THE SCHOOL STAFF, AND THE BRAHMACHARIS, ASSEMBLED TO CELEPRATE THE FOUNDER'S DAY.



THE STAFF OF THE GURUKULA, KANGRI.

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PROFESSOR SINHA IN HIS WIRELESS TELEGRAPH LABORATORY WITH HIS PUPILS OF THE GURUKULA.

congratulated the authorities on the success they had achieved in this direction. It is noteworthy that in Japanese schools also similar experiments have been tried with great success. The Hindu University may take a leaf out of the history of the Gurukula and the pioneers of that movement may with advantage give a fair trial to the scheme.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL INSTRUCTION.

Undoubtedly this problem has taxed the brains of many educationists. No effective solution worth the name is yet available. The residential universities, however, will surely have the work simplified. In the Gurukula at any rate this difficult problem is wellnigh solved. The students in the most impressionable period of their lifetime live in the company of their *Gurus* for a period of over 16 years, when it is easier for the teachers to teach morality both by precept and example to the Brahmacharis. A band of self-sacrificing, zealous teachers is capable of achieving more than a cartload of text-books on the subject.

REVIVAL OF THE STUDY OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT.

In order to realise the significance of the Vedic Dharma a scientific study of the Vedas, Upanishads and Darshanas is essential. For the right understanding of the Vedic *Mantras* the study of *Shadangas*—the six branches of learning, *viz. Shiksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Chhandas*, &c.—is needed, without which there is every chance of misinterpreting them and through them the Vedic religion and philosophy too. A right understanding of the four *Varnas*, Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra, of the four divisions of a man's life, Brahmacharya, Garhastha, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa, of the philosophy of the Upanishads, of the ethical significance of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and of the truths embodied in the six *Darshanas*, are all of the utmost importance as far as the evolution of the future Hindu society is concerned. The revival of the study of Classical Sanskrit Literature is intended to bring out all the treasures that lie buried there

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MAHATMA MUNSHIRAMJI.

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for the benefit of mankind. With this end in view this Gurukula endeavours to produce profound Sanskrit scholars. The *Snatakas*—the graduates—undertake research work in the field of Sanskrit literature and immense good is bound to result in the long run.

The study of western sciences is not at all neglected here. Side by side with the study of Vedic theology and eastern philosophy western sciences too are taught. Endeavours are being made to impart technical education also. If the Brahmacharis can advance the cause of industries and agriculture in India, the Gurukula will render yeoman's service to the cause of India. Glorious indeed would be the day when from Kangri the Brahmacharis will proceed to Europe carrying there the torch of Vedic learning and bringing back to India all that is best in the occidental civilization.

A HAPPY HOME.

The pleasant daily routine of the Brahmacharis, the performance of *Havana*, *Sandhya* and *Bhojana* in proper time, the Gurukula gardens and the charming scenery all around, the cheerful faces of the Brahmacharis, the indefatigable energy of the selfless teachers, a lively conversation with Professor Rama Deva or Lala Munshi Ram and in fact the rearing of an earnest band of workers and servants of human society are all happy recollections.

G. A. CHANDAVARKAR.

RADHARANI

BY BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

TRANSLATED BY J. D. ANDERSON, I. C. S. (RETIRED)

I

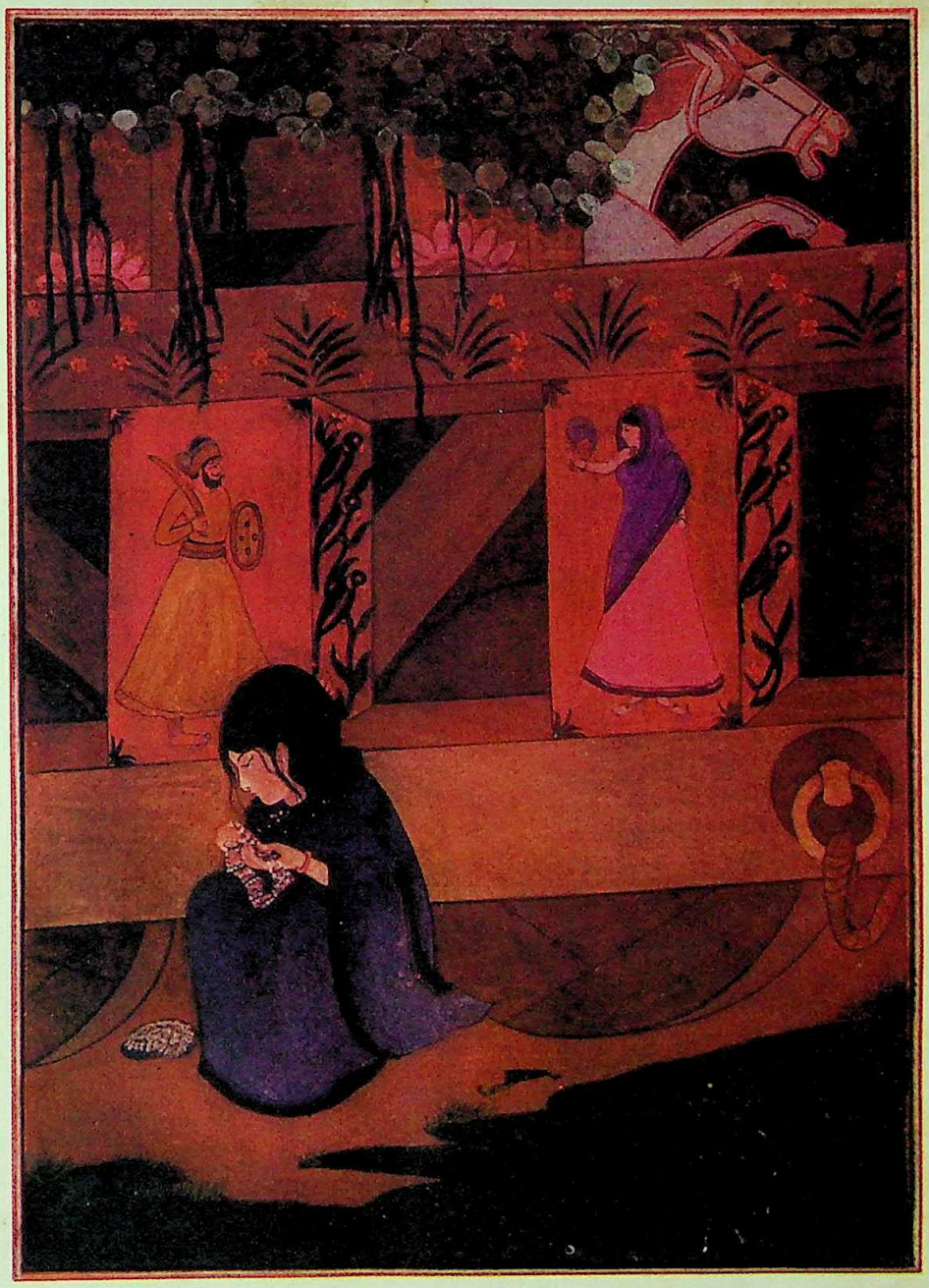
A little girl called Radharani had been to the village of Mahesh in order to witness the exciting ceremony of pulling the Juggernauth car. She was hardly eleven years of age. Time was when her people had been very wealthy, for the child came of a great family in these parts. But when her father died, a relative brought a civil suit against her widowed mother. The suit involved the whole of the family property. The widow lost her case in the Calcutta High Court. No sooner did this happen than the heartless plaintiff executed his decree and ousted her from the family home. The landed property, amounting to some ten lakhs of rupees, all went to the plaintiff. What money there was in hand, was expended in paying costs and law expenses. Radharani's mother sold her jewels and other movable property, and instituted an appeal before the Hon'ble Privy Council in London. But there was nothing left for the maintenance of mother and daughter. The widow found a precarious asylum in a small cottage on the family estate and endeavoured to earn her living by manual labour. She was unable to set aside a dower for her daughter's marriage.

To add to their misfortunes, the mother fell ill, and was no longer able to work for her living. The pair were in danger of starvation. The mother was too ill to need much food, the child often fasted because there was nothing to eat. On the day of the Car Festival the mother's disease reached a critical stage: medicines and nourishment were necessary. But how was the child to procure them?

With tearful eyes Radharani gathered some jungle flowers and wove them into garlands, thinking to sell them at the fair, which was an incident of the Car Festival. She hoped by this means to get a few pice wherewith to buy necessities for her sick mother. But before the ceremony was half over, heavy rain fell and dispersed the crowd. Not a soul bought the girl's simple garlands. Radharani stayed on. What

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RADHARANI WEAVING HER GARLANDS.

From a water-colour by Babu Surendranath Kar.

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matter if she were soaked by the rain? Perhaps the storm would abate and the spectators would return. But, alas, the rain continued pitilessly. No one came back to the deserted car. Evening drew on, and night fell. The night was stormy and dark, and poor Radharani had to turn weeping homewards.

The night was very dark, the roads were miry and slippery, the child had to feel her way through the growing dusk. Added to that, the heavy rain of the month of Sravan fell on her with a force that made her cower before the storm. Worst and most cruel of all was the thought that she had been unable to make any provision for her mother's needs. Half blinded by her tears, by the storm, by the darkness of the night, the child felt her way, stumbling and falling. The wet locks of her loose hair were blown across her rainwashed face. But the child clung pathetically to the paltry garlands she had woven, and held them tight to her bosom.

As she was struggling bravely along, someone emerged from the darkness and ran up against the child. So far Radharani had not wept audibly, the shock and surprise overcame her childish resolution, and for the first time she could not restrain a piteous wail.

The newcomer asked, kindly enough, "Who is this small person crying in the dark?" It was a man's rough voice, but there was something in its tone that stayed the child's tears. The voice was that of a stranger, but the girl felt instinctively that it expressed kindness and compassion. She stopped crying and said:

"We are very poor people. There is no one now but mother and me."

The man asked, "And where have you been wandering, my little maid?"

"I went to see the Car Festival. I was on my way home. But in the rain and wet I have lost my way."

"And where, pray, *is* your home?"

"We live at Srirampur", said Radharani.

"That is all right", said the man. "As it happens, I was going to Srirampur myself. Come along with me. You shall tell me as we go in what part of the village you live, and I will see you safely home. Dear me, it is very slippery, isn't it ? Here, give me your hand, and then we can hold one another up !"

In such fashion the pair struggled along together. In the darkness it was impossible for Radharani's new friend to know her age, but he guessed from her childish voice and words that she was very young. However he took occasion to ask, "And how old may you be, little maiden?"

"I am between ten and eleven."

"And what is your name?"

"My name is Radharani."

"Well, my friend Radharani, I should like very much to know what induced a young person of your age to tramp off all alone to see a Car Festival in a strange village? I am not sure that you are a very prudent young girl."

By degrees, word by word, with kindly and humorous questions, he induced the child to tell him the story of the garlands, and of her disappointed hopes of earning money for her mother. He learned that it was not really to see the Car Festival that our little maiden had gone to Mahesh, but to sell her poor little garlands so as to buy necessaries for her sick mother. And she had not been able to sell her garlands. She was hugging them to her bosom now.

"Well", he said, "this is a wonderful thing. I was just looking for just such a garland for our family idol. The fair broke up so suddenly that I could not buy what I wanted. Will you sell me one of your garlands?"

Radharani was hugely pleased. But, she thought, how can I ask a price of a stranger who has come to my aid so kindly and generously ? And again the thought came, "But if I don't, what is poor mother to do for the food she needs?"

With these confused thoughts in her mind, the child handed one of the garlands to her companion.

"Let me see now", he said, "the proper price of this will be four pice. Here is the money all ready."

So saying he handed her some money. Radharani said, "But are these pice? The coins seem very big."

"Little goose, can't you see that I have only given you two? They are *double* pice."

"But they look very bright, even in the darkness. Are you sure you have not given me rupees by mistake ?"

"Not a bit of it. They are new coins, fresh from the mint. That is why they shine so."

"Never mind", said Radharani. "I will light a lamp when we get home, and if you have made a mistake, I will give you back your money. Only you will have to wait a little till I have lighted the lamp, you know."

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Presently they reached the little cottage where Radharani's mother dwelt. The girl turned to the stranger : "You must please come in and wait while we light a lamp and see whether these are silver rupees or not."

"No", said her companion. "I will wait outside. You go in and change your wet clothes, and then see about getting a light."

Radharani replied, "But I have got no change of clothes at all. My other *sari* has gone to the washerman. So, you see, I am accustomed to sitting in wet clothes. It does not do me any harm. I will wring out the skirt presently. Now, will you wait a moment while I strike a light ?"

There was no oil in the house, so the girl was forced to take a handful of straw from the thatch. This she lighted with flint and steel. All this took some time. When she had procured a light, Radharani saw that she had indeed two rupees in her hand. She ran out, improvised torch in hand. She searched everywhere. The stranger was gone !

Radharani was in despair. She told the whole tale to her mother, and, gazing anxiously in her face, exclaimed, "What are we to do now?"

The mother replied, "What can we do, my child? I cannot believe that he gave the money by mistake. Doubtless he is a generous gentleman, who took pity on us when he heard our story. We are but beggar folk now, my daughter. We must accept the gift without false shame."

While mother and daughter were talking thus, someone suddenly knocked at the door and put them in great confusion. Radharani ran to open the door, thinking that her friend had doubtless returned to claim his money. Alas, it was nothing of the sort. To the girl's dismay, she found only the village draper standing in the doorway.

The cottage was not very far from the bazaar, one of the nearest shops in which was that of Padma Lochan, the draper. It was that worthy tradesman in person who now stood at the door, bearing a lovely pair of newly woven *saris* from Santipore, which he put into the girl's hands.

"These", he said, "are for Radharani."

Radharani exclaimed, "There must be some mistake ! How can these be for me ?"

Padma Lochan—who may or may not have deserved the mental disapproval with which the disappointed girl received him—seemed surprised at her question.

"All I know," he replied, "is that a Babu paid for them in hard cash and ordered me to bring them to you."

Radharani exclaimed, "It is he, I am sure it is he ! He has bought the cloth and sent it to me.Tell me, Padma Lochan...

I ought to stop here to explain that the worthy cloth-merchant had known the family in the days of their prosperity. On the occasion of Hindu festivals, when it is the custom to make presents of cloth to friends and dependants, often and often had he sold them four rupees worth of cloth at its proper price (on his solemn word of honour) of eight rupees twelve annas and odd pice, and had merely made two annas profit on the transaction! "Tell me, Padma Lochan", the girl said, "do you know the Babu of whom you speak?"

Padma Lochan replied, "What, do you not know him yourself ?"

The girl replied, "No."

"Well, I thought he was some relation of yours. I do not know him."

Be that as it may, friend Padma Lochan had once more sold four rupees worth of cloth for eight rupees fourteen annas (including profit), and seeing no need of further discussion, the honest vender departed to his shop with a sense of virtue rewarded.

Meanwhile Radharani herself ran to the bazaar, and changing the rupees, purchased what she required for her mother's needs. She brought home oil, and lighted the lamp. She did the simple cooking required for her mother's simple invalid fare. Before bringing the food to the bedside, she set to work, in the Hindu fashion, of preparing for a meal, to sweep the room. While she was thus engaged, she picked up a piece of paper. Running to her mother with it, she asked, "What is this, mother?"

Her mother examined the paper and exclaimed, "Why, this is a currency note!"

"Then in that case *he* must have thrown it in through the door."

"Yes, he meant it for a present for you. Besides, look what is written on it. 'For Radharani'."

Radharani said, "Oh, how good of him ! Did you ever hear of such a kind person before, mother?"

Her mother replied, "Look, he has written his name on the note, too. Do you know why he has done that? Because

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people might refuse to change it for fear it was stolen. His name is Rukmini Kumar Ray."

Next day mother and daughter made many enquiries as to who Rukmini Kumar Ray might be. But no one seemed to know of any one of that name in Srirampur or any of the adjacent villages. They did not change the note. They put it carefully away. They were very poor, but they were not avaricious.

II

It was much that Radharani's mother should have got the little comforts she needed. But her infirmity continued to increase. She had been a very wealthy woman. She was now reduced to dire poverty. What with bodily fatigue and mental anxiety her vitality was sapped. Her illness grew steadily worse, and at last it was plain that her end was near.

It was at this time that news came from England that the Lords of the Privy Council had decided the case in her favour. It seemed that she was to get her property back, that the law expenses and costs were to be refunded to her, the heavy costs of three successive trials in court. One Kamakhyanath Babu had been their pleader in the High Court, and this gentleman came in person to their cottage to tell them the news. On hearing this joyful news, the dying woman shed happy tears. Restraining her excitement, however, she said to her lawyer,

"You have brought oil, my friend, to a dying lamp ! This good news of yours has come too late to save my life. My days are numbered. But I have this great joy, that my little daughter need not die of starvation when I am gone. And yet, how can I be sure of that? She is but a child, poor dear! Who will defend her rights and her property? In you, my friend, is my only hope. Grant a dying woman her last request. Promise to be a father and guardian to my child."

Kamakhyanath Babu was not only the kindest but most trustworthy of men, and an old friend of Radharani's father. When misfortune befell the family, he had begged Radharani's mother to take up her adode with him till the appeal was decided. In Hindu phrase, he offered to make her his adopted mother. But the old lady was too proud to accept her lawyer's hospitality. Finally the good man was driven to offer a monthly stipend to their needs, but his client heroically declared that she had enough money in hand for present needs, and would come to him if she were in real need. The gift they had accepted from Rukmini Kumar was the first and last charity they had received from anyone! Hence it was that their lawyer was unaware to what straits they had been reduced. When he found them in abject poverty, he was much vexed and grieved. He was greatly moved when his client, once more made a fresh prayer of him with joined palms of entreaty.

"Madam," he said, "you have only to order, it is for me to carry out your instructions. I will faithfully attend to all your lightest wishes."

"The time is come for me to depart," she said, "and I leave my girl behind me. The courts have now confirmed my father-in-law's genuine will, and Radharani is heiress to a great estate. I beseech you to have care of her ; treat her as your daughter ; protect her from those who prey on the wealthy. This is my dying request to you. If you will promise me this, my friend, I can die in peace."

Her lawyer replied, "I swear to you by all that is holy that Radharani shall be to me more than a daughter. I promise this with all my heart, and you may trust to me to do my duty by my young ward."

The dying woman looked at him, and seeing the tears in his eyes, gladly accepted his assurance. A flickering smile of pleasure shone for a moment on her parched and fevered lips. This smile told the experienced lawyer that the poor woman knew that she was doomed. Kamkhya Babu now renewed his entreaties to his client to take up her abode under his roof. She might move to her old home, he said, when the legal formalities had been concluded. Her old pride and reluctance to accept obligations were due to poverty. While she was still poor, she was too proud to accept the hospitality of richer people. Now that she was restored to riches, her fierce independence had disappeared. She very gently and kindly accepted her old friend's offer, and the lawyer with the utmost care and tenderness conveyed the sick woman and her daughter to his home.

All that medical skill could do was attempted in vain, and the widow died very shortly after the restoration of her fortunes. Radharani's lawyer took the steps to have the heiress put in

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possession of her property. But seeing that she was but a child still, he retained her as his guest and did not send her to her ancestral home. The Collector of the district, who in India takes the place of the Court of Chancery, was desirous of putting the estate under the Court of Wards, but Kamakhya Babu was of opinion that he would be a better guardian of the girl's interests than any government official. His legal astuteness defeated the Collector's well-meant plans and he found himself free to defend his ward's interests without official interference. His most serious responsibility was the need of finding a suitable husband for the heiress. Fortunately the good lawyer was a man of modern ideas and no advocate of infant marriages. He reflected, too, that the girl had no old-fashioned relatives who would imagine that her caste was in danger if she were not married in childhood. He made up his mind, therefore, that the question might be shelved till Radharani herself began to think about a husband. In the meanwhile let her have a suitably liberal education. Holding these opinions, the excellent man made no effort whatever to find a husband for his ward, but devoted all his efforts to securing her the best teachers.

III

Five years have elapsed, and Radharani is now an extremely comely young woman of sixteen. But she is carefully confined to the feminine apartments. No male has seen her budding charms. Yet, even to the most advanced minds, the time has come to settle upon an alliance for the lovely young heiress. Her guardian was of opinion that the girl's own wishes should be consulted. In order to sound his ward, the lawyer sent for his own daughter, Vasanta Kumari, who had long been Radharani's friend and playmate. The two girls were of the same age and devotedly attached to one another. Kamakhya Babu directed Vasanta to sound her friend on the subject that now began to give him no little anxiety. Vasanta, somewhat bashfully, but with a merry smile on her lips, asked her father,

"Is there such a person as Rukmini Kumar Ray?"

Kamakhya Babu was puzzled, and said, "No, not that I know of. Why do you ask?"

Vasanta answered, "Because Radharani will not marry anyone except Rukmini Kumar Ray."

The good lawyer was much disturbed.

"What is that you say?" he cried. "How should Radharani make the acquaintance of a young man who is unknown to me?"

Vasanta laughed mischievously. She had repeatedly heard the story of the adventure on the way home from the Car Festival, and told the tale at length to her father, who was much impressed by the delicate generosity of the unknown Rukmini Kumar.

"But tell her from me, my girl," he added, "that she has fallen into a deplorable error. Tell her that marriage is not a matter of gratitude. It is right and proper, I admit, that she should be grateful to this generous stranger, and if time and occasion serve, it is fitting that she should show her gratitude in some suitable fashion. But to give herself in marriage to him is a different thing altogether. We know neither his caste nor his condition, his age nor his means. In all probability he is a married man with a family. What likelihood is there, then, that he will be in a position to marry Radharani?"

"Well, but, father," answered Vasanta, "Radharani knows all this just as well as you and I do. But ever since that night the girl has made for herself a mental image of her protector and has set it up in her heart. As others do daily worship to their family gods, so Radharani daily worships her idol. During the five years that she has been under our roof, I doubt if a single day has gone by without her mentioning him to me. If you marry her to anyone else, I promise you that her husband will not be a happy man."

"Dear me, dear me," thought the lawyer, "this is the green sickness of a romantic maid, a case calling for medicine. But the first medicine, it seems to me, is to find the mysterious Rukmini Kumar."

Accordingly the good man set to work to find the generous stranger. He made personal enquiries himself. He set his friends to work to search on his behalf. He wrote innumerable letters to all his many clients all over the country. He inserted an advertisement in all the newspapers. The advertisement was thus worded.

'Will Babu Rukmini Kumar Ray kindly arrange for an interview with the undersigned on a matter of much importance? The undersigned begs to assure him that

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the result is likely to be to his advantage.'

But all these energetic measures were of no avail. Days, months, nay, years, slipped by and Rukmini Kumar still remained a mystery. Then Radharani suffered another grievous bereavement. Her kind friend and guardian also died. This loss caused her the deepest grief. She felt herself to be orphaned a second time. After the funeral and attendant ceremonies were over, she took up her abode in her family home, and assumed the personal charge of the responsibilities of her estate, which had much increased under Kamakyha Babu's watchful and intelligent care.

Immediately after her estate came into her own hands, the young heiress made over two lakhs of rupees to the government, with the request that an asylum and hospital for poor and needy people should be founded in her native village, to be known as "The Rukmini Kumar Prasad" or Benefaction.

The government officials were somewhat surprised at the proposed title, but that was of course the generous donor's business. The asylum was duly constructed and inaugurated. In the time of her poverty, her mother had left her own village and had built her little cottage at the distant village of Srirampar. Why? Because she felt that it would be painful, in her poverty, to live in the place where she had been prosperous and happy. Their ancestral home was in a village which I shall take the liberty of calling Rajpur, lest I should give a clue to the identity of my heroine. It was in Rajpur in face of her own dwelling, that Radharani commemorated her sufferings and gratitude by erecting the poor-house, which was speedily filled with the needy and unfortunate from many miles around.

IV

One or two years after this, a gentleman made his appearance at Radharani's poor-house. He was about thirty-five or thirty-six years old. He was of grave but kindly appearance, and seemed to be in comfortable circumstances. He stood for some time in the gateway of the Rukmini Kumar Prasad, and finally asked the attendants whose residence it was. He was told that it was not a private dwelling, but an asylum for the poor and indigent. He was also informed of the name it bore. He asked if he might visit the institution.

"Why," they replied, "should not such an one as you enter a building which is open to all the poor and miserable of the land?"

The stranger made a careful inspection of the asylum, and returning to the entrance, said,

"I have carefully examined all the arrangements for the comfort of the poor and sick, and am greatly pleased. To whose generosity do we owe this institution? Is his name Rukmini Kumar?"

The attendants replied, "No, sir, this institution has been founded by our mistress, Srimati Radharani Dasi."

"Why, then," asked the stranger, "is it called the Rukmini Kumar Benefaction?"

The attendants said that they did not know.

"Who then is this Rukmini Kumar?"

"No one of whom we know."

"Where is the residence of the generous foundress?"

The attendants pointed out a handsome mansion hard by.

"Can you tell me," said the stranger, "is the lady married or a widow?"

"She is neither married nor a widow. She comes of great people. All her relatives are dead. There is no one to give her in marriage."

"Does the lady ever admit male visitors to an interview? Do not be offended at my question. Let me tell you that many Hindu ladies now go into mixed society like Englishwomen. That is why I ask."

"Indeed," the attendants indignantly replied, "our hady has no such foreign manners. She never shows herself to males, even if they be friends of the family."

The stranger walked thoughtfully away towards the heiress's residence and entered its hospitable gate.

V

Our new friend was attired much in the fashion of an ordinary Bengali gentleman. If he was well and carefully dressed, there was nothing conspicuous about his costume, save that he wore a flashing diamond in a ring. So large and handsome was the stone that it even attracted the attention of the doorkeepers, who had never seen so magnificent a jewel before. Nevertheless he was alone and unattended, and they began asking themselves who the stranger might be. They waited for him to announce himself, but he seemed calmly

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oblivious of the necessity of doing so. He asked to be taken to Radharani's head bailiff and handed a letter to that dignitary, saying, "Be good enough to give this letter to your mistress, and bring me her answer."

The bailiff respectfully replied, "Sir, my mistress is an unmarried lady and still young. She has therefore made a rule that if any letter comes addressed to her by an unknown person, we are to read it before transmitting it to her."

The stranger calmly replied, "Very well, read it then."

The bailiff read as follows :—

Dear Sister,

Though the bearer of this letter is a male, admit him to a private interview. Have no fear. And mind you write and tell me what passes between you !

Your old friend,
Srimati Vasanta Kumari.

On seeing the well known signature of Kamakhya Babu's daughter, no one raised any further objection. The letter was taken into the inner apartments.

Presently a maidservant came to escort the stranger to the ladies' quarters. No male was to accompany him. Such were her mistress's orders.

The maid ushered the visitor into a handsomely furnished apartment. This was the first time a man had ever penetrated into the fair Radharani's private apartments. At sight of him, one maid departed to inform her mistress. Another stayed, and after the manner of her kind, made a careful inventory of the visitor's appearance. His complexion, she noted, was fair, fair as the *mallika* flower in full bloom. His stature was tall, his form muscular and sturdy. His forehead was lofty, surmounted by curling locks of the deepest black. His eyes were large and frank. The eyebrows were clearly pencilled, bushy, and as black as the hair on his head. His nose was straight and of an aristocratic fineness of outline. His lips were red and not excessively full; his neck was long, but strong and muscular. His limbs were hidden by his cloak, but the maid could see that his hands were finely shaped, and that on one of the tapering fingers was a splendid diamond.

Radharani dismissed her attendant as she entered the room. The sight of the lovely girl who approached him thrilled him as if a new sun had arisen in his life. His whole person seemed irradiated with her fresh loveliness. It was his place to speak first, seeing that he was a male and the elder of the two, but he was so entranced by the girl's beauty that he was speechless. Radharani showed some annoyance at his silence and said,

"Will you kindly explain why you have asked for a private interview with me? I am, as you know, an unmarried woman, and if I have acceded to your request, it was only at Vasanta's entreaty."

The visitor said, "Yet I cannot say that I was exactly eager for the great privilege of being admitted to your presence !"

Radharani was still more offended.

"Is that so?" she replied. "You will note that my friend has offered no explanation of the reasons for asking me to see you. Perhaps you can inform me."

The visitor produced a very old and tattered newspaper and handed it to Radharani, who saw that it contained Kamakhya Babu's advertisement for the long sought Rukmini Kumar. As she looked at it, the girl trembled like a palm tree in a storm. As she examined the stranger's comely form, she asked herself, could this be the benefactor of her childhood? Curiosity overcame her maidenly modesty, and it was in an eager voice that she asked,

"Are you, sir, by any chance Rukmini Kumar Babu ?"

The stranger replied, "Madam, no !"

On hearing this unexpected reply, the girl moved slowly to a seat. She felt unable to continue standing—she was the prey of surprising, of conflicting emotions.

"No," the visitor repeated, "if I had been Rukmini Kumar, your guardian would not have issued this advertisement, for I was well known to him. But when I saw it in the newspaper, I carefully put it aside for future use."

"If, Sir," said the heiress, "this advertisement has no reference to you, why did you preserve it, may I ask ?"

"Why ? For a joke, I think. Some eight or ten years ago, it was my whim to wander about on foot in search of foolish adventures. I was afraid of becoming the laughing stock of my friends in a country where such random travels are scarcely considered respectable, and so I assumed the fictitious name of Rukmini Kumar. Why do you look so astonished ?"

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Radharani, with an effort, resumed some show of composure.

The stranger continued, "I do not, as it happens, know anyone who is legally entitled to the name. It seemed to me in the highest degree improbable that anyone was making search for me. However, one never knows. On second thoughts I laid the paper aside in a safe place, but I never had the audacity to question Kamakhya Babu on the subject."

"And then ?"

"And then, when your guardian died, his sons invited me to the funeral, but business engagements prevented me from accepting the invitation. When I returned home, my natural desire was to see them and beg them to excuse my absence on such an occasion. Half in fun, I brought the advertisement with me. In the course of conversation I contrived to ask Kamakhya Babu's eldest son how this advertisement came to be issued. He replied that it was by the orders of Radharani. Now I too had met a girl called Radharani, and though I only saw her once, I had been unable to dismiss her from my thoughts. The child, though she was half starving herself, had woven garlands of jungle flowers to buy necessities for her sick mother. She was struggling home in her disappointment through pouring rain and blinding darkness. Poor little soul ! The thought of her distress still affects me."

The speaker's voice betrayed emotion. Radharani swallowed the tears that would rise. Bravely, however, she said,

"Why all this talk about a wretched little girl? Will you kindly explain your own business with *me*?"

"Ah, madam," he answered, "do not speak thus harshly of the child. If ever there was a sweet little maid in this world, it was my little wayside acquaintance. If ever in my wanderings I met a maiden who had in her the makings of a gracious and noble lady, it was my little friend Radharani. If ever there was, in our Hindu phrase, ambrosia on a woman's lips, I found it in the artless prattle of my girlish acquaintance. Ah, madam, you may laugh, but you have read in our poets of the instruments on which the heavenly apsaras play for the beguiling of poor mortals. I know not how it was, but the child's words, simple yet crystal clear in their utterance, reminded me of what the poets say of the fascination of the heavenly singers. For all her simplicity, no woman's voice has so affected me or sunk so deeply into my memory."

And Rukmini Kumar (for so we must now call him) said to himself, "Such too is the ravishing voice I hear to-day." It was years since he had heard the girl's broken speech and yet he recognised it in the polished tones of the beautiful woman before him. It was as if it were only yesterday. And yet, he thought, is it the same Radharani? What a fool I am! That was a poor little frightened beggar maid dwelling in a thatched cottage, and this is the lovely heiress of great possessions. I barely saw the little maid whose voice lingers in my memory. I do not even know whether she was ugly or pretty, and yet . . . yet if this beautiful being has only a tithe of that little maid's charm, what a woman for a man to love and waste his life on!

Radharani, on the other hand, drank in the stranger's courteous words. A strange and happy emotion filled her maidenly breast. "Ah !" she thought, "all these pretty things you say about your little friend of yore, it is to you, sir, they should be addressed. And from whence have you come after these eight long years of absence? Have you descended, godlike, from some heavenly paradise? Have you at last been touched by the heart's devotion of your loving servant? Can you be a heavenly being, able to wander unseen into maidens' bowers? Else how is it that you know how secretly, how very secretly and silently my poor heart has worshipped you all these years?"

This was the first time that the pair had looked upon one another in the plain light of day. Each, looking at the other, thought, "Who else is there like you? In all this wide world, with its oceans and rivers and all its pleasant places of habitation for the sons and daughters of men, is there anyone else so strong, so sweet, so delightful, so vividly alive and yet so restful, with laughter so easy and yet so charmingly grave, so eager of access and yet so becomingly reserved? Here is an old, old friend," they thought, "and yet how ravishingly new and strange! Newer and more wonderful at each moment, dear and familiar, yet unaccountably distant and formidable, treasured in the memory and yet never seen before,—a being such as I have never seen before, such as I shall never

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see again. Ah, happy day, ah, love's sweet miracle!"

It was the girl who spoke first—not without difficulty and embarrassment at first, for tears struggled with laughter in her charming voice.

"Must I remind you, sir", she said, "that so far you have only told me about your little beggar maid, and have not condescended to inform me of your business with *me*?"

Ah, Radharani! Was that the way to address the man, the sight of whom brought happy tears to your eyes, him, whom the devotion of years moved you to address in the timehonoured Hindu phrases of love and admiration, "my soul's lord," "sole possession of thy poor slave," "the sole object of longing in absence?" And yet how natural that you should rejoice in your maidenly superiority, should wish to provoke him by asking what the little beggar maid Radharani was to you! And again there rose the thought that, after all these long years, the god of your idolatry had condescended to become incarnate for your joy!

It is not for me to describe the thoughts that perplexed the maiden's bosom. Let my lady readers, learned doubtless in love's lore, imagine the situation, and think what an inexperienced maiden ought to have said under such novel and exciting circumstances. Meanwhile, let me admit that Radharani was a little astonished at her own audacity. As the words came from her lips, they had a strange sound of authority—as if she were scolding an authorised lover!

In truth Rukmini Kumar seemed a little abashed as he gently replied, "I was coming to that. At sight of you, the little maiden of long ago came into my mind. It seemed to me—vaguely—it was like the glimmer of a firefly in a dark night—a faint hope arose that this fair Radharani before me might be—*my* Radharani!"

"*Your* Radharani, sir!" cried the girl, in pretended indignation, smiling as she spoke, however, at her own disingenuousness, for indeed a smile would come to her lips, though she had to simulate maidenly scorn of rash pretensions.

But Rukmini Kumar caught the significant inflexion of her happy voice, noted joyously that she used the familiar personal pronoun instead of the formal Hindu mode of address.

"Yes," he said, "it *is* my Radharani. I only saw her once—if indeed I can rightly say I saw her at all, so dark and stormy was the night. Eight years have elapsed, and yet I know I am not mistaken. It *is* my Radharani!"

The girl said, in a graver tone, "Well, sir, suppose it be your Radharani, what then?"

Rukmini continued, "It was with the faintest hope that it might be my little friend of so long ago that I asked Kamakhya Babu's eldest son, 'who is this Radharani?' For some reason or other, my friend seemed unwilling to enter into particulars. He merely said evasively, 'She is the daughter of an old friend of the family.' Seeing his reticence, I thought it improper to press him. I ventured to ask, however, why Radharani had made search for Rukmini Kumar. I told him that I thought I might be able to give some information on the subject if necessary. He replied that he himself knew nothing about the matter. His late father had regarded it as a confidential business. But his sister was in the secret, and since I knew something of the mysterious stranger he would consult his sister. With these words he departed. When he came back, he had the letter in his hand which I ventured to submit as my credentials to-day. He informed me that his sister was unable to give him any definite information, but wished me to take her letter and present it to you in person. I have carried out her instructions. Tell me, madam, if I have offended in doing so."

Radharani replied, "Sir, you have offended. Perhaps I may tell you the nature of your offence afterwards. For the present, let me say this much. Your visit to me has been prompted by a serious mistake. Who the Racharani of whom you are pleased to speak may be, I do not know. If you will tell me the story of your meeting with her, I may possibly be in a position to give you further information."

Rukmini Kumar told the whole story of the interrupted Car Festival, of the little girl's disappointment and terror, of how he had helped her home to her little wayside cottage. He omitted to give any account of his own kindness and generosity.

"I asked the question," said Radharani, "because I wanted to see if I could summon up courage to tell a stranger wherein he had offended. Pardon me, sir, if I find that

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I dare not tell you. If I may judge by your story, you are wanting in kindness and generosity. Consider, sir; if you were of a kindly and merciful temper, would you not have done something to relieve the necessities of a mother and daughter reduced to such cruel privations? You seem from your own account to have forgotten to come to their assistance."

"It is true," answered Rukmini Kumar, "that I was able to do little to help them. I had come by boat to witness the Car Festival. As usual I was travelling in disguise, and under my assumed name. In the afternoon a violent storm of wind and rain came on. I was afraid to remain in the doubtful shelter of a leaky boat, and preferred to face the storm on shore. What little money I had on my person—it was little enough—I gave to the girl. I intended to have returned next morning to make more particular enquiries concerning my new friends. But that very night tidings reached me that my father was grievously ill at Benares. It was a year and more before I returned from the Sacred City. When I reached home I sought out the little cottage, but mother and daughter were gone."

"May I now beg you," continued the girl, "to tell me why you seem to have so strong an affection for this little Radharani? You will excuse a woman's natural curiosity in such a matter. I gather that in the storm and tempest of which you speak, soaked with rain and buffeted with the wind, you took shelter in your young friend's cottage. May I ask how long you stayed there?"

"A few moments only," he replied. "The girl bade me wait while she kindled a light. I took the opportunity to slip away to the adjacent bazaar to buy her a change of raiment."

"Did you make her any other gift?"

"What else could I give her? Yes, I remember, I happened to have a currency note of small value about me. I left it in their cottage."

"Will you excuse me for just one moment? I shall be back presently."

Radharani had kept the note carefully all this while. She took it out of the receptacle where it was stored, and returned.

"It was foolish," she said, "to leave a currency note like that with two poor women. They would surely think you had lost it."

"Not so," said Rukmini Kumar, "I scribbled the words 'for Radharani' on it in pencil. I also signed my assumed name, Rukmini Kumar Ray. Otherwise my new friends might deem it a duty to make search for me, and I wished to save them the trouble."

"Ah, sir," cried Radharani, "there was the offence you have so cruelly committed. Did you not think how unkind it was not to give a grateful girl the chance of thanking her benefactor all these years? See now, whether your Radharani had cause to seek for the friend who aided her in her adversity!"

With these words she put the note in his hand, and falling in obeisance at his feet, cried, "Lord and master, that day your kindness saved my dear mother's life. In this cruel hard world, sir, it is to you that I address my devotions, and to you alone!"

VI

When the young pair were a little recovered from the emotion of this sentimental interview, Radharani said,

"You have told me, sir, that your name is not really Rukmini Kumar. May your obedient servant know by what name she is to address her benefactor?"

"My name, madam, is Devendranath Ray."

"I have heard people speak of the Raja Devendranath Ray."

"The countryfolk give me that title. If you will call me the Kumar Devendranath Ray, I shall be sufficiently honoured."

"In that case, I am encouraged to make a daring request. Since I have now learned that we are caste-fellows, may I hope that my kind benefactor will accept my hospitality today?"

The raja graciously said, "Madam, since it is your wish, it would grieve me to depart without breaking bread under your roof."

By his mistress's orders the head bailiff conducted the raja to the men's apartments, and made suitable arrangements for his comfort. At the due time a collation was served to him, and his fair hostess herself waited upon her honoured guest.

When the meal was over, Radharani said, "For many years I have cherished the hope that I might have the joy of paying my respects and showing my gratitude to my benefactor. I had indeed prepared a

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little present which I will beg your highness to accept. This necklace is of little intrinsic value, but perhaps your highness's honoured lady will condescend to wear it as a favour to one who has reason to feel grateful to you and yours."

So saying, Radharani offered her guest a magnificent diamond necklace, as brilliant as the glittering row of the zodiacal stars in the midnight sky.

But the raja replied, "My honoured lady, the wife of my chil dhood died ten years ago. I have never married again."

Radharani was filled with joy and confusion. She strove to control herself. But it was with broken and eagerly uttered words that she said, "Still, sir, I must beg you to accept the gift your servant has prepared for you. Have I your highness's gracious permission to put this poor necklace on your honoured neck ?"

With these words, the girl, smiling and blushing, put the splendid and glittering ornament round the raja's neck.

Devendranath laughed to see himself thus gorgeously adorned.

"Is this beautiful necklace really mine ?" he asked.

"If you be pleased to accept it."

"I accept it", he replied gravely. "And since it is now mine, may I give it to whom I will ?"

"What is not worthy to be worn by your highness—such is the practice of princes—may be conferred upon any fitting person."

"This necklace is not fitted for my wearing, or rather, it is I who am not worthy to wear it. You alone are lovely enough to wear so lovely an adornment. Let me present it to you."

In such fashion, of old time, did man and maid contract marriage by an interchange of garlands. The raja clasped the necklace round Radharani's slim and graceful neck.

Radharani was not displeased. She hung down her head for a moment, and then glanced at her guest with amused and mischievous eyes. The raja understood her thoughts.

"I could not accept that necklace, as you know, and so gave it to you. But will you give me another one ?"

"Which one ?"

"The one you wear, warm from your own bosom."

Radharani called to a maidservant. "Chitra !" she cried,"are you there ?"

Chitra, let me observe, was watching these astonishing proceedings from behind a curtain. "Here I am, mistress," she said.

Radharani said, "Where is your conch ?" (I should explain to Western readers that conch shells are blown by women on joyous and auspicious occasions.)

Chitra replied, "Mistress, here it is !"

"Well then," said Radharani joyfully, "blow your loudest !"

And then the gracious maiden with a smile loosed her own necklace, warm and fragrant from her bosom, and clasped it round her lover's neck. Chitra blew a loud blast on her conch, to warn all and sundry that a very important event had taken place !

Do you ask me whether the young pair were duly married ? Of course they were married, and Vasanta came to the wedding, and all her many brothers came, and flocks of the raja's people came. But surely you have heard enough of Radharani's trials and happiness.

THE CLASSIC ART OF AJANTA

Introduction.

A work great and important, a work which has stood the test of time and is accepted by common consent as a standard—this is what is generally understood by a classic work. All classic literature, music, sculpture and painting have these qualities. Literary classics are standard works of literature. Classic music has distinct elements by virtue of which it becomes a standard of high and chaste music. Sculpture and painting too may attain such aesthetic excellence as may deserve classicality. But age alone does not bring this classicality to any art. As in the case of literature and music, it is the direct exposition of simple and un-

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fettered ideals that makes an art classically estimable.

Originality and freedom in conception form one of the primary essentials for the production of classical literature, music, sculpture or painting. To gain this end it is necessary that the imagination should be allowed absolute and full play. It is this free and joyous playfulness of the imagination that leads to the idealisation of thoughts, grand and noble, the representation or suggestion of which makes literature, music or art, whatever it may be, great and estimable and places it in the highest rank of human achievements. A few examples of the play of the imagination will show its place and necessity in the composition of the classics. Nothing could be perhaps more grand, more forcible, more fanciful than the conception of the Churning of the Ocean in the *Mahabharata*. There the imagination has full play and is not confined by any limitations of reasonableness or probability. The Ocean is not the ocean of bitter brine but of milk ! The mountain Mandar is the churning rod and the churning rope is nothing less than the great serpent Basuki on whose hydra-hooded head rests the world ! The Devas, gods, and the Asuras, demons, are the two parties working at the two ends of the rope and just as the churning of milk produces butter, so the churning of the milk-sea yields or brings back Sree or Lakshmi whom the gods had lost and also brings up nectar which the gods drink and become immortal while the Asuras are deprived of it by a clever trick though they had laboured equally hard to obtain it. For the sheer and unbounded flight of imagination and the unbridled riot of fancy there is nothing so daring or so magnificently dramatic in the whole range of literature. If a certain allowance is made for the extravagance and incredibility of some of the conceptions of the early classics, it will be found that behind them there is a definite purpose and an equally definite ideal. For instance Satee's devotion to Siva and her self-willed death at seeing her husband slighted represents the ideal pride and love of a true *Satee*. Similarly, the burning to ashes of *Kama Deva*, the god of Love, by the lightning of the wrathful glance of Siva symbolises the power of sudden wrath following *Samadhi* or concentrated spiritual contemplation.

The same suggestion of reading emotion is to be found in Indian classic music also. The Vedic hymns are praises of the gods and they were sung with profound feeling. The *Bhagavat Geeta*—the Divine Song—is the loftiest and wisest divine song in any language. In the later period of Indian music one comes across the word-songs of Jaya Deva, the consecrated and rapturous expressions of love of Chandi Das, Vidyapati and other Vaishnava poet-musicians. Every note they strike is an emotion-vision, every emotion is attuned with the Infinite, the Ever-Beautiful and the Ever-Beloved. Some of the old *Agamani* * songs in Bengali, and songs of the Mother, *Kali*, are full of such deep pathos and devotion that they become crystallised and classic with ease.

The best and noblest achievements in Indian sculpture and painting also gained such excellence as to be well worth being called classic art. In all such works, however, freedom of conception and execution and the delineation of the mind form the essentials.

What is meant by classic.

Indian sculpture may be to a great extent explained by a comparison between a classical and a non-classical work of sculpture, say the Kailasa temple at Ellora and the Taj at Agra. Both are high-class sculptured works; the former has a classical and the latter a non-classical significance. The Kailasa work is characterised by great boldness both in conception and execution. It is simple in the sense that it has no jarring or unnecessary complexities. This simplicity has the impressiveness of an epic splendour. But the Taj has none of these characteristics. It is magnificent, taken either as a whole or in parts. Its workmanship is fine, elaborate but studied and timid. It is beautiful, pleasing to the eye, even suggestive of luxury, but it has none the charm, sublimity and playful vigour of the classic art of Kailasa.

The paintings at Ajanta for very similar reasons may claim classicality. They have all the essential characteristics of an art which is the best ideal of Indian painting. Its merits get well defined if a comparison

* The word means 'coming' or welcome. These songs are sung just before the Durga Puja and are full of the tenderest welcome to Durga who is supposed to be coming to the house of her father from that of her husband.

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is made between its chief characteristics and those of others of an art of a later period. As an illustration let the Ajanta work be compared with the medieval school of Indian painting—the art of the Mughals. It needs hardly any proof to show that aesthetically the former is infinitely superior to the latter. There is a simple but unmistakeable freedom, something like the wild fancy and edifying passions of poets, in the Ajanta work which is almost entirely wanting in the Mughal art. The art of Ajanta is the result of delightful devotion, the Mughal art of enjoyment. The former has a transcendental mission to serve. Boldness in conception and impressive simplicity in treatment are its peculiar charms, variety of contents its grandeur. The latter is almost entirely secular. It has no vista to show the higher feelings that man can conceive. The representation of visual and sensual beauty and pleasure is its principal motif. Its workmanship is fine, almost faultless in details. But all grandeur, elegance and sublimity of a classic art are denied to it. The Mughal artists made the bones and flesh but they could not create the soul. This vigour, this rapt freedom, this soul which makes a form living is present in the art of Ajanta.

Unfortunately, however, this art, like many other things of our own, is not familiar to most of us. This is mainly due to two reasons: first on account of these creations of art being situated in a wild, secluded and out of the way part of the country and, secondly to the deplorable want of enthusiasm on the part of our own people in these glorious art treasures. Had Ajanta been anywhere outside India, say in Europe, it would probably have gained a much wider publicity in India.* The very fact that it is *in* India and is an *Indian* thing goes against it and perhaps makes it unworthy of serious notice.‡ Ajanta attracts tourists and travellers, artists and connoisseurs from the West and the far East, from the Land of Dollars and the Land of the Rising Sun, from afar but not from near! For how many of us have been there? To tell the truth, very few indeed. And so centuries of neglect have done their work of destruction and the priceless treasures in these rock-cut cave temples are crumbling into ruin.

The History of the Paintings.

The history of the art of painting in India is a very long one. The want of actual and convincing records makes it impossible to trace that history from the earliest times. There are no remains of any pre-Buddhist art of painting. But the remains extant of early Buddhist painting, which have so far outlived the effacing influence of time and the deliberate and ruthless hands of vandalism, still enable the modern student of Indian art to appreciate the style of the early Indian artists and make a fair estimate of the degree of proficiency and excellence attained by them.

The series of paintings at Ajanta is one of the oldest records of Indian pictorial art. These paintings are not the simple productions of a primitive art. The story of the art of painting in India does not surely begin at Ajanta, but on the other hand these paintings at Ajanta bear ample direct testimony to the continuity of an earlier pictorial tradition.* The Ajanta paintings were executed on the walls, ceilings and pillars of the rock-cut Chaityas or halls of Buddhist worship and Viharas or monastic retreats and apartments. There are altogether twenty-nine caves in Ajanta. Of these twenty-six are accessible, the entrances to other three being still partly blocked up. These and a few others have been left incomplete, and it may be easily assumed that none of them ever contained any paintings. All the caves were not excavated simultaneously at one and the same time but they range over a period of at least nine centuries. The earliest

* The art of Raphael and other European masters and also the minor vulgar art of Europe are very frequently talked about in India although very few people have seen the originals and their knowledge is chiefly confined to cheap, absolutely inartistic and base reproductions which do not do any justice to the originals.

‡ Since the starting of the fictitious story of the Taj being a Venician work people have been found taking interest in it because it is supposed to have a foreign association.

* This assumption is based upon literary evidence only. The *Ramayana* has references to painted halls and apartments. Similar mention is made of the walls of the royal courts and pleasure-houses of the Videhas, Kasis and Kosalas (6th Century B. C.) The mention of pictorial art at such an early period of Indian history should not give rise to incredulity. It may be very reasonably supposed that this art of mural painting was probably the origin of the art which is to be found to this day, although in a fragmentary and mutilated condition, on the Ajanta walls.

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cave has been reasonably assumed to date from 200 B. C. The other caves which show the early Hinayana form of Buddhism cover a period of about three and a half centuris from 200 B. C. to 150 A. D. The rest of the caves are dedicated to the Mahayana form of Buddhistic worship when images of Buddha began to be worshipped. The latest cave of this group was probably excavated in the seventh century. Thus the history of these caves is linked with the history of the progress of the Buddhist faith.

The paintings however are not necessarily of exactly the same age as the caves where they are painted. The oldest ones are said to belong to the beginning of the Christian era and the latest ones to the middle of the seventh century. The earliest paintings owed their existence to the Andhra kings of the Deccan. The earliest Vatakata kings were the next patrons of this art of mural painting. But the majority of these paintings, particularly those still extant, are credited to the patronage of the Chalukya kings (550-542 A. D.) after whom there must have been a complete deadlock in this Buddhist ritualistic art-culture. For it appears very likely that this art could not have survived when Pulikeshin II was dethroned and presumably killed by the Pallava king, Narasinha Varman I. The Pallavas were ardent worshippers of Siva and it cannot be reasonably expected that they could have tolerated the execution of costly works of art dedicated to the cause of the faith of Buddhism. In the eighth century the Saiva Hinduism of Sankaracharya flourished immensely. It was the most determined foe of Buddhism and eventually compelled it to disappear altogether from India. And so when Buddhism waned, the Buddhist art, which had purely a religious mission to serve, declined and finally disappeared.

Little was known of these caves and paintings and their recent history begins from the early years of the nineteenth century. A short account of these paintings appeared for the first time in English in 1829.* This and a few subsequent accounts created an interest in these paintings and in 1845 Captain Gill of the Madras Army was entrusted with the task of making copies of the paintings. Unfortunately these copies were destroyed by fire at the Crystal Palace in 1860 where they were being exhibited. In 1872 Mr. John Griffiths of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art, Bombay, was deputed to make copies of the Ajanta paintings. The result of his labours of thirteen years with the collaboration of some of his pupils, has been the publication of two large portfolio volumes entitled *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India*. Strangely enough the irony of fate brought about for the copies made by Mr. Griffiths and his assistants, an end similar to those of the copies made by Major Gill. A fire at the South Kensington Museum destroyed and damaged most of the copies made by Mr. Griffiths and his pupils. Recently in 1910 Mrs. C. J. Herringham, an expert and conscientious artist, with the co-operation of a few European lady artists and a few Indian artists of the Calcutta New School, made a number of copies of some of the paintings. These copies were exhibited at the Festival of Empire, 1911, and subsequently very generously presented by their owner, Mrs. Herringham, to the India Society.

Injuries suffered by the Paintings and their Present Condition.

The great bulk of the paintings is lost and at present there are no paintings left in the earliest caves. Whatever still remains is in a very mutilated condition. Only a few years ago their condition was much better, but the want of proper care and the vandalism and indiscretion of visitors and others have been greatly detrimental to the paintings. Most of the paintings described by Dr. Burgess in 1879* and others which have been reproduced in Mr. Griffiths' book even so late as 1896 have partly or entirely disappeared, being fearfully mutilated or rendered so dark that they are now hardly recognisable. Age alone is not responsible for all this. No satisfactory measures have been so far taken by the Archaeological Department to conserve these paintings. Their attention has been drawn more to the antiquity of the thing than to the thing itself. Inscriptions both on stone and paintings have been translated, subjects of the paintings have been identified, but little regard

* *Transactions, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol ii.

* *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their Paintings and Sculptures—1879.*

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has been paid to the stones and paintings which contain them. The inscribed stones are left entirely to the mercy of rain and sun and the paintings to the mercy of vandals, visitors and archaeologists. It is said that a few years ago visitors were presented with fragments of the paintings, particularly heads, by a subordinate officer belonging to the Government of H. H. the Nizam in whose territories the caves are situated.* Indiscretion of this kind may be pardonable in a man who does not know the value of the paintings but certainly not when he happens to be a responsible officer of the Archaeological Department. Dr. Bird, a Bombay archaeologist cut out innumerable fragments of plaster from different caves.† To call this vandal "a more ruthless destroyer than the Moslem bigot"‡ is certainly not to strain language. An illiterate vandal might have destroyed the paintings perhaps more extensively but even then it is probable that he could not have done so much harm to them as Dr. Bird did. The cruel marks of his vandalism are chiefly noticeable in caves I, II, XVI and elsewhere where were the best specimens of paintings, and by mutilating and destroying the heads of the principal figures in the compositions he has made all artistic and historical estimation impossible.

Another kind of vandalism that these paintings have been subjected to and which is responsible for the disappearance of many of the fragments, is the application of varnish by Major Gill or Mr. Griffiths or by both. The paintings are done on a plaster chiefly composed of mud and cowdung and the medium used in the paintings is water and not oil. The application of the varnish has rendered the surface of the paintings water-proof. During the rains water trickles down in several caves. If the water touches the plaster, as it had done in many caves, the plaster gets moistened and when after some time the moisture does not find a way out—the outer surface of the plaster being rendered water-proof—it naturally tries to push out the plaster. Thus in course of time patches of plaster bulge out and finally fall down on the stone floor and crumble to dust.* This would not have been the case had not the varnish been applied. The paintings are tempera. Even if it be assumed that before the application of the varnish rain water used to percolate, as it does now, it cannot be justly said that it damaged the pictures to the same extent as it has done after the application of the varnish. If a tempera painting on paper is dipped in water and allowed to dry, it is found that very little damage is done to the painting. This used to be the case with the Ajanta paintings before the application of the fatal varnish. They might have got wet or moistened during the rains but after some time the heat absorbed the moisture and left the paintings not very much damaged. Some of the fragments in Cave I which have escaped the brush of the indiscreet varnishers, are decidedly in a much better condition than the varnished ones. The application of the varnish has been a great mistake, for it has not only injured the paintings but removed them altogether. If it was used for the purpose of conservation, it only proves the ignorance of those who applied it. If on the other hand, it was used as a renovating medium, which, at the time that it was applied, made the pictures look bright and clear and thus made the copying work easy, it too clearly points out the deplorable ignorance of the after effects of the varnish on the part of those who used it. For, now the varnish has turned yellow and dusty and the paintings have become so very dark that the different tints are hardly distinguishable.

Besides these there have been other agents in injuring the paintings. Thousands of bats used to take shelter in the caves. Even as early as 1880, or before that, Mr. Griffiths had proposed that doors should be fixed up at least in the caves containing the paintings to keep out the bats, but the Archæological Department or the Nizam's Government though it prudent to economise and put doors to only one cave†. It was not before 1903-04 that doors with wire gauze were put up in some of the other

* *Vincent A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon. p. 276.*

† "When Dr. Bird visited Ajanta, he is said to have cut out some twenty or thirty of *the most interesting faces* from these frescoes, with the intention of presenting them to the Museum at Bombay." J.R.A.S. Vol. xi, p. 168, n. 2.

‡ *Ibid* Vol xi p 168.

* In 1909-10 I found almost all the paintings in Cave XVI in this condition.

† *The Cotton Industry and India*—1880, p. 312, n. 1.

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caves. But in spite of these doors the bats have not been completely driven away. The doors have bad hinges and they are never locked. The man in charge of these caves does not take the trouble of driving out the bats and many visitors find it impossible to enter some of the caves, the smell of the bats being very offensive.

Equally little heed is paid to the preservation of the sculptures in these caves. No arrangement has been made for the protection of the inscriptions against rain. They may in course of time get weather-eaten and become entirely illegible. The facade of Cave I has been very beautifully ornamented by sculptured work. There has been also in the front a small porch supported by elegant pillars. The frieze over the front of the cave and the remains of the porch were to be seen only a few years ago. But now half of the frieze has disappeared and no traces of the porch are to be found. In 1909 several huge stones, some with sculptured works which evidently once formed part of the frieze, lay in front of Cave 1. But they were not allowed to remain there very long. They were blown up to pieces by gun powder in the last week of January 1909. This was a part of the cleaning and decorating operations in honour of the proposed visit of Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, who however could not come to these caves at that time. The stones which were being removed lay at a distance of hardly three yards from the varendah of the cave. The blasting operation not only pulverised the stones but also did much injury to the paintings. The terriffic explosions made the rock-cut caves quake and patches of plaster were knocked down by the concussion.

It is thus that the Ajanta sculptures and particularly the paintings are being destroyed through inadequate conservation, wilful neglect and deliberate vandalism. It is a great pity indeed that they are situated in a protected State where perhaps the Archaeological Department cannot interfere in the work of their conservation. But there is no reason why the Imperial Government as a special case in the interest of the entire aesthetic world, should not ask the Government of H. H. the Nizam to take more effective measures for the conservation of these unique paintings or entrust the Archaeological Department with the work.

It is impossible to improve the condition of these paintings in any way, for the mischief has already been done. But if the caves are kept cleaner, the leakage of water stopped and bats and nest-building insects driven out, the ruin of these invaluable art treasures may be deferred. Practically speaking there can be no preservation of the painted plasters. They must crumble down sooner or later. Probably in the course of the next thirty years no painting will be left in any of the caves. What is therefore essentially necessary is to make copies of these paintings, to build replicas of the caves and to arrange the pictures in the order they occupy in the original caves. For, the true and full beauty and grandeur of these paintings can be realised only if they are seen in their proper environments. The proposal may seem impracticable, entirely prohibitive from the point of view of expense, though its importance can scarcely be questioned. If the money is forthcoming, if conscientious labour and energy are employed the work may be performed easily.

The Archaeological Department has so far been content with wood-blocks which are both poor and faulty and do not do any justice to the originals. It is probable that the Department will never undertake to make copies of the paintings, for it is concerned with things entirely of historical and not of artistic interest. There are no good and complete copies of these paintings in India. Almost all the copies so far made have gone to Europe. None of the museums in India * contains copies of these wonderful paintings—not even a good and complete series of photographs. †

The cruel though inevitable influence of Time is obliterating the Ajanta paintings every moment. No remnants of the oldest paintings are now visible, and those which were in a fairly good condition only a few years past have disappeared. Those which are extant today may disappear tomorrow. The time is fast approaching when all that will remain of these marvellous paintings, which ought to be reckoned among the most valuable treasures of the world, will be a vague and dim memory based on tradition. Such a pitiful end can be averted only if copies of the paintings are made and pre-

* The Jeypore Mesuem has a few copies.

† Dr. Burgess arranged a series of photographs for the India Office. I am not aware whether the Indian Museum in Calcutta or any other provincial museum possesses the same series. It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that even if any museum in India has got them, they are not exhibited to the public.

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served in the country. And if such copies are to be made they should be done at once, as every day that passes may make it too late, for these unequalled paintings are being rapidly effaced.

SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

A WORK ON THE COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA. * A REVIEW

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M. A. (OXON.).

THE Commercial Section of the Philadelphia Museums which has not yet completed the second decade of its life, has undertaken, in the words of Dr. Wilson, the Director of the Museums, "the work of making a graphic history of commerce from the earliest dawn of trade." In pursuance of that scheme Mr. W. H. Schoff was entrusted with the charge of bringing out an edition of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, the first European record of commerce with the East. The volume before us is the result and the result shows that the Museums could not have selected a more competent and painstaking editor than Mr. Schoff. The work has been compiled from the economic point of view and as such it is unparalleled. It is a work on the ancient commerce between the East and the West, but as the more prominent partner of that commerce was India, we may treat Mr. Schoff's book mainly as a work on the commercial history of this country in the 1st century after Christ. The nucleus of a greater work has been formed and Mr. Schoff or another worker may in future bring within the scope of study the other aspects of economic life of this country in the first century after Christ. After Lassen and before Schoff no great attempt was made to elucidate the history of the foreign trade of India limited to even a century.

The original Periplus in Greek covers 66 small paragraphs which have been translated in 49 pages in the present volume. The rest of the volume is composed of commentaries covering 266 pages in pica. I could best explain the nature of the commentary by giving here a few examples of the information supplied therein.

Writing on Abyssinian trade, pp. 64–67, the author does not fail to notice the likeness of the great monolith at Axum to such Indian temples as that of Bodh Gaya. The 'curious marriage of Indian with Egyptian art' symbolises their commercial union. Such an alliance, as Mr. Schoff interprets, was to the advantage of the Hindu traders.

"Ujjeni and Bharukacha, Axum and Alexandria were in close connection during the first and second Christian centuries, and the observer of the early relations between Buddhism and Christianity may find along this frequented route greater evidence of mutual influence than along the relatively obstructed overland routes through Parthia to Antioch and Ephesus." [Eight lines are devoted to the bibliography on the subject.]

On brass: "Philostratus of Lemnos, about 230 A.D., mentions a shrine in Taxila in which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. The various figures were portrayed in a mosaic of orichalcum, silver, gold, and oxidized copper, but the weapons in iron. The metals were so ingeniously worked into one another that the pictures which they formed were comparable to the productions of the most famous Greek artists." (p. 69)

On Cotton: "Sanscrit, karpasa; Hebrew, carpas; Greek, karpasos; Latin, carbasus—the seed-fibres of Gossypium herbaceum and G.. arboreum (order, Malvaceae) native in India, and woven into cloth by the natives of that country before the dawn of history. The facts concerning it have been admirably stated by Mr. R. B. Handy in The Cotton Plant, a report of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, issued in 1896. Cotton thread and cloth are repeatedly mentioned in the laws of Manu, 800 B. C. Professor A. H. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures shows ground for the belief that it was exported by sea to the head of the Persian Gulf in the 4th Millenium, and it found its way very

The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea by Wilfred H. Schoff, A. M., Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia. Longmans, Green & Co., 1912, pp. 21 & 323 with a map.

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early to Egypt. Herodotus describes it as a wool, better than that of sheep, the fruit of trees growing wild in India.

"The manufacture of cotton cloth was at its best in India until very recent times, and the fine Indian muslins were in great demand and commanded high prices, both in the Roman Empire and in Mediaeval Europe. The industry was one of the main factors in the wealth of ancient India, and the transfer of that industry to England and the United States, and the cheapening of the process by mechanical ginning, spinning and weaving, is perhaps the greatest single factor in the economic history of our own time." (p. 71).

On the antiquity of Hindu trade with Africa:

"The antiquity of Hindu trade in East Africa is asserted by Speke (Discovery of the Source of the Nile, chaps. I, V, X). The Puranas described the Mountains of the Moon and the Nyanza lakes, and mentioned as the source of the Nile the "country of Amara," which is the native name of the district, north of Victoria Nyanza. A map based on this description, drawn by Lieut. Wilford, was printed in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, 1801.

"Nothing was ever written concerning their country of the Moon, as far as we know, until the Hindus, who traded with the east coast of Africa, opened commercial dealings with its people in slaves and ivory, possibly some time prior to the birth of our Saviour, when, associated with their name, Men of the Moon, sprang into existence the Mountains of the Moon. These Men of the Moon are hereditarily the greatest traders in Africa, and are the only people, who, for love of barter and change, will leave their own country as porters and go to the coast, and they do so with as much zest as our country-folk go to a fair. As far back as we can trace they have done this, and they still do it as heretofore.

The Hindu traders had a firm basis to stand upon from their intercourse with the Abyssinians—through whom they must have heard of the country of Amara, which they applied to the Nyanza—and with the Wanyamuezi or Men of the Moon, from whom they heard of the Tanganyika and Karague mountains. Two church missionaries, Rehmann and Erhardt, without the smallest knowledge of the Hindu's map, constructed a map of their own, deduced from the Zanzibar traders, something on the same scale, by blending the Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, and Nyassa into one; whilst to their triuned lake they gave the name of Moon, because the Men of the Moon happened to live in front of the central lake." (Pp. 87—88).

On *clarified butter* which used to be exported in those days from India :

"The account given by Burton (First Footsteps, pp. 136 and 247) shows that modern caravans take it for trips of six weeks or more, under the same hot climate of Somaliland ; and Lieut. Cruttenden, in his description of the Berbera Fair, tells of modern Cambay ships laden with ghee in jars, bought in Somaliland for trade elsewhere." (P. 89)

On *sugar*.

"Honey from the reed called Sacchari is the first mentioned in the history of the European world of sugar as an article of commerce. It was known to Pliny as a medicine. Sacchari is the Prakrit form of the Sanscrit Sarkara, Arabic sukkar, Latin saccharum. The modern languages reflect the Arabic form—Portuguese assucar, Spanish azucar, French sucre, German zucker, English sugar. The sugar is derived from Saccharum officinarum, Linn., order Gramineæ. It was produced in India, Burma, Anam and Southern China, long before it found its way to Rome, and seems to have been cultivated and crushed first in India." (A picture of an Indian sugar-mill is attached.) [P. 90].

At p. 91 follows an extract of an account written in 1848 of the barter carried on up to those days by "The fat and wealthy banyan traders from Pore Bunder Mandavi and Bombay" who convened a *Mela* every year in Arabia.

At p. 214 commenting on the *pepper trade* the learned author tells us how pepper used to sell in the time of Pliny at about 10 rupees a pound and how when Rome was invested by Alaric, he demanded as the price of raising the siege, 5000 lbs. of gold and 3000 lbs. of pepper amongst other things.

At p. 219 on the great quantity o fcoin imported in India in the 1st century there follows the interesting information :

"The drain of specie from Rome to the East has already been referred to under section 349, and is bitterly condemned by Pliny. "The subject," he says (VI, 26) "is one well worthy of our notice, seeing that in no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 sesterces (22,000,000 dollars) giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully 100 times their first cost."

"A generation before the Periplus, in 22 A. D., this was made the subject of a letter from the emperor Tiberius to the Roman Senate :

"If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin ? and how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient times ?.....How shall we reform the taste for dress ?.....How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of feminine vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drains the empire of its wealth, and sends, in exchange for baubles, the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations, and even to the enemies of Rome ?" (Tacitus, Annals, iii, 53.)

"This extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange, was the main cause of the successive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency, leading finally to its total repudiation."

The book is very pointedly illustrated. Types of ship have been reproduced from monuments of ancient and mediæval nautical life of India. Mr. Schoff has anticipated Babu Radhakumud Mookherji in reproducing the Borobadour sculpture of the Indian ship. He compares it with the ships on the "Andhra" and Pallava coins. A Chinese junk of the same class is given at p. 247.

The map attached to the end of the book is prepared with much care and detail. The sea-routes from European, African and Asiatic countries to India have been minutely and correctly shown.

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The author has utilised Pliny copiously. No former writer had tapped this source so well. Now I would proceed to offer a few suggestions which may be of some use to the author in preparing his work for a second edition, which I hope he would take up in due course.

First of all I must enter a protest. Mr. Schoff has quoted at p. 187 the oft quoted lines of Matthew Arnold that India let the legions thunder past and she plunged in thought again. The lines have really converted history into a 'vast Mississippi of falsehood.' They ought not to find room in any serious treatise. Hindu history at every step gives a lie to the allegation. The very fact of the Greek invasion, on which Mr. Schoff has quoted the lines, instead of being forgotten was remembered as late as the 5th century A. C. when the defeat of Seleucus was repeated on the stage at Pataliputra. The poet wanted the history of Chandragupta the Maurya to be re-enacted by Chandragupta the Gupta. Mr. Schoff must be aware of the inscription of the so-called Andhras and the Guptas which proudly celebrate conquests over 'the legions'. Medhatithi writing after the defeat of the Huns defined India as a country where 'the legions' could not get a footing even after repeated attempts. The victory of Satakarni II over Nahapana is still remembered by hundreds of millions of Hindus who hear and repeat the historical romance of the Vikramaditya the Destroyer of the Sakas.

The date of "Manu" is wrongly given (p. 71) as 800 B.C. The Manava-Dharma-Shastra can not be older than 250 B. C., for amongst other facts it mentions the Parthians. It can not be likewise later than the end of the 1st century A.C., for it is quoted by the Yajnavalkya, which does not know the "dinara" but knows "nanaka", the coin of the Kushanas, which generally bore the legend NANA. The play "Clay-Cart" which quotes a verse of the Manava Dharma also mentions nanaka as a current coin. I have elsewhere shown that this period (250 B.C.—100 A.C.) can be much narrowed down. There are traces to assign the book to the beginning of the Brahmin rule, the reign of Pushyamitra, which, according to my calculation started in 188—187 B.C.

By the time of the Manava-Dharma-Shastra, shipping in India had become an important trade. Provisions which by their nature seem to be new are laid down with regard to contracts of carriage by sea, and also with regard to the rate of interest on loans taken by sea-traders. Hindus navigated to the North Sea in the 1st century B.C. either round the Cape of Good Hope or the coast of Siberia and through the Frozen Sea: Pliny, Book II. c. 67. "The same Nepos, when speaking of the northern circumnavigation, relates that to Q. Metellus Celer, the colleague of Afranius in the consulship, but then a proconsul in Gaul, a present was given by the king of the Suevi consisting of some Indians who, sailing from India for the purpose of commerce had been driven by storms into Germany."

Murphy the translator of Tacitus in one of his notes to the Agricola remarks thus upon this passage: 'The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us; and Pliny, as it seems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furnished a considerable event in the history of navigation. At present, we are left to conjecture whether the Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the northern seas; or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary, by passing the island of Japan, the coast of Siberia, Kamchatka, Zembla in the Frozen Ocean, and thence round Lapland or Norway, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean.' (Mc. Crindle.)

The next notice of Hindu shipping is contained in a book which has a contemporary of Pushyamitra as its hero but which must be later than it by a century.*

* The latest date of Milinda Panha is regarded by European scholars to be 2nd cen. A.C., and there is a tendency not to regard it earlier. One of the reasons is that the distances it gives in Yojanas are much exaggerated. But we do not know the real value of the Yojana. The Artha-Shastra, a predecessor of the Milinda Panha, describes the length of India in a straight line from the Sea (Cape Comorin) to the Himalayas to be 1000 Yojanas. (Distances had been carefully measured in the time of the Artha-Shastra). The Yojana of the *MP* seems to correspond to this Yojana of the *AS*. The great fact remains that Menander's nationality and place of birth are related and his companions with Greek names are mentioned in the book. The war of Chandragupta against the Nanda which is almost forgotten in the Puranas is also described and the name of the general of the Nanda given. All this could not have been done 400 years later than Menander. The work must be prior to the adoption of Sanskrit in the north by Buddhist writers and prior also to the final extinction of the Greeks on the north-western frontier (the end of the first century B. C.)

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The passage I refer to stands thus in Prof. Rhys Davids' translation (VI. 21; ii. p. 269) of the *Milinda Panha*:

"Just, O king, as a shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to Vanga or Takkola or China, or Sovira or Surat or Alexandria or the Coromandel Coast, or Further India, or any other place where ships do conjugate."

The writer who apparently wrote his work somewhere in the north-west is describing routes of mercantile shipping—(a) to Bengal, Takkola (which Col. Gerini has rightly placed in Further India; the Tika to the Artha-Shastra places Takkola amongst trans-Brahmaputran regions) and China; (b) to Gujarat, Surat, and thence to Alexandria; * and (c) to the Coromandel Coast and Burma.

It is apparent from the Periplus that the Greeks did not undertake voyages to the East beyond India, but from the evidence of Jambulos (analysed by Lassen) as well as that of the Milinda Panha it is clear that the Hindus had established a sea-borne trade in Eastern waters as early as the 2nd and the 1st cens. B. C. In the days of the composition of the Ramayana (1st cen. B. C.) Java (as pointed out by Dr. Kern) was well known to the Hindus.

The notice of Hindu navigation can be further traced in Buddhist Samskrita books (*e.g.* the Avadana Shataka to the 2nd cen.), and further to the early Gupta period by consulting the Dashakumaracharita, which gives great prominence to nautical life. This would, I think, present an Indian outline, yet to be studied, of Indian navigation for two centuries before and two centuries after the time of the Periplus.

Mr. Schoff like his predecessors has adopted the view that the port called Byzantium in the Periplus would be a transliteration of Sams. *Vaijayanti*. But why not vice versa? There is evidence in Samskrita literature to hold that in the Deccan there was a trading settlement of the Greeks about the 1st or 2nd cen. In the Sabha Parva Sahadeva is said to have levied contributions on Yavana-pura, the "Greek Town." Both the Greek Town and Vaijayanti are treated there as independent units. One must have been the Theophalia of Ptolemy and the other, the Byzantium, if both Yavanapura and Vaijayanti did not mean the one and the same town.

On the question of the identification of Mambara with Nahapana I have expressed my opinion in a separate paper. To me Mambara appears to be a mis-reading of Sambara (Sambhara or Sakambhara—Rajaputana). Nahapana, according to the data I have discussed, flourished about 100 years earlier than the date accepted for him. The best course for the translator of the Periplus would be to give the text as it stands. I should not change Mambara into 'Nambana' because it suits a proposed identification.

In the same paragraph there occurs the *coast of Ariaka* (probably more correctly "the Mainland" of A.). I accept Mr. Schoff's view (which he has come to since the publication of the work) that the text "Arabia" represents *Abhira* and not *Ariaka*. At first I was inclined to identify the corrected Ariaka with king Aryaka of the *Clay-Cart*, but as all the divisions in the paragraph are territorial, I with Mr. Schoff prefer to read Abhira in place of Ariaka. I would suggest here also the retention of the corrupt text in its place and to give the proposed correction only parenthetically.

The Puranic calculation as found by me, places Sundara Satakarni in 81 A. C. And if Sandares of the Periplus is Sundara, the date of the Periplus could not be earlier or later than 81 A. C., Sundara's reign being only of one year.

In place of the *elder* (presbutron) Saraganus of the para 52, I would prefer a rendering as "the more famous" or "the greater" Saraganus. This would refer to Satakarni II. (the Gautamiputra) who destroyed Nahapana, whom the Vayu calls "the Great" and who, as I have shown elsewhere, lived on in popular memory as Vikramaditya, "the Great Hero."

Satakarni the Famous opened the port Kalyana for foreigners, probably before his victory over Nahapana. Sundara for some political reason in the time of the author of the Periplus was centralising foreign shipping at Bharoach. Probably there was at that time a fear of Shaka surprise by sea.*

* Commerce with Alexandria appears to have been established as early as the reign of Chandragupta. The Artha Shastra calls a kind of coral the "Alakandaka," (II. 11) which the Tika defines as coming from the Barabara country (Arabia).

* A Jaina book (the Kalikacharya-kathanka) does mention the coming of the Shakas in boats to the

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Tagara (para 53) was probably a Dravidian town in its origin. *Tagara* is the same as the Tamil and Malayalam *Tigar*, 'Splendour,' and *Tigalar*, the Canarese and Telugu name for Tamils (Caldwell, Dravidian Grammar, Intro. p. 20).

As merchandise brought to Barygaza from the coast-regions was not from the west coast but from the Bay of Bengal (p. 196), I would include Western Bengal within the empire of the Satavahanas. Communication between Kalinga, Andhra and Paithana, they all being under one government, was found by traders safer, though tedious, to bring their commodities overland. The inland and central position of the capital Paithana was also a great factor for the use of the overland route.

The *Ariaka* of the para. 54 has been taken to be a misreading, for "the articles of trade (mentioned in its connexion) were from foreign, and not Hindu, sources" (p. 210). The fact that 'Arya' is associated also with the extreme south has been missed by Mr. Schoff and his predecessors. For instance see *Cheriarya* of the Brihat Samhita. This Arya is not the same as the Arya of Samskrita, but the Dravidian *Arava*, a name for Tamil used in Telugu and Canarese (Caldwell, pp. 18-20), and the name of a people in the south according to the Maha-Bharata (Sabha, 31).

Mr. Schoff thinks (p. 76) that *wheat* was introduced into India from Egypt. But the evidence of language is against this view. It came from Persia or, from Mesopotamia (one of its wild homes) through Persia. Its name in India (*Godhuma*) is identical with that in Persia (*Gandum*). Wheat does not figure in Hindu ceremonials, where barley flour and grains are employed. The former is certainly a late introduction.

Trade in spices was considered in India in the early centuries of the Christian era as the most profitable. The Pancha Tantra calls the trade in "fragrant articles" as the first class of merchantry, the profit being hundred-fold !

पण्यानां गान्धिकं पण्यं किमनैः काञ्चनादिभिः।
यत्रैकेन च यत् क्रीतं तच्छतेन प्रदीयते ॥ (1.13)

India was in those days the 19th cen. England to Europe in trade. Her spices no less than her manufactures gave her that advantageous position.

Para. 63 mentions "the finest Gangetic muslins." Dacca manufacture had become famous long before, even in the days of Chandragupta (AS, p. 80.)

Glass in India was a manufacture long before it became known to Ceylon (3rd cen. B.C., p. 220.) The Artha-Shastra calls false gems "glass-gems," and mentions the manufacture of glass. Pliny's description that the glass of India was superior to all others because it was "made of pounded crystal" and because of the discovery made by the Hindus of the art of coloring crystal, indicates a long previous history of the industry in this country. Coloured glass was well-known to the Artha-Shastra. The glass-worker called at present *Maniyara* is mentioned by the very name (Manikara) in the Mahavastu (p. 471).

Lead and *Tin* (p. 221) as alloys used in coining are also mentioned in the Artha-Shastra. I agree with Mr. Schoff (p. 79) that the word *Kastira* probably came in the Samskrita Vocabulary along with the imports of tin from Europe into this country. The older word for tin is *trapu*, and the Artha-Shastra knows only *trapu*. I do not think the *Sushruta* is familiar with the name Kastira.

The gold coin *kaltis* (para.63) I propose to identify with the coin called *Suvarnakarsha* in the Artha-Shastra (p. 13).* The form *karshika* which seems to have been transliterated as *kaltis* is to be found in Manu (VIII., 136). Silver karshapanas are mentioned in the Narada Smriti (App. 57). The size and shape of the gold karsha was probably similar to that of the gold coin discovered in the Sakiya tope (not yet published).†

Mr. Schoff does not lose sight of ethnological problems. Several of them have been discussed. The "Parthian princes" were, I think, descendants of Gondophares, called *Gardabhins* in the Puranas. It was the close of their history when the author of the Periplus noticed their strife. The port of *Barbarikon* seems to me to have been an African settlement. *Barbaras* in Sanskrit does not mean "barbarians." For 'barbarians' we have there *Dasyus* and *Mlechchhas* (the former coming from the Turanian *Dahae*, and the latter, I think,

* For *rupya-karsha* (silver-karsha) see the Shukra-Niti, I. 193., and *karsha*=coin, ibid, 183.

† Its representation appears on Bharhaut railings. The coin is in the Calcutta Museum. Mr. R. D. Bannerji has pointed out to me its identity with the coin of the Bharhaut-Sculpture which is also in the Museum.

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from the Semetic *Melekh*). The *Barbaras* of Samskrita I would identify with the Barbars of Africa.* No dynasty of theirs is mentioned in the Puranas. I therefore take the town in Sindh as a trading settlement, founded probably in the beginning of the Christian era.

* The sea called *Vivarna* is placed by the Tika to the Artha-Shastra in association with *Alakanda* of Barbara and near the Greek continent. Vivarna—discoloured (—Red Sea).

The volume appropriately closes with a catalogue of articles of trade mentioned in the Periplus classified according to localities.

We in this country welcome the rising interest of America in Indian scholarship, and hope that the labours of the commentator of the Periplus herald in this field a greater activity in his great country. I strongly recommend Mr. Schoff's book to every student of Indian history in this country.

CORNWALLIS THE CIVIL RULER

CORNWALLIS as a civil ruler does not merit that admiration which writers on Indian History have bestowed on him. His governing idea in the administration of India was to have India, not for Indians but for England. To do this effectively, he adopted means calculated to demoralize the Indian people. He succeeded in establishing the British supremacy in India. Neither Clive nor Warren Hastings went the length which Cornwallis did, in permanently excluding the children of the Indian soil from all high offices of trust and responsibility, not only in the military but in the civil government of their country.

The Indian Princes were seeking the aid of the trained European soldiers and officers to fight their battles. It was impossible, under the circumstances, to appoint Indians to high military posts. But Indians were well qualified to hold all the high posts in the civil government of their country. The states under the rule of Indian Princes presented a scene of prosperity which one would have looked for in vain in the territories owning the rule of the British. But Lord Cornwallis thought otherwise. He found his Christian countrymen in high offices of trust and responsibility corrupt and incompetent. The Christian Civil Servants of India in Cornwallis' time were a disgrace to any government. Lord Cornwallis saw this and he tried to remedy the evil in a way for which Indians should execrate his memory. In order to elevate the moral tone of his compatriots in the public services of India, he resolved firstly to enhance their salary, as if the emoluments which they were at that time in receipt of, were not adequate to the services they performed, and secondly to exclude Indians from all high offices altogether. His measures stirred up in the breasts of his countrymen in India a spirit of hatred to, and contempt for, the natives of the country, and marked the line between the two peoples which it had not been the policy of Clive or Warren Hastings to accentuate. "Power is sweet," and he tried to have a monopoly of all that power in the hands of his own countrymen, and thus to reduce the children of the soil to the condition of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' From the effects of Cornwallis' so-called reforms of the public services India is still suffering. No British statesman or administrator has been as yet found strong enough to completely undo the mischief which Cornwallis committed.*

* Kaye in his "Administration of the East India Company" writes :—

"And as the character of the English gentlemen as administrators continued to improve, the debasement of the natives of India became more complete. During the first quarter of the present (19th) century they continued in a state of dreary stagnation. There was no awakening of the faculties—no sign of progress within or without. There was nothing surprising in this. The intelligence of the people of India had, for many years, been held in small esteem by their rulers ; and they were not likely to rise much above the level which had been practically assigned to them by those who shaped the destinies of the nation. Our system, indeed had been one of depression. Under the administration of Lord Cornwallis * * all the

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He also changed the machinery for the administration of law and justice in India. His so-called judicial reforms did not do any good to this country. The people became litigious, which they were not before. The mode of administration of law and justice which he introduced, was quite foreign to the genius and taste of the people. Had he taken advantage of the existing village communities and their Punchayats, he would have done everlasting good to the people of India. But Cornwallis was determined to transplant everything European, foreign and alien into India and thus to make India the happy hunting ground for the failures in their native country of England. Regarding these so-called judicial reforms, Mr. Mill truly observes :—

"For Courts of law, provided for a people, among whom justice had always been distributed in the method of simple and rational inquiry, was prescribed a course of procedure, loaded with minute formalities ; rendered unintelligible, tedious and expensive, by technical devices. Of the intricacy and obscurity thus intentionally created, one effect was immediately seen ; that the candidates for justice could no longer plead their own causes ; that no one could undertake to present a cause to the mind of the judge according to the nicety of the prescribed and intricate forms, unless he belonged to a class of men who made it their trade to remember and observe them. The necessity of an establishment of hired advocates, * * was therefore acknowledged. * * From this, one inconvenience immediately flowed ; * * that the class of causes which is infinitely the most important of all, could not fail to be treated with comparative neglect, and to sustain a proportionate failure of justice."

If the people of India have become litigious and perjury is common in Indian Courts, it is not because the Indians are naturally so, but because the circumstances which Cornwallis introduced into the country for the benefit of his co-religionists and compatriots, have demoralized Indians. Regarding the prevalence of lying and perjury in India, the late Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, an abler, more conscientious and more learned judge than whom has never sat on the Bench of any High Court of this country, wrote :—

"Perjury and forgery have increased to an awful extent * * The usual explanation of course is that the Indian is too black to be honest, as if the vices above referred to were indigenous to the soil of this country alone. One need not however go very far to ascertain the true cause of this deplorable state of things. The introduction of a judicial system altogether unsuited to the requirements of the people, the general incompetency of the judicial functionaries most of whom are totally ignorant of the manners customs and languages of the people, and an undue haste to dispose of cases without sufficient deliberation are quite sufficient to account for it, without attributing any peculiar depravity to the national character. * * * People will forge and perjure themselves so long as they find it their interest to do so."

The well-known English Positivist Mr. S. Lobb, the learned Principal of the Kishnaghur College, in writing to the above-named Indian Judge said :—

"Look at our miserable legal system. Can anything be conceived more thoroughly immoral than the

higher offices of the state had been conferred on European gentlemen—the Covenanted Civil Service of the Company. The practice thus instituted had been followed by subsequent administrators ; and the official condition of the natives, in course of time, had rather deteriorated than improved. In fact, it was not only that the highest offices were conferred on the Europeans, but that none but the lowest were bestowed upon the natives. There may have been, in 1790, some wisdom in this. Perhaps it was not so much that Cornwallis and his advisers mistrusted the native, as that they mistrusted the European functionaries. Cornwallis found his higher European agency, not in the state which had roused the energies of Clive to the great work of 'cleansing the Augaen stable', but very far removed from the purity and efficiency which it has attained in the present day. He saw, doubtless, that the native functionary in the hands of his European colleague, or superior, might become a very mischievous tool—a ready-made instrument of extortion—and he determined, therefore, not to mix up the two agencies so perilously together. It is probable that, at that time, many of the higher European judicial functionaries would have exerted themselves to secure the appointment of their own tools to offices immediately beneath them, and by throwing upon the native judges the actual duty of deciding cases in which their patrons were interested, work the mine of corruption beneath the soil, and so cover the worst abuses. The native agent in such a case never betrays his employer ; so the European functionary would have been secure. It may not, therefore, I say, have been mistrust of the natives, so much as mistrust of the Europeans, which deterred Cornwallis and his advisers from mixing up the two agencies in the general administration of the country." Pp. (419—421).

Of course this is all special pleading of Kaye in defence of Cornwallis' conduct. But the defence is very poor and disingenuous. "When Lord Cornwallis was Governor of India, the Prince of Wales, then virtually king of England, for the king was "verging upon insanity," wrote to the former to displace "a black named Alie Cann", who was Chief Criminal Judge of Benares, in order that a youth named Pellegrine Treves might be appointed to that office. This Treves was the son of a notorious money-lender to whom H. R. H. owed money. (*Vide* Cornwallis' Papers). Lord Cornwallis had obliged the Prince oftentimes before in this way, but in this instance he could not do it. He replied, therefore, that Ali Ibrahim Khan (who was the "black Alie Cann" of the Prince), though a native, was "one of the most able and respected of public servants in India", while Treves was young and inexperienced and his appointment to such an important post, of the duties of which he had no knowledge, would only, Hardwar ridicule, &c."

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system of Western Advocacy which we are doing our best to introduce into this country? I ask you as one conversant with these matters, are not our law-courts hot-beds of corruption, and is not the love of litigation contaminating and thoroughly perverting the national mind? Why not let the people settle their own disputes as far as possible? If we simply keep the place and develop the wealth of the country in a quiet way, it ought to be enough."

If the people of India have become fond of litigation, and turned perjurers and forgerers, it is the judicial machinery set up in this country by Cornwallis, which should be blamed for these results.

Cornwallis was very inconsistent in his so-called judicial reforms. All the judicial procedures which he introduced were meant for the people, and not the government of the country. Mr. Mill writes:—

"The Government had established courts of law, and appointed for them a numerous list of forms through which it required much time to pass. In their own case, however, it would, they perceived, be highly desirable to obtain speedy justice. To obtain speedy justice, they saw, it would be absolutely necessary to be exempted from technical forms. To what expedient then had they recourse? To the abolition of technical forms? No indeed! They made a particular exception of their own case. They enacted that in all suits for rent or revenue, the courts should proceed by summary process; nay, further, that in such suits the proceedings should be exempted from those fees and expenses to which other candidates for justice were appointed to submit. By a high and conspicuous act, more expressive than words, they declared that one thing was conducive, or rather essential, to justice. They established, by their legislative authority, the very reverse. On what conceivable principle, was speedy and inexpensive justice good for the government, and not good for the people? From which of its imaginary evils was it exempt in the case of the government, and not equally so in the case of the people?"

It will take too much space to mention all the evil results which followed Lord Cornwallis' Judicial Reforms. Mr. Mill has devoted several closely printed pages of his excellent History to the description of the evil results of Cornwallis' socalled Judicial Reforms. The Editor of his History, Prof. Horace Hayman Wilson, who was a bureaucratic Anglo-Indian of Sir Lepel Griffin's type and as such believed that the English Government stood in the relation of Providence to the people of India, has not appended any notes of dissent to Mr. Mill's just observations.

It is very commonly asserted that anarchy was reigning supreme in India when the English acquired it. Whether that is true or not is not the question for our consideration now. But it is an historical fact that Lord Cornwallis was to blame for the anarchy in the territories which had passed under the Code of the East Indian Company. What does anarchy mean? It means that the Government to which people owe their allegiance is unable to protect their lives, property and persons. It should be remembered that when Cornwallis came to rule the British possessions in India, their rule had been in existence for several decades. His so-called judicial reforms brought about a state of things to which the gloomiest periods of the ante-British history of India does not afford a parallel. We read in an official Report* which is often alluded to by all writers on Indian History, of the anarchy which prevailed in Bengal after that Province had been under British Rule for over half a century. It is stated in that Report:

"That dacoity is very prevalent in Rajshaye. * * But if its extent were known; if the scenes of horror, the murders, the burnings, the excessive cruelties, which are continually perpetrated here, were properly represented to government, I am confident that some measures would be adopted to remedy the evil. Certainly there is not an individual, belonging to the government, who does not anxiously wish to save the people from robbery and massacre. *Yet the situation of the people is not sufficiently attended to. It can not be denied, that, in point of fact, there is no protection for persons or property. Such is the state of things which prevails in most of the Zillahs in Bengal.*"

In another part of the same Report, we read that Mr. Dowdeswell, the Secretary to Government, wrote in 1809:

"Were I to enumerate only a thousandth part of the atrocities of the dacoits, and of the consequent sufferings of the people; and were I to soften that recital in every mode which language would permit, I should still despair of obtaining credit, solely on my own authority, for the accuracy of the narrative. * * Robbery, rape, and even murder itself, are not the worst figures in this horrid and disgusting picture * * * Volumes might be filled with the atrocities of the dacoits, every line of which would make the blood run cold with horror."

When the British take credit for establishing order out of chaos in India, they should be reminded of the fact that at one time anarchy in India was a thing for which they were themselves to blame to a great extent.

Cornwallis has been unnecessarily praised for granting the Permanent Settlement to Bengal and other Provinces then under the British rule. But if we carefully study the subject in all its bearings, we shall find that Lord Cornwallis is hardly entitled to any credit for this measure.† He

* The celebrated Fifth Report of 1812.

† Kaye in his chapter on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in "the Administration of the East India Company," wrote:—

1. "That the Revenue System, which we found in

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was an Irish man. The eviction of tenants was an almost every-day occurrence in his own country. When the British established their direct rule over the territories granted to them in Dewany by the Emperor of Delhi, they assessed the land so heavily, that, to quote the words of Burke, "the country had turned into a desert," and these assessments materially contributed to the fatal consequences of the Great Famine of Bengal of 1770. The British in Bengal, like their prototypes of Peru and Mexico, were bent on amassing wealth and grow rich in as short a time as possible. No one observed these fearful things more accurately than Phillip Francis, the redoubtable opponent of Warren Hastings. It was with him that the idea of the Permanent Settlement of land revenues first originated.* His idea did not find favor with those who then governed India. But when Cornwallis came to India, he found an empty treasury, the best of the land grown waste and out of cultivation. This miserable state of things loudly called for some remedy. And the remedy which he found, had already been proposed by Sir Phillip Francis and he and the Court of Directors eagerly adopted it. Mr. Mill truly observes:—

"The fate of Mr. Francis, and of Mr. Francis's ideas, formed a contrast. He himself had been treated by the powers which were, with anything rather than respect. But his plan of finance was adopted with blind enthusiasm, with a sort of mechanical and irresistible impulse."

operation on the assumption of the Dewanee, was not conducive to the happiness of the people.

2. "That our initial experiments of brief leases and fluctuating assessments were advantageous neither to the Government nor to the people.

3. "That all the ablest revenue-officers in the country were in favour of a Zemindaree Settlement, and that the Court of Directors held the same opinion.

4. "That these officers had been for a great number of years collecting information whereupon to base this settlement—and that the Court of Directors were of opinion that sufficient information had been collected.

5. "That Lord Cornwallis came out to India instructed to complete this Settlement—*that he was not, in any way, the author or originator of it*—and that he sought for further information before carrying it into effect." p. 200.

* In a minute of 1776, Phillip Francis wrote:—

"The Jumma [assessment] once fixed, must be a matter of public record. It must be permanent and unalterable; and the people must, if possible, be convinced that it is so. This condition must be fixed to the lands themselves, independent of any consideration of who may be the immediate or future proprietors. If there be any hidden wealth still existing, it will then be brought forth and employed in improving the land, because the proprietor will be satisfied that he is labouring for himself."

In the early days of the British rule in Bengal, no European, possessing greater sympathy with the suffering population of that Province, visited India than Francis. It is to him that India is indebted for bringing about the impeachment of Warren Hastings. He exposed the misdeeds of his countrymen in India and contributed materially to put a stop to their vagaries in this country.

It is necessary here to observe that Lord Cornwallis did not introduce Permanent Settlement out of any philanthropic motives, but to replenish the exhausted treasuries of the East India Company. All those Muhammadan rulers who understood and reformed the Revenue System of India employed Hindus always as their Revenue officers. But as said before, he excluded the natives of the country from all high offices. In one of his letters to the Court of Directors, Lord Cornwallis declared himself in the following words which express his contempt for Indians in no unmistakeable language;—

"I conceive that all reform would be nugatory, whilst the execution of them depends upon any native whatever."

The fact should not be lost sight of, when Cornwallis granted Permanent Settlement to Bengal, the assessments were very heavy, and the landlords were not able to keep pace with the inflexible demand, which resulted in a widespread default. Lord Cornwallis' law enforced a sale of the estate directly the owner was in arrears and thus large numbers of estates were put up to sale.

An Anglo-Indian writer says:

"It is scarcely too much to say that within ten years that immediately followed the Permanent Settlement, a complete revolution took place in the constitution and ownership of the estates which formed the subject of that Settlement."*

Where were the beneficial intentions of Lord Cornwallis towards the Zamindars, when he introduced the 'Sale Law' with the object of reducing the size of the Zamindaries?

We have now done with the seven years' administration of Indian affairs by Lord Cornwallis. He came out to India in 1786 and left it in 1793. His services were so valuable to the British merchants, that he not only retrieved his blasted reputation but earned a step in the peerage. He was

* Mr. J. Mocneile's Memorandum on the Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, p. 9.

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an Earl when he was sent out to India, but when he returned to England, he was created a Marquis. Because he carried out the wishes of the Ministry, he was sent out for a second time to India, where he died. His second administration lasted only for a few months and it neither added to, nor marred his reputation.

Cornwallis should be looked upon as the first Britisher who established the British Supremacy in India. The consideration of the following points will make clear the proposition :

1. He confirmed the usurpation of Bengal, Behar and Orissa granted in Dewany by the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, by finally refusing to pay the tribute. It is true that Warren Hastings withheld the payment, but it does not appear that the Moghul Emperor or his custodian Madhava Rao Sindhia was ever given to understand that the East India Company would never carry out their contract as to the payment of the tribute. From the frequency with which the tribute was demanded, it would seem that the Maratha Chief who acted as the Finance Minister of the Moghul Emperor expected its payment from the Company. But Cornwallis made every one to clearly understand that the Company would never again pay the tribute to the Delhi Emperor.

2. He was the first Governor-General to add territories to the Company's dominions by means of conquest. Neither Clive nor Warren Hastings obtained an inch of land in India by conquest. Clive did not fight at Plassey in the name of the East India Company and his victory did not make that Company the *de jure* rulers of Bengal. Again, to carry on his conquests, Cornwallis was assisted with men and money by the English Ministry of the day, which Clive was not.

3. Cornwallis showed the weakness of the French settlements in India by the ease with which he captured them and expelled the French from India.

4. Cornwallis reduced the natives of the country to the position of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' by excluding them from all high offices of trust and responsibility. None of his predecessors even ventured to adopt those drastic measures as to the exclusion of Indians from the public services of their country which Cornwallis did.

5. His so-called judicial reforms created anarchy in the country and sowed dissensions and mutual jealousies among the natives of India and ground them down to poverty. To call Cornwallis a man of 'stern rectitude', or 'of high principles', or 'of pacific intentions' is one of those fallacies with which unfortunately the pages of Indian history written by the English abound. He has found favour with the educated gentlemen of India for his having granted the boon of 'Permanent Settlement' to Bengal and some other parts of India. But as said above, the idea was not his. He was merely masquerading, like the ugly crow in one of Æsop's Fables, with the borrowed feathers of the peacock. Remove all those gaudy feathers which are borrowed and not his own and the creature will be laid bare in all his ugliness. It is by a strange irony of fate that Sir Phillip Francis who, as writer of the Letters of Junius, credited Cornwallis with the intention of 'retiring into voluntary banishment in the hope of recovering some of his reputation' should have been deprived of his just meed of praise and reward, and altogether forgotten, while the person whom he hated, is admired in his borrowed garb by the Indian population.

If the policy of the East India Company had been continued up to the present day it would have been disastrous both to the British people and to Indians. But happily when the British Sovereign took over the government of India from the hands of John Company, a noble declaration of policy was made, in consequence of which Indians now occupy a much better position in many of the Public services and in local bodies and the council of the empire than before. It is hoped that gradually there will be still greater improvement in their position.

HISTORICUS.

AN ANCIENT HEBREW PROPHET

THERE are the works of two prophets, and fragments of some other writings preserved and bound together in the one book of the Hebrew sacred writings which bears the title "the Book of the Prophet Isaiah." The second part of the book begins with chapter forty and goes on to the end; it is evident, however, that the greater

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number of them, that the name of Isaiah is properly associated. Very little is known about the private life of the prophet,—that he lived in Jerusalem, that he was married and had two sons, that he frequented the court of the king in Jerusalem, and enjoyed perhaps more respect or fear than influence among his contemporaries. A tradition which says that he met his death as a martyr by being sawn asunder with a wooden saw is probably no more than a tradition.

A prophet of the highest order among Hebrew prophets, like Isaiah or Jeremiah, was at once a teacher of religion, of morals and of politics to the people who were willing to listen to him. He had to possess deep moral and religious insight, and he had to bring this insight to bear by applying it to the circumstances both domestic and foreign, both private and national of his fellow countrymen during the time in which he lived. A prophet in fact had to know a great deal about the social conditions of his fellow-countrymen, about their religious conditions, and about their political conditions, and the political conditions of neighbouring and foreign peoples. He was in some sort a foreteller of events about to happen; not in any miraculous manner, but in the manner in which the foretelling of the future is necessary and is carried on as well as it can be to-day by every civilised government. The first thing which a Hebrew prophet made it his business to foretell was the likely consequences for good and evil of actions both of the individual and of the nation. A breach of the moral law whether in private conduct or in national domestic policy would be followed by some kind of penalty,—this was the first item of all prophetical predictions. Then the prophet looked at the foreign policy of his people. If he was like Isaiah he possessed an intimate knowledge of all the doings and projects of the court, and of political parties among his fellow countrymen, in the matter of foreign as well as of domestic relationships, and he possessed also a sufficient knowledge of the character of foreign peoples and of the course of foreign events to be able to judge what dangers might be threatening his own country, and what might be the effects of a war between any two or more of the foreign nations, and what might be the results for his own people if they were dragged into war. Isaiah was full of this power of judgment and its accompanying foresight, and the task fell upon him at one time of warning the king in Jerusalem against entering into an alliance with Assyria, and at another time of warning the king against breaking with the Assyrians and entering into an alliance with Egypt. Both these warnings were fruitless, but events showed that Isaiah had well judged the character of Assyrians and Egyptians and had clearly foreseen the ascendancy of the former over the latter. The third subject of a Hebrew prophet's predictions—of such a prophet as Isaiah—was the coming of the Golden Age. This again is a mode of prophecy which is still carried on. What distinguishes Isaiah's prophecies in this respect from more modern attempts of the same kind is this, that the moderns put the advent of the Golden Age much further off than Isaiah put it; and moreover the modern prophets are much more modest than Isaiah was in assigning a part to be played by their own fellow-countrymen when the Golden Age shall have been established. Isaiah unquestioningly believed that his own people were specially chosen by God for a special service towards and in the future, and for this reason he believed that his countrymen and his nation were indestructible. That was a marvellous faith in him considering all that he unflinchingly foresaw of coming, overwhelming national disaster. The constant burden of Isaiah's prophecies is that Jerusalem was to be hewn down like an oak in the forest,—in other words the nation was to go through the most awful calamities at the hands of conquerors,—yet that after the oak had been hewn down, from the bare and level stump left by the woodman's axe there would spring up a branch which would restore the tree to its former vigour. And after this restoration after all troubles and calamities, in a comparatively short space of time, would arrive the Golden Age in which swords would be beaten into ploughshares and all nations in the world would be coming to Jerusalem to join in the worship of Jehovah.

The captivity and exile of the Hebrews are recorded upon the page of history as if in fulfilment of the prophecy: but the beating of swords into ploughshares, much more the settling of the religious differences between mankind, has been long overdue.

Such then were the gifts and qualifications required by a Hebrew prophet of the

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first order,—moral and religious insight, the understanding of his fellow-countrymen and of foreign peoples, and of their social conditions and politics, and the power of forming a shrewd judgment upon the course that events were taking both at home and abroad; and joined to these a great prophet like Isaiah possessed the power of expression in its noblest form.

Something of the majesty of the mind of Isaiah can be felt in the splendour of the vision that befell him of "the Lord, sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple." About the Lord were the seraphim raising their anthem "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory." While the foundations of the heavenly tabernacle were shaken, and the house was filled with smoke, one of the seraphim flew with a live coal from off the altar and touched Isaiah's lips, burning away from him all impurity,—all self-interest—with the fire of earnestness. The prophet heard his first message dictated to him: "Go and tell this people: hear ye indeed and understand not; and see ye indeed but perceive not": from which we may gather that the prophet knew that his labours for a long time were to be without effect. They were not on that account however to be omitted. It was the history of Isaiah that he strove vainly against the stream of tendency of his time.

In the difficult moment for instance when Jerusalem was struggling against two invaders and the trembling king Ahaz was about to turn for help to Assyria, Isaiah assured Ahaz that the two kings coming against him were the mere "fag ends of torches," fire brands already burnt out, and that a little resolution and firmness of conduct was all that was necessary. The king however went on his way asking the Assyrians for assistance, and the assistance when given had to be paid for by a humiliating act of homage. Isaiah had endeavoured to lead Ahaz to believe in himself and in his own people. In other words Isaiah considered self-reliance to be better than leaning upon help from others. But then the prophet went on to say that divine aid is given to self-reliance, which no doubt is true, although the prophet appears to have held the truth a little superstitiously. He believed that his own people were specially favoured by divine providence, that self-reliance on their part was something more than self-reliance on the part of any other people in the world, which detracts in a measure from his greatness.

Indeed I cannot help thinking that the prophet carried his optimistic faith in self-reliance too far when he declared that if only the Hebrews were faithful to Jehovah nothing calamitous could happen to them. Preserve your religion in its purity, he said, scrupulously fulfil every moral commandment, and you will be secure. But what religion or what moral system of short-sighted men can afford any such guarantee? Moreover it seems to have been a faith founded less upon reason than upon unreason that held Isaiah so firmly to his conviction that Jerusalem, the holy city, would not fall before Sennacherib. The story of Sennacherib's invasion is one of the most dramatic stories in the Old Testament. In the year 705 B. C., Babylon and many other cities revolted against the Assyrian overlordship. Sennacherib, the new ruler of the Assyrian empire, at once started at the head of a large army to put down the rebellion. It had spread into Palestine, into the cities of Sidon, Ekron, and Ashkelon, and Judah following their example, and much against the will of Isaiah, had joined in the revolt, looking for support to Egypt. Babylon was soon made to repent for her rebellion; Sidon, Ekron and Ashkelon were captured, one after the other, the Egyptian army was defeated, and Sennacherib at the head of his victorious host attacked one after another the cities of Judah, overrunning the whole country and transporting numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. The king in Jerusalem not yet attacked began to prepare for a seige, and Sennacherib detached against Jerusalem a commander with a comparatively small army while he himself was busy elsewhere. Through all this trouble, through all this series of disasters, through all the alarm that prevailed in Jerusalem, Isaiah was confident that the city would not fall. He had no reason for this confidence, which nobody else shared with him. Every human probability was against him, and yet he proved to be right in the event. The small force sent to attack Jerusalem did not execute its mission, being put off perhaps by negotiations for the renewal of homage. Sennacherib appeared at first to be satisfied with these negotiations, but afterwards he changed his mind, sent a fresh summons to the city to surrender, and began to march towards the walls with all

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his forces. Then it was, when the fall of Jerusalem seemed a foregone conclusion, that that dramatic event occurred which postponed the calamity. "The angel of the Lord," say the often quoted words, "went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed, and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh." Although he lived for twenty years afterwards, he never again attacked Jerusalem. The disaster which overtook his army is supposed to have been panic or pestilence. A Greek historian refers to a tradition that innunmerable field-mice gnawed the bow-string and the thongs of the shields of the Assyrians and so rendered them useless. The mouse however seems to have been a symbol of pestilence, and "the angel of the Lord" is mentioned in the Old Testament as the agent of plague. Whether it was plague or panic which intercepted and turned back the army of Sennacherib, the event was entirely beyond human foresight, and Isaiah's confidence that Jerusalem would be delivered can have been one of two things only, either a faith founded upon fanaticism, or a lucky guess. Of the latter Isaiah was incapable. We are compelled to conclude that Isaiah believed in a special providence for that crisis protecting his own people,—such a special providence as it is not lawful for men to believe in. And if this was all the reason he had for reassuring the citizens of Jerusalem, we cannot wonder that the reassurance was not accepted. It is noteworthy that the event of Sennacherib's diversion and of the salvation of the city was not regarded in the sober judgments of men, whatever may have been their religious expressions, as anything more than an exceedingly narrow escape. The court party did not for a moment cease from their politics and the arts of national self-defence, to put their trust in special providences. Of course there continued to be easy-going minds in Jerusalem who went on saying that all would be well, and could not see the cloud, black as it was, that was threatening, right up to the end,—to the ultimate capture of Jerusalem and the beginning of the exile. Isaiah was wiser than these, in spite of his refusal to fear Sennacherib. It was part of his task to make his fellow-citizens believe that disaster was coming upon them in spite of their recent deliverance. A very unpleasant and inevitably unpopular task for the prophet.

The people of the easy-going temperament believed that as long as they went on with their religious ceremonies it would be all right with them. Isaiah challenged this optimism and tried to show upon what shallowness it was founded. They would be perfectly secure from disaster if their religion was of the right kind, but the popular and fashionable religion was of anything but the right kind. Nobody ever quarrelled with the accepted religion of his day more uncompromisingly than did Isaiah. Nobody ever spoke more angry words against religion, or words upon the surface of them more explicitly blasphemous and profane, more calculated to shock and scandalise all religious-minded people, than did Isaiah in his well-known sentences (put into the mouth of God): "Incense is an abomination to me: new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies...Your new moons and your appointed fasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me: I am weary to bear them." This is just like calling the religious exercises in temples and churches weariness, dullness, superstition, formalism. Few prophets, unless they have belonged to India, have been able to contain themselves with courtesy or patience, when thinking or speaking of contemporary forms of religion: as witness these words of Isaiah, the denunciations of Scribe and Pharisee by Jesus, and the enormous disgust with churches and chapels which finds expression in the writings and conversations of Walt Whitman. Isaiah calls the attention of the people from their religious ceremonies to their immoralities. Their rulers were corrupt, their judges took bribes, Jerusalem had become a city of social ostentation and luxury, the most conspicuous signs of which were the fashions of the women. Isaiah writes long and almost comically detailed denunciations of feminine costume in Jerusalem, the symbol to his eyes, as has been well remarked by a commentator, of a thoughtless, merciless and religionless society. In the land where many are joining house to house and field to field, laying up riches for themselves, the Lord looks for justice and behold oppression, and for righteousness, and behold a cry of distress! Such a miserable and hollow condition of social life and religious life must bring

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down upon the heads of all parties to it, its inevitable penalty. Isaiah however does not think as we do in a scientific way about social causes and effects; he regards the consequences of the neglect of moral and social laws as coming not from the laws themselves, but from the anger of the Highest. He preaches after his own vigorous manner the truth which we all acknowledge, that if we do not find out the moral order of this world and of our own nature, and conform ourselves to it, our works here on earth and the characters we shape for ourselves cannot be of lasting and good effect.

The book of Isaiah can hardly be read with profitable understanding, admirably as it has been translated in the revised version of the Bible, without the aid of a commentary to make clear allusions and obscurities. There is a first rate commentary and a very inexpensive one written by Canon Driver of Oxford, entitled "Isaiah: his life and times." I draw from that slender volume two personal touches concerning the prophet and his manner of teaching. There were certain of his words of warning which the prophet wrote upon a tablet and fixed up in a public place, such as the court of the Temple, as a sign to men to remember them, even if they did not heed them. Further, Isaiah named his two sons after his prophetic messages, to make his messages more memorable. He called one of his sons Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz, which means "Swift Spoil, Speedy Prey," foretelling a doom to come upon Damascus and Samaria: a fashion which was borrowed by the Puritans, and contributed to the ridicule shed upon the Barebones Parliament. When I was leaving England, mothers and fathers were betraying their interest in the South African War by naming their children Mafeking and Pretoria.

Then, when the political parties in Jerusalem wanted to form their alliance with Egypt, and in doing so must inevitably bring upon themselves the wrath of Assyria, Isaiah tried to shake the faith of the people in the power of Egypt, and awaken them to the danger to be apprehended from Nineveh, by going about the streets of Jerusalem for three years, as the Bible has it, "naked and bare-footed." The prophet however was not naked in our sense of the word. He simply discarded altogether the outer garment of sack-cloth commonly worn by the prophets, and retained only the linen tunic which was worn next the skin. This bare dress was the dress worn by the captives of any conqueror in those old days when they were being led away into exile from their devastated homes. Isaiah by wearing the captive's dress tried to warn his fellow countrymen that they would have to wear it (as soon they did) if their political parties led them into national folly.

P. E. RICHARDS.

THE BRAND OF THE HELOT

The line of cleavage.

The educational officers under our Government are sharply divided into two mutually exclusive and jealously separated classes: one, the superior or Imperial Service (I.E.S.) with pay ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1500, and in the case of Directors Rs. 2500, a month,—and the second, the Provincial (P.E.S.) with pay ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 700. No Provincial is as a rule promoted to the Imperial Service. The superior service is practically reserved for Europeans, and the inferior for natives, though the two classes of officers usually do the same kind of work. In many colleges we have two professors, occupying parallel chairs, each teaching the highest classes in his own subject, but the native being a Provincial is considered as junior to his European colleague, who belongs to the Imperial Service,—for every P.E.S. officer, however high his pay and long his service, is junior to every I.E.S. from the day the latter joins the service. No native of Bihar or U. P. has been appointed to a college chair in the I.E.S. and no Bengali* since the

* Mr. R. Sen was appointed to the I. E. S. but "out-side the grade," i.e., his salary does not increase by

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admission of Mr. Harinath De, twelve years ago. There are, no doubt, a few Europeans in the P.E.S., but they occupy an abnormal position and enjoy a preferential treatment: on their first appointment they are enrolled in one of the higher grades of the service, above native officers much older in standing who had started, in normal course, in the lowest grade; besides, these European Provincials are often given special promotion over the heads of their native equals and seniors, so that after a comparatively short service they draw very handsome salaries in the topmost grades of the P.E.S. Thus, in effect, the I.E.S. is the white service and the P.E.S. is the black service. Our professors, according to their race, are kept in two watertight compartments,—or in the singularly felicitous language of Sir Valentine Chirol, "in two separate pens."

The English Public School ideal.

What is the rational basis of this cleavage? Let us try to divine the real aim of our Government. The printed form of application which every candidate for appointment to the I.E.S. has to fill, looks upon a *University* education as not at all a necessary qualification, but lays stress on the *school* where the applicant was educated, the name of its headmaster, and the athletic record of the applicant. So, the members of the I.E.S. are intended to infuse the spirit of the "Public Schools of England" into the hearts of Indian young men and elevate their character; mere intellect can be trained by the "native" subordinates in the Provincial Service.

The English Public School ideal is a noble one, no doubt. It has been well put in *The Cockatoo*, a recent novel:

"Smith's (*i.e.*, the Public School boy's) father wants him one day to become Lieutenant Governor of—. It means he will have to govern men, and I suppose before he can govern men he will have to learn how to govern boys—make himself liked, and get them to do things for him willingly, and all that.....Smith must see bigger. If it's football, he must work first for his team; and second for himself. If it's fighting, he must fight first for the right thing, the decent thing; and second for himself. If it's governing, he must govern first for his house, his school, his country, or his empire; and second for himself. He must have ideals as well as ambitions.....Otherwise, whatever money he piles together, or whatever high post he elbows his way to, he's a moral cancer. England has not been built up by such men, and England will not keep its place among the nations by such men."

And so, too, Mr. H. R. James:—

"The great lesson which the English public school education teaches is the lesson of public service, of the subordination of the individual to the common good. Whatever else a boy learns, or does not learn, at an English public school, he learns this. He learns to postpone his own inclinations and convenience, his love of ease, his love of praise to the good of the school .....Wherever the public school spirit is present, it has an exalting and refining effect on crude boy nature. The lesson learnt is the lesson of public duty, of loyalty, of public service, of the interest of the body politic as a better end than mere self-indulgence or self-interest. This is the secret of the public school boy as soldier and administrator, as pioneer and teacher, in the four quarters of the globe. It is a purely English growth, not found in other European countries." (Note to the Moral Education Conference, 1912.)

Now, we must here bear in mind the essential difference between a school and a college. English public schools are purely residential,—there the boys live with their masters; in every part of the day and in every act of their life, they are under the watchful eyes of some teacher or carefully selected and responsible sixth-form boy. A college student, on the other hand, is a young *man*, left to exercise his own discretion in most things and encouraged to develop his own power of initiative and sense of responsibility. The personal supervision of pupils by teachers which is the rule in the *school* is practically absent from the *college* in England; in an Indian college it is impossible, because it presupposes the constant association of master and pupil in daily life.

How far realised in Indian Colleges.

It is not enough for such close and constant personal contact that the I.E.S. man should meet his Indian pupils in the lecture room and football field, or be At Home to them once a month,—though few of our European professors do even that. Our undergraduates and their foreign teachers do not dine together, they do not pray together, they do not converse together about common interests, aspirations and ideals concerning the nation or society, because they have none in common to them. They do not even live close together,—the native professors' houses being within easier reach of the students' quarters. The Station Club which the European professor haunts every evening is closed to him, and he is prepared to enter it,

Rs 50 a year like that of the regular I. E.S.'s, nor is he promoted from grade to grade like the P. E. S. men, but occupies a *Limbus Patrum* midway between the two.

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—as a European member of the Madras Club suggested that the late Justice Syed Mahmud should enter it,—barefooted and dressed like a *Khidmatgar*. The two races, black and white, must and do stand apart, immiscible like water and oil. *Doris amara suam non intermiscuit undam.*

We concede that a married man can give less time to his pupils than a bachelor and that almost every native professor is married, while about 40 p.c. of the European professors are single. But a married European has very much less time to spare on his students than a married Indian; and on most European bachelors the Station Club casts too potent a spell. Our foreign professors do not in *fact* mix with our boys and share their life outside the lecture room for a longer period in the day than our native professors do. On the other hand, these native professors keep their doors open to their pupils at all hours of the day; they meet them in society, they converse with the boys' guardians at social functions and the Indian clubs. When an Indian boy wants to choose books for a prize, make a list for holiday reading, or get his copy of verses corrected, or requires a bibliography for an ambitious essay or dissertation he is attempting,—whenever a boy is in distress or falls ill, whenever he is haunted by a religious problem, he comes to his *native* professor.

True sympathy impossible.

Intellectual sympathy is hardly possible between the European professors and their Indian pupils. The two are as poles asunder in race, political status, and literary heritage. The internal movements which every now and then rise in Hindu religion or society and which deeply stir our educated young men, produce not the faintest ripple in the pacific ocean of Anglicanism in which the European professor reposes. The I. E. S. has not yet produced an Alfred Lyall. For a quarter of a century and more, "the laureate poet of Asia" has been revolutionising the tastes, thoughts, and aspirations of our young men, but to most Anglo-Indian professors the very name of Rabindra Nath Tagore was unknown before his recent lionising in England. Even now, the Anglo-Indian professor can discuss Rabindra Nath with his Bengali pupils only with the English version of his later mystical poems in hand; to him the rich and varied poetry of Tagore's youth and manhood is a sealed book. And yet the same Anglo-Indian professor of English literature would feel ashamed if he has to confess that he has not read the latest poems of Laurence Binyon or William Yeats! In truth, the Indian youth and his "English public school" mentor live in two different intellectual continents.

What impression does India and her people leave on the mind of the average cultivated Englishman? *The Spectator* is the organ of the intellectual classes of England and not a half-penny paper for the masses; and yet in a recent poem it has only this to say about India :

"And the pilgrims pass in an endless row,
Shuffling, mumbling, on they go ;
Bent with burdens, and years, and pain,
They straggle past in a motley train.

The jackals wail in a distant tope,
Wail and wail like a soul's lost hope.
And *I close my eyes* to the ceaseless hum
Of the grinding rice (!) and a native drum."

What! the three hundred millions of human beings of this vast continent have no joys and sorrows, no aspirations and fears, worth a European's thoughts? Can we be sure that these millions are really human beings and not buzzing flies,—plagues of the Anglo-Indian's life in this land of exile?

After this can we wonder at the candour of Mr. Hallward, head of the I. E. S. in the provinces of East Bengal and Bihar successively, who at a dinner given to him by the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar, remarked in the presence of several native guests, "I for one cannot bring myself to like black men and women and yellow men and women"? The tail of the *superior* service need not blush in following the example of the head. And these are the European teachers whom you expect to live with "black" boys as Arnold lived with the boys of Rugby? *Credat Judœus Apella.*

The best Europeans in the I. E. S. can appeal only to the intellect of our youth,—and that too with the above-mentioned limitation due to difference of tongues and difference of mental planes,—but never to their heart or spiritual nature. Such is the unfortunate law of nature that a Benoyendra Nath Sen or a Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar for "black" young men can come only from the ranks of the "black" professors abhorred by the late supreme director of public instruction in East Bengal and Behar. The theory of

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English public school life is beautiful, but it is not fully applicable to any *college*, and in Indian Government colleges it is never attempted in practice.

The Indian as painted by the European.

Our European professors hardly deign to conceal their opinion that the native professors are mere crammers, who overload their students with "notes," and make them intellectually unfit to pick up knowledge from a book by their unaided efforts. The "native" system of teaching, they say, is vicious,—it does not develop self-help in the student. Popularity with the student community depends on the range of a professor's "notes" and the completeness with which they can replace the text-book for the purposes of the examination. The native professors are too much tied down to text books, and their pupils can only reproduce parrot-like the "notes" they have learnt by rote. Under such a mediæval system of teaching the true end of *education* is lost; the pupil's mental powers are not *led forth*; he is never trained in intellectual self-reliance and the fearless quest of truth.

Secondly, it is asserted by our critics that even the best native professors are mere academicians run to seed, bookworms, who despise physical culture, formation of character, and development of the corporate life of their colleges. The very superior "results" shown in examinations by native professors as against the European I. E. S. men, are pointed out by the European as a proof of cramming and an effectual condemnation of the examination system followed in India. Witness the recent attacks on the Calcutta University B. A. and M.A. teaching by "Oxford" and "Ab Intra" in the *Statesman*. Therefore, the latest principles of education accepted in England should be followed in Indian colleges, and for this work our native professors, with all their high degrees and reputation for research, are unfit, and the fittest instruments are Oxford graduates with an English public school training behind them.

When we talk of the high honours taken by Indian students at the English or Continental universities, —when we boast of the original research done by our native professors, it produces no admiration in the bosoms of the Anglo-Indian rulers and professors. If their hearts could be laid bare, there would be found lurking a feeling of contempt like what the Roman republicans felt for the Greek tutors whom they employed for their sons,—tutors of a conquered race, with intellectual keenness almost amounting to vice, a race possessing "slimness" but no virility of intellect, no strength of character. A few honourable exceptions no doubt, think of us more charitably; but we believe we have not incorrectly hit upon the inmost feeling of our Anglo-Indian professors in the above lines.

Another prevalent belief in high quarters is that to appoint natives to the headship of colleges would introduce slackness, inefficiency and a mediæval order of things into the institutions placed under them. The native professors are only "glorified Babus" meant by Nature to do the mechanical portion of teaching, such as explaining texts or correcting exercises,—while the Europeans are there to "organise" and "control" the work of such native subordinates. As the *Pioneer*, the voice of our highest officers, once put it, the Indians are like women, remarkably acute in detecting the mistakes made by their husbands, strictly logical in criticising their actions, and feeling an intellectual contempt for the foolishness of the mere man, but, when it comes to making a practical decision or facing an unexpected emergency, relying entirely upon those foolish males and finding safety and happiness as the result of such reliance. The English are thus masculine race; they blunder out right at the end.

It is necessary that this mental attitude of those who have the gift of the Indian patronage, should be clearly understood by us, and the true facts of the case placed before them.

Is it true in practice that the European professors adopt sounder principles of teaching than the native? All who have seen the conditions of Indian colleges from the inside know that European professors no less than Indian professors dictate "notes" and make "summaries" for their pupils,—even up to the M. A. classes. The native professor's notes are usually less rudimentary and less scrappy than the average European's before he has acquired sufficient experience of the Indian student's mental attitude and store of information. A few European professors—all praise to them!—do however try to encourage freshness of thought and self-help among

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their students by making them get up a subject with no more assistance than general guidance and the supply of a list for reading, or make them write essays of their own without reproducing the opinions of the text-writers. But in this case we must bear in mind that (1) it is possible only with very small classes and tip-top students, like the Honours candidates of the Presidency College. (2) It compels the professor to skip or pass altogether over several portions of the syllabus, leaving it *entirely* to the students to understand and prepare them,—a course which is very unsafe with average Indian boys to whom the language of their text books is a foreign tongue. (3) Native professors have been known to attempt the same good system, where they have not been overworked, or put in charge of the subordinate mechanical duties of a lecturer. This brings us to the root of the matter. The defects of the past were not due to native incapacity but to Government parsimony.

So long as the native staff was undermanned, so long as you gave them a longer time-table and much bigger classes than you did to your European officers, you could not expect the former to turn out work of the same quality as the latter. In fact, education was shamefully starved by the State in the past. Mere doles from the public revenue were given to it. At one time Government even proposed to give up all its colleges in Bengal with the exception of the four at the head quarters of its four provinces. Grants in aid to private colleges were then unknown. Less than four years ago, when it was proposed to add a chair of Economics to the Rajshahi College, the D. P. I. replied that a professor would be sanctioned only if his salary was met from the fees of the additional students drawn to the college by the new chair, but Government would not contribute a pice for the purpose. And yet the Rajshahi College is a Government institution and, thanks to its rich endowments by the local zamindars, it yields a surplus to the Government. Development of College life means money.

Development of College life means money.

Till seven years ago there was no money available from the public funds for college playgrounds, students' common rooms, hostels, professors' quarters in the college grounds, or for addition to the staff, for the purpose of seeing to the development of a corporate life and carrying on any work among the boys outside the lecture-room. The bare minimum of professors was engaged to deliver the necessary lectures, and these lecturers were overworked. They had neither the means nor the time to develop the *life* of the college. Our European professors of an earlier generation, also, contented themselves with mere lecturing, —they hardly ever met their students outside the class-room. In these respects they were nowise better than their native colleagues. But even in that age, the native professors of private colleges—and of many Government colleges, too,—did mix intimately with their pupils. After this, to condemn the old generation of native professors as mere bookworms, ignorant of the modern educational ideals,—is to add insult to injury.

As for the new generation of native professors in Government colleges, such a charge against them would be palpably false. They *are* taking an active part in the various branches of college activity opened with the liberal financial grants of the last six or seven years. It is impossible for the European professors to do more—it is doubtful whether their tastes and social engagements will enable them to do as much, in these respects, as the native professors. Let there be a fair comparison of efficiency; give your P.E.S. men as light lecturing work as that of your I.E.S. men, treat native-managed Government colleges —like the one at Rajshahi,—as liberally in the matter of finance as you do your colleges under European principals, and then see whether the native teachers are mere bookworms, mere mediæval scholiasts.

You can say with greater show of reason that you require Englishmen for such executive work as hunting outlaws on the N. W. frontier or suppressing riots. But at the task of training the *mind* of the Indian youth, wherein lies the superiority of the average European graduate to the ablest Indian scholars who can be had at less cost?

Comparative efficiency: some facts.

Let us examine the familiar cry of the administrative inefficiency of natives so far as it affects the education department. Finance is no small part of administration. The principal of a college has to audit its accounts and control its expenditure. And yet there have been defalcations of public

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money by clerks in Government Colleges under European principals at Rajshahi (Mr. W. B. Livingstone), Dacca (Mr. A. C. Edwards), Hughli (Mr. W. Billing), and Calcutta (Presidency College under Mr. F. J. Rowe). Nearly a lakh of rupees was embezzled from the Calcutta University by clerks while its responsible office head was Mr. G. Thibaut, another I. E. S. officer. After this, is it correct to say that a European principal secures financial efficiency?

In respect of general management, contrast the administration of the Rajshahi College by Rai Bahadur Kumudini Kanta Banerji with the *ancien regime* of his predecessor Mr. Livingstone, or of Hughli College by Babu Bipin Vihari Gupta with that of Mr. Billing. Babu B. V. Gupta also retrieved the Ravenshaw College from the sinking condition it had reached under European principals. And yet these native principals have worked with smaller staffs and grants than their European rivals have enjoyed. The Ravenshaw College is now under a European principal. Its staff has been nearly doubled; vast sums have been devoted to improve its library, hostels, playgrounds, &c. Such facilities were denied to Bipin Babu. His work, as principal, therefore, can in fairness be judged only by its examination results and so judged it is not a whit inferior to that of his present European successor.

Take the case of the Berhampur College. Under Mr. E. M. Wheeler, an Indian graduate and half an Indian by race, it has won the public praise of the ruler of Bengal for its efficiency of management, spirit of expansion, brilliant athletic record, and success in examinations. In what respect then does his work compare unfavourably with an I. E. S. man's?

Sense of duty.

Has the average European a stronger sense of duty to his pupils than the average native professor? We have heard the following curious anecdote from Professor Jadunath Sircar, a Provincial. At the Patna College in 1900 the teaching of English was equally divided between him and Mr. J. J. Bridge, an I. E. S. officer,—the former taking the prose works and the latter the poetry text-books, and each of them examining the same class in his respective branch and printing his own question papers. At a college exercise an answer-paper on poetry having been delivered to Jadu Babu by mistake, he sent it to Mr. Bridge after a few days and asked for the same student's prose paper in exchange. When the right paper was handed to him, Jadu Babu found that Mr. Bridge had already valued the paper on the *cover* and then cancelled the marks! None of the answers was separately valued and not a single mistake scored through by Mr. Bridge. Sherlock Holmes must look to his laurels, when an Anglo-Indian professor can examine an answer-paper without knowing the book on which it has been set, without possessing a copy of the question paper, and without any idea of the full values attached to the different questions. What new species of radium was this that could at a lightning glance pierce through the pages of a thick answer-paper and extract and precipitate its total merit on the cover without the tedious process of reading the inside? Mr. Bridge was then a young Oxford graduate of only two years' service in India. He had not yet been seized with the intellectual atrophy* which a professorship in India is supposed to cause.

When the Calcutta University F.A. Questions leaked out in 1890, a committee of inquiry under Sir Alfred Croft brought out the fact that among the examiners whose culpable negligence had caused the scandal, there was a European I.E.S. as well as a Bengali pandit.

Whence to get our athletic Trainers.

Athletics is of supreme importance as a moral prophylactic as well as a physical tonic. But here, again, it is no longer true to assert that the only available teachers of our youth in games are the European professors. Up to fifteen years ago, sport was never deliberately cared for in Indian schools and colleges. Few of them had suitable play grounds, and none any regular athletic fund. But all that has been changed. The football mania has seized the youth of northern India, with hardly any support from public funds or guidance by European teachers. Most schools and all colleges have provided themselves with play grounds; every school

* "I have myself seen a letter from a Cambridge College tutor to one of his pupils telling him that a professorship in India meant 'intellectual atrophy' "—H. Cox in the November 1912 number of this Review.

Query. Was it intellectual atrophy or *moral* [illegible] *Mod. Review.*

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and college has created an athletic fund raised by a compulsory levy from the students. In several schools and colleges attendance of the pupils at games has been made compulsory.

The result is that the new generation of native professors are *not* innocent of athletics. They may not be champions, but they know how to play and can be trusted to conduct games among their students. Football flourishes in Bengal and Behar, cricket and hockey in the U. P. and the Punjab.

True, the average Englishman is much stronger and steadier than the average Indian, and he ages less quickly. It is also true that when an Indian graduate betakes himself to the profession of a teacher, it is generally because he is of a delicate constitution, intellectual tastes, or retiring habit and disinclined to rough it in the world. The European, therefore, will normally prove a much better game trainer than the native. But such a trainer should be engaged as a trainer, he need not be appointed as a college *lecturer* in addition.

Even an I. E. S. professor cannot retain his championship during the 25 years of his service. He must in time sink into an ordinary player. Do you propose to relieve him every five years as you relieve your Anglo-Indian army?

After all, is the case of the Indians really so hopeless in athletics? Is it impossible to find select Indians who will be efficient players and organisers of games? Indians—not average Indians, we admit, but at the same time Indians untrained in Europe,—have been known to beat Anglo-Indian teams in football and cricket. There is, besides, a sounder remedy, the establishment of hill schools and colleges for native youths, as nurseries of our future trainers and administrators.

Even now there are many native professors who can conduct the games of their students in the afternoon with a fair amount of success, if their time table is made short like that of the European player-professors. At Aligarh the European professors are given much less lecturing work than the Indian professors on the ground of their having to play with their pupils in the evening. Why should not the same consideration be shown to the athletes among the native professors? If they are not worked as heavily as at present they can naturally reproduce the conditions of English public school life much better and with greater hope of succes than the European staff.

For, India's work must eventually be done by Indians. It is our own country. We can breed and multiply in this climate; you cannot. You can never cease to be exotics—costly exotics, here. Your graduates are seized with intellectual atrophy as the result of lecturing in India; while our sons, under exactly the same climatic conditions and social environment, have done research work in science and history of which any *savant* in Europe may well be proud.

The teaching of English.

Take the teaching of English. You assert, as if it were a self-evident truth, that the professors of English in Indian colleges should be Englishmen, those 'to the language born.' But how does it follow?

Remember, first, that our college students are not school-boys; they have to study English *literature* and not the English language. For this purpose a special study of the masterpieces of English prose and poetry is necessary. What does the raw classical scholar from Oxford, who fills the English chair in our Government College, know of *English* literature? He may have a dilettante acquaintance with it, but he has not made a serious study of it, he has not been examined on it;—whereas every Indian who has taken a first class in English at the M. A. of Calcutta or Madras, has made a deep and wide study of that literature, as your young men have studied Greek or Latin. The native, therefore, starts with an immense advantage over the European in the teaching of English. [No London M. A. in English has been appointed to the I.E.S. during the last generation.]

Secondly, for the study of English *philology*, a knowledge of Old English (*vulgo* Anglo-Saxon) is far more necessary than a knowledge of Latin, and in India there are more Bengalis than Englishmen with a decent knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. Thus the native professor of English is a specialist, while the Oxford B.A. in classics is an amateur, so far as the teaching of *English* is concerned. English idiom, and English accent in particular, can be best taught,—granting it to be possible to teach them to a foreigner,—by an educated Englishman. But not English *literature*, unless the

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Englishman is a professed expert in it. If he is not, the Babu is the more efficient workman for the work needed. At Oxford, your professor of Greek is not M. Paleologos or M. Ipsilanti, but Sir Richard Jebb. It is only natural that the expert Babu should teach English literature and philology in preference to the amateur Mr. Bull or oftener Mr. Paddy.

Mr. X. who took high honours in Economics, was appointed to the I.E.S. as professor of Economics in a Government College, and, according to the beautiful practice of our Educational authorities,* immediately set to teach *English* in the highest classes. He took up Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-worship*,—rather strong meat even for English lads, we fear,—and addressed his class thus, "There are two ways of teaching a book,—the one is for the teacher to explain its meaning, and the other is to leave it to the students to master it. Any native professor can do the former. I shall, therefore, leave you to prepare the book, and apply myself to correcting your English pronunciation which no native can." *Risum teneatis !* Mr. X. is an Irish graduate. He read page after page of Carlyle,—with proper accent, let us hope,—and when an unlucky student asked him to explain the word "Grand Lamaism", he replied in an offended tone "I don't know"! Evidently the road for teaching self-help to Indian students is a very smooth and comfortable one *for the teacher.*

This talk about teaching the correct English accent to native boys, is a silly one. The attempt is costly and useless, as it can never succeed, and not one native in a thousand requires such an accomplishment in his practical life. In pursuit of such an ideal, you will sacrifice the essential to the accidental. We ought to rest satisfied if our youths write grammatically correct English and can understand the highest English books. A Scotch judge who adorns the High Court Bench pronounces *chivalry* with an Italian *Ch*; but is he a worse judge for it?

Thirdly, the native professor can put himself in the native pupil's skins. He knows, as the Englishman cannot possibly know, where the English idiom differs from that of the Indian vernaculars; he knows what objects or ideas, familiar to the English people from their birth, are strange to the Indian youth.

All these three causes,—and possibly also an aversion to hard labour on the part of the "superior" service,—have produced the curious phenomenon that in our Government Colleges English professors *refuse* to teach English.* They fight hard with their principals to take charge of History, Economics or Philosophy, any thing but English. It is not that the Education Department has an insufficient number of English classical scholars, but they shift the teaching of English to the Babu's shoulders,—and then, in their anonymous letters to the *Statesman*, sneer at the native professor of English as a monstrosity of the Indian educational world,—as a sort of square circle. Even where the Englishmen cannot in decency altogether avoid the teaching of English, they teach it for fewer hours than their native colleagues and throw the highest English work, *viz.*, the Honours and M.A. lectures, on the latter. The Dacca College time-table † supplies a fine example of it. India needs a certain work. You will not do the work, and yet you abuse the Babu for doing it and you talk about the divinely ordained propriety of English being taught by men "to the language born"!

Is the Babu professor of English a mere crammer, a mechanical expounder of texts? Are the editions of English classics by our men, inferior in quality or character to the rival editions of the I.E.S. men born to the language and trained in the newest English principles of teaching? Pit N. N. Ghosh, P. K. Lahiri, and U. N. Maitra as commentators against your Rowe and

* "A professor of philosophy once told me that he had never read any book on philosophy till he began to teach. I have known among my own acquaintance, at one time a professor of mathematics, and at another time a professor of history, asked to teach philosophy. I have myself [a mathematician] been asked to teach English literature. No previous study of the subject is required from a teacher of English literature, or history or philosophy.—"H. Cox, in this Review, Nov. 1912. Every I.E.S. is a "universal doctor".

* The only exception is a gentleman at Chittagong who insists on teaching English, but he *took his degree in mathematics!*

† In 1912 English in the M.A. classes was taught by Mr. Barrow for two hours, by Mr. E. Smith for 4 hours, by Rakhal Babu for 4 and Satyendra Babu for 6,—*i.e.*, *six* hours by Englishmen and *ten* hours by natives.

In 1913, the Englishmen took only *two* hours, leaving *ten* hours by the natives.

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Webb, James and Hallward, and let an impartial critic decide if *our* men suffer by the comparison. English professors have been known to "lecture" on Shakespeare to our youths by laying open on the table before them the annotation at the back of three or four different school editions of the text and piecing the various notes together! Some have been known to reproduce verbatim the printed notes of Babu commentators,—consulted in secret.

Unequal pay for equal work.

We have taxed the reader's patience thus far to prove that the I. E. S. is not necessarily more efficient,—in practice it is much *less* efficient,—than the P. E. S. for the work done in our colleges. And yet the Provincial officers are given a lower pay and position and publicly degraded in comparisn with the I. E. S. First we have unequal pay for equal work.

I. E. S.	P. E. S.
1. Starts on Rs. 500, a month.	1. Starts on Rs. 200 a month.
2. Gets an annual increment of Rs. 50, for ten years, *i.e.*, Rs. 1000 in the 11th year of service.	2. Gets no annual increment, but has to wait for years on the same pay till there is a vacancy in the next grade.
3. Gets a personal allowance of Rs. 100, if after 15 years his pay does not exceed Rs. 1000.	3. No personal allowance.
4. Some select officers get Rs. 1500 a month.	4. The highest pay possible is Rs. 700.

Then, mark the grossly unfair difference as to leave rules:—

P. E. S.	I. E. S.
1. Total period spent on furlough must not exceed *two* years. (338 *a*)	1. Aggregate amount of furlough and of special leave with allowance that is admissible, is *six* years. (Article 299 of *Civil Service Regulations*.)
2. Earns one year after first *ten* years of service, another year after the next *eight* years, and no more thereafter. (338*a*)	2. Amount of furlough "earned" by an officer is *one-fourth* of his active service. (302)
3. First furlough may be taken only after *ten* years of commencement of service, and thereafter at intervals of *eight* years of continuous service. (338 *a*)	3. Furlough is admissible to an officer who has rendered *three* years' continuous service. (308)
4. Not more than *two* years. (336)	4. Furlongh may be extended on medical certificate to *three* years. (312)
5. In case of medical leave, the allowance will be half the salary for the first 15 months, and *quarter* pay for the rest of the leave. (340 *a*.)	5. Leave allowance will be *half* the pay. (314)

Thirdly, as regards distribution of work. The P. E. S. being a subordinate service, its members are given more work than the I. E. S. men. In the same college the native P. E. S. has to lecture or examine classes for at least *eighteen* hours a week, while the European I. E. S's time-table is never more than 15 hours, and very often only *twelve* hours. Thus, when there are two P. E. S. men teaching the same subject, the work is equally divided between them, but when one of the P. E. S. men is replaced by an Imperial Service officer, the work of the Provincial is further added to, because the new comer will not work so hard as a native.

Rubbing it into the Provincial.

In a hundred petty matters besides, the Imperial Service enjoys the advantages of being the higher service, and the Provincial officers are publicly made to feel that they are members of a degraded service. The latter have to print the question papers for the college exercises in the duplicating machine, while I. E. S. men get the work done by the college clerks, or by the native professors junior to them in their respective subjects. Cases are known in which the boys' answers to the questions set by the I. E. S. professor, had to be examined by his fag, the native junior, in addition to the latter's own bundle of exercise papers.

Certain recent "developments" in Government Colleges have made the position of the P. E. S. intolerable and put a brand of public humiliation on them. Last year when the Governor visited the Presidency College, the Principal issued an order that His Excellency would be received at the foot of the stair-case by all the senior professors, while the junior professors would remain in their class-rooms as *chawkidars. Every Provincial Service officer irrespective of his pay and length of service, is junior to every I. E. S. man.* Dr. P. C. Ray, who jointly with Dr. Bose has made the name of the Calcutta Presidency College known on the Continent, is a junior in this sense. He was unfit to be introduced to the Governor on his landing,—for, it is absurd to suppose that the Indian Government Colleges exist for the purpose of encouraging and honouring scholarship.

In all our colleges a College Council has

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been established to consider questions of study, internal discipline and control of pupils. On this council only the senior professors of the different subjects have a right to sit. Thus it happens that a callow English youth on joining the I. E. S. supplants the experienced native P. E. S. man who had been teaching the subject and managing the students for decades, for the latter immediately becomes a "junior." Sometimes the Principal, to save appearances, throws a bone to the Provincial canaille by nominating one of its members to the council as a matter of special *favour*.

Worse than all, within the last few years the practice has been quietly introduced into Government colleges of making the technically "junior" professor take his orders from the "senior" professor in that subject,—while the Principal sits, like Zeus in Olympus, high above the reach of his subordinates and careless of details. This has set up in each college a dozen petty masters—sometimes petty tyrants,—where there were equal colleagues before. Under this new practice, the "senior" professor, *i.e.*, the I. E. S. man distributes the work among the teachers of that particular subject; he alone can make recommendations for the purchase of books for the library or apparatus for the laboratory; applications for leave from "junior" professors have in some cases to be recommended by the "senior" before the Principal will consider them; the Principal's orders are passed on to the junior professors not directly but through the "senior."

Keeping the Pariah down to his level.

A recent case in the Patna Government College, which has been the talk of the entire Provincial Service in Bengal, illustrates how every P. E. S. must be made "junior" to some I. E. S. man or other,—because Manu lays it down that a woman must always be subjected to some male, be it father, husband or son. If there is no I. E. S. professor in his own subject, the P. E. S. man must take his orders from the I. E. S. man in a neighbouring subject.

Babu Jyoti Bhusan Bhaduri, P. E. S., is a first class M. A. in Chemistry, a Premchand Roychand Scholar (the highest academic qualification possible in India) and a professor of 12 years' standing; he had also been in supreme charge of a college for some time before. In 1909, he was acting as first Professor of Chemistry at Patna College. There was at the same college Mr. Jackson, I. E. S., the senior Professor of Physics, an officer of only nine years' standing. But every P. E. S. is subordinate to every I. E. S., and Jyoti Babu was made "junior" to Mr. Jackson and forced to send his letters to the Principal and take the Principal's orders *through Mr. Jackson*. He protested to the Director against this humiliation and was censured for calling the Principal's wisdom in question. Now, mark the sequel. In 1910, Dr. Caldwell, an I. E. S. man, joined the college as Professor of Chemistry, and though he had not put in a month's service he was made "senior" in his subject and independent of Mr. Jackson. That is to say, Mr. Jackson's nine years' experience in *Physics* had qualified him to "control" and "organise" the teaching of *Chemistry* in 1909, when the leading professor of Chemistry was a P. E. S. man; but in 1910 a year's additional experience did not fit him to do the same thing, because the leading professor of Chemistry was now an I. E. S. man. The only possible explanation of this strange phenomenon is an official determination to treat the Provincial service as a Pariah Service and to teach theBabu to keep his own level.

Educational Brahmins and Sudras.

If further proof of this is needed, it is furnished by a familiar official joke of which Sir Alfred Croft was the father. Dr. P. C. Ray, P. E. S., drawing Rs. 700 a month and having twenty-four years' service behind him, subsides into a junior professor as soon as the beardless Mr. Smith, I. E. S., joins the science staff of the Presidency College on Rs. 500. Some years afterwards Mr. Smith goes away on furlough, and Dr. Ray, is promoted on Rs. 800 to "officiate" for Mr. Smith! But such officiating service in the I. E. S. even if it extends over a dozen years in the aggregate will never entitle Dr. Ray to enter the sacred precincts of the Imperial Service. During his "officiating" career his name is not even printed in the list of the I.E.S. in which he is supposed to officiate. The P.E.S. officers are departmental Sudras; they may be masters of the four Vedas, but they can never sit in the rank of the "twice-borns"—of the I.E.S.

Breeding discontent and political mischief.

The whole Provincial Educational Service

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is seething with discontent at these gross and unmerited insults. Our professors are modest and retiring men; they never ventilate their grievances in the press. But every one who knows the facts of Indian life, is aware that all over India from Chittagong to Lahore, at Jubbulpur no less than at Madras, or Bombay, whenever two P.E.S. officers meet together, they compare notes, discuss the relative professional qualifications and efficiency of the whites and blacks on their staffs in the light of actual facts, and tell each other about fresh cases of the degradation of the Provincials. Indian students are remarkably sharp. They can easily compare the intellectual calibres of their professors, and in such a comparison it is not the native professor who usually suffers. The humiliation of their native professors is therefore inly resented by our growing youths as an enforced humiliation of their race. They ask themselves, how long in a modern civilised country equal work will continue to get unequal wages. The question at once assumes a most unpleasant political character. There is no difference between the Hindu and Muhammadan feeling *here;* both communities are Sudras in "the atmosphere of pure study" created by our Government.

Esprit de corps destroyed in Colleges.

With such soreness of feeling on the part of the P.E.S., true friendship and co-operation between the Provincial and Imperial professors in the same college is an idle dream. It is not human nature to love men who, coming raw from England, can supersede you and be your masters at every period of your service, to the very eve of your retirement from duty. It is not human nature to like men who regard you as an inferior caste even in the temple of science. The word 'colleagues' becomes meaningless when applied to men who have to sit in different rooms of the same college when off duty. For, at Dacca and Patna their late educational Director's ideal of never liking blackmen has been realised by his subordinates, and the European and Indian professors have been given different waiting rooms. Companionship and community of spirit cannot possibly develop between the two branches of the service when the native professor knows that the portal of his European colleague's room hails him as

Hence, ye profane ! 'tis holy ground

Thus exactly the same *esprit de corps* is possible between our Provincial and Imperial officers, as the blood and nerve connection between a Negro's head and a European's arms. Witness the recent supercession of Mr. H. R. James in appointing a new D. P. I. for Bengal, over which the English papers raised a howl, but which produced not the least stir among the native professors, who murmured "We have no concern with it. He is not one of us."

If you do not abolish the colour line.

The only remedy for this most harmful condition of things, the only solution of the service problem that can give abiding peace is the one which strict justice dictates. Abolish the division into I.E.S. and P.E.S., break down the fences of your "separate pens", let your gowned sheep, black and white, browse together. Let there be equal pay and status for equal work, as the native officers of Bengal, Behar and U. P. have suggested.

But the trend of Lord Islington's questions to witnesses raises the fear that his Commission will continue the existing division of the service, and offer to the P.E.S. men the consolation of some of them being promoted to the I.E.S. Voicing, as the writers of this article do, the sentiments of the Provincial Educational officers in Northern India, we give Lord Islington fair warning that such a patch work arrangement will be no true or lasting solution of the educational service question. The Public Services Commission has come to give us peace, to remove soreness, and secure greater smoothness and efficiency of working. But does it give a patient peace to keep a sore perfectly open in his body? Consider the disadvantages of such a course over the amalgamation of the Imperial and Provincial services as proposed from Bengal Behar and U. P.

(1) The soreness of feeling and public degradation of the Provincial officers as a *body* will continue, though a favoured few of them will get into the I. E. S. And you expect all of them to be contented! Money is not the supreme consideration with our professors, they only ask for *equality of status* as a means of preserving public respect.

(2) The promotions to the I. E. S. that you propose, will be exeeptional, confined

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to "special" cases, dependent on the *favour i.e.*, the caprice of the Government, and not to be claimed by any P. E. S. officer as a matter of *right*. On the other hand, if the two branches of the Education service are fused into one homogeneous mass with equality of status and grading,—and extra allowances for the European members,—then promotion to the highest grades will be the legitimate expectation of every officer of a certain standing whose record of service is creditable. It will be a matter of *right* to more than half the junior officers in course of time and will not depend upon the *favour* of the Local Government.

(3) Such promotions, if made into "special cases," will require the moving of the Local Government, much time and trouble, whereas in an amalgamated service they will go on smoothly in the routine course of business.

(4) Under your proposal, the number of provincials raised to such "listed" appointments in the Imperial Service will vary with the caprice of the Local Government, which will also be powerless to exceed the maximum number of posts listed, however exceptionally competent a Provincial applicant may have proved himself by his past service.

(5) When such promotions depend upon special recommendations, be sure that political considerations will come in,—considerations of race and creed, the policy of balancing community against community, irrespective of the merits of the rival officers. It may be that the whispers of a ten-rupee police spy will blight the prospects of the greatest Scientist we have in the Provincial Service.

(6) Lastly, such listing of posts in the Imperial Service for a few Provincial officers, while removing none of the grievance of the Provincial Service *as a body*, will introduce into the hitherto pure realm of education all the low and degrading tactics which people often resort to for securing "nomination by favour" or "special promotion,"—on which malodorous topic *verbum sapienti sat est.*

The future ?

We flatter ourselves that we hae met every charge brought against the native professors to justify the keeping of them in a degraded position. We have demolished the fanciful theories woven by English critics absolutely ignorant of the real conditions of Indian life and college work. The mainterance of a *colour line* in the "atmosphere of pure study" and the enforced subordination of the Provincial Service to the Imperial in College teaching, are morally unjust, because they do not spring from the necessity of the case, they are opposed to the eternal verities of things. Whatever may have been the state of things in India twenty-five years ago, today you find the native professors immensely advanced in knowledge and capacity*, while the average European professors have in the same period deteriorated, by the admission of Government itself and the recent petition of the I. E. S. to Lord Crewe demanding higher pay in order to attract better men in these days of high prices. What justification is there for retaining the departmental inferiority of the Provincials when you admit that the I. E. S. professors are not superlatively above them in intellect or capacity. In God's world equal work cannot for ever earn unequal wages ; you cannot permanently keep the feet above the head by a political decree. The report of Lord Islington's commission will decide how much longer it is to be attempted in British India.

ARCADES AMBO.

* "The case for the admission of Indians to the Indian Educational Service is stronger now than it was twenty years ago. For, notwithstanding the absence of encouragement, the number of Indians who have taken high degrees in India or England has increased. On the other hand the English men who come to India are *less highly qualified* than formerly. Oxford and Cambridge men are now seldom willing to accept posts in the Indian Educational Service...There is every reason then to anticipate that the Imperial Service will steadily deteriorate while the Provincial Service will steadily improve. The *inferiority* of the pay and prospects of the Provincial Service will become *even more unjust* than it is at present."—

H. Cox in *loc. cit.*

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POLITY IN ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL KERALA

"IT is a singular fact that the Hindus though fond of philosophy and poetry, of law, mathematics and architecture, of music and the drama, and especially of religious or theosophic speculations and disquisitions, seem never to have cared anything for History." The force of this observation comes home to us when we reflect on the entirely inadequate materials on which to base an authentic account of the early history of Kerala. Inscriptions are few and far between; of those that exist, some are spurious, and far from assisting the student of History, present him only additional problems to solve. Numismatics too does not give him a helping hand, while Archaeology, at any rate so far as this country is concerned, is yet in its infancy. In the absence of such safe materials to rely on, the student has necessarily to be content with stray references in ancient Tamil works, brief notices of European and Muhammadan travellers who visited the country at long and irregular intervals, and a vast and confusing mass of half-truths contained in poems and Puranas, in proverbs and maxims, in nursery tales and maidens' songs. An account based on such materials can at best be an intelligent surmise. It is proposed to make such a surmise regarding the constitutional framework of Government in ancient and mediæval Kerala.

The Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas—these three we hear of from time immemorial. That the Chera Kingdom attained to a high degree of prosperity at a very early date is beyond the pale of controversy. Even the edicts of Asoka mention it as an independent Kingdom, while Roman writers and Tamil Poets at the beginning of the Christian Era bear testimony to its prosperity and high state of civilisation. Nothing definite is known about the constitutional forms and methods of adminstration adopted by those Monarchs of yore, and for what information we have on the subject, we are considerably indebted to that learned Tamil scholar, Mr. Kanaka Sabhai, who, after patient enquiry and toilsome research, has succeeded in unearthing an account of the Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, i.e., betweed 50 and 150 A.D. The form of Government was hereditary monarchy. The monarch was not absolute, and an effective check on his autocracy consisted in the existence of five councils known as "The Five Great Assemblies," each representative of a distinct section of the community, and entrusted with a definite function of its own. The first, which represented the people, was entrusted with the preservation of all the ancient and time-honoured rights and privileges of that body; the second, composed of the priests, directed all religious functions; the third. which was the council of physicians, naturally regulated all matters affecting public health and sanitation; the fourth, consisting of the astrologers, fixed auspicious hours for public ceremonies and foretold important events; while the last, which was the council of ministers, concerned itself with the collection and expenditure of public revenue and the administration of justice. Each assembly had its own place in the capital for its meetings and transaction of business. Sometimes when the importance of the occasion demanded it, these representatives attended the King's levee in the Durbar Room or joined the Royal Procession. Thus the King and the assemblies had the absolute charge of Government.

The pomp and dignity with its attendant display of luxury and extravagance generally characteristic of the Oriental Palace was conspicuous here also. Wherever the King went numerous attendants followed him. They are frequently referred to as the eight groups of attendants and consisted of perfumers, garland makers, betel bearers, areca nut servers, armourers, dressing valets, torch-bearers and body-guards.

The High Priest, the chief astrologer, the ministers and the commanders of the army constituted the principal administrative officials of the State. The King was the fountain of Justice, which was administered by special officers appointed for the purpose; but the ultimate voice in all matters civil or criminal resided in the King.

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A peculiar head-gear distinguished the presiding Judge from the other members of the Court. Justice was meted out free of charge to the suitors. The Penal Code was very severe and hence crimes were rare. Acts of great severity were done in the name of justice simply to satisfy the superstitious fears of the King. Such is the account of the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary, in fact of the working constitution of the kingdom, that we are able to gather from the pages of Kanaka Sabhai.*

Bearing in mind the above well-authenticated facts, we have simply to dismiss as apocryphal and unworthy of credit the accounts of the various attempts at constitution making contained in the Keralotpatti, which speaks, first, of the establishment of a Brahmanical oligarchy by Parasurama on the miraculous reclamation of Kerala from the sea, then of the substitution of an Elective Protectorate for that oligarchy when it degenerated and became unjust and oppressive, and lastly of a system of monarchy at first periodically elective but subsequently permanent in place of the Protectors who grew exacting and tyrannical. It is quite probable that the later kings of Kerala were known by the generic name of Perumals or Cheraman Perumals (the big men of Chera). The centuries following the period dealt with by Kanaka Sabhai witnessed the rise of several independent principalities. To describe the peculiar circumstances under which each of these arose is beyond our scope, but it may be noted in general that whenever a weak king was at the helm of affairs in Kerala, the subordinate chieftains made the most of the opportunity thus presented to them and asserted their independence. To describe these principalities as coming into existence all at once at an alleged partition of the Empire by the last of Perumals is too unhistorical and fabulous to believe.

In fact the remaining centuries under our survey may be truly said to form the Age of Feudalism in Kerala. At the head of the society was the Perumal or King. Under him and subordinate to his power was a number of hereditary chieftains holding portions of the country and entrusted with the local Government thereof. The whole country was divided into Nads under Naduvazhis and each Nad was again subdivided into so many Desams either under Desavazhis or under the direct control of the Naduvazhi. The Desavazhis, where they existed, owed allegiance to the Naduvazhi and were also bound to help him with men and money whenever required to do so. The Desam was also further sub-divided into the Gramam of the Brahmins, the Tara of the Nairs, and the Cheri of the low castes; the management of this unit of division was entrusted to the elders of the village, the Karnavans, Mukyasthans, or Pramanies. In fact here was something that exactly resembled the feudal system of mediæval Europe; the feudal suzerain was the King or Perumal, the tenants in capite were the Naduvazhis, while the subtenants were represented by the Desavazhis and others. And just as the political status of the tenants-in-chief depended on the extent of their subordination to the King, the Naduvazhis also were divided into three classes, *viz*, Swaroopis, Prabhoos, and Madampis, according to the extent of their dependence. All who had the power of life and death were called Swaroopis, who might therefore be independent Kings, tributary Rajahs or subordinate Chiefs. A Prabhoo had not the power of life and death, while the Madampis were only petty local chieftains with very limited powers and very few men round them. And similar to the duties imposed upon the tenants in Europe, their brothers in this country had also certain onerous dues to pay. All of them had to pay a succession duty known as Purushantharam, an annual tribute called Andukazhcha, and various other contributions, Rakshabhogam, &c., for special protection. In addition, the Naduvazhis had to render extraordinary aid when called upon to do so.

This system of Government revealed all the defects that the sister institution saw in mediaeval France or Germany. The overthrow of central Government and the consequent tendency to anarchy, intense localisation and the fostering of the military spirit which generated a contempt for the non-military men, and above all, the separation of classes—these are but some of the evils. The non-noble was despised and the villein oppressed. Between the King and the bulk of the inhabitants, the tenants-in-chief or virtual despots were interposed. Political society ceased to be

* Vide *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 80-112.

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a united whole and was broken up into a federal union of semi-independent political chiefs. The result of all this was that the country was always in a state of political ferment. All these evils were manifested in their full force after the so-called break up of the Perumal Empire, in fact from the 6th to the 15th century in the history of this land.

"The States were further weakened by smaller apportionments among chiefs or Kaimals who were under a species of feudal subordination to the Rajahs, and, subject to their control, exercised a tyrannical rule over the tenants and people included within their provinces. These subordinate chiefs were styled Rajahs again by their subjects, and were often at feud with one another. The army was raised by conscription from the Nairs, and the inferior castes were pressed into the service as camp followers. When we consider that a loose patriarchal Government was all that pertained to the Sovereign in those times, who levied no land taxes, and established no strong tribunals, it is not surprising that some of the chiefs latterly claimed sovereign rank for themselves, or were adjudged the same by foreigners, who found the distinction between the honoured subject or the tributary chief and the independent ruler too narrow to be perceived."*

Having noticed the weak, disunited, and decentralised character of the executive Government in the period under survey, we may proceed to take into consideration the methods of administering Justice. The King was of course the fountain from which all Justice emanated. No written code of laws existed ready made; custom or Maryada was the guiding force in the settlement of all disputes. Brahmins learned in the Dharma Sastras gave their opinion to the King on any points of Hindu Law as they arose for decision and the King decided accordingly. Arbitration as a method of settling disputes was tried whenever a question was submitted to a Panchayat for settlement. Torture as a means of eliciting the truth was sometimes resorted to. "Lengthened proceedings and voluminous records were unknown to ancient litigation; the enquiries were generally of a summary character, and nothing was reduced to writing except the final decisions."† Trial by ordeal was not unknown; and one case is mentioned where that alone was possible, the case of a Nambudiri woman guilty of adultery. The usual ordeals were those of fire and water. The accused had to immerse his hand in boiling ghee or oil and if he came out unscathed he was judged not guilty. Sometimes he had to hold out in his hands red-hot iron, and if to be declared innocent, had to be unhurt. The water ordeal consisted in making the accused swim across the ferry at Oozham in Cranganore. This particular place abounded in crocodiles and alligators and the accused was declared innocent if he succeeded in escaping from the clutches of these hideous monsters. Another ordeal was the ordeal by balance which consisted in weighing a man both before and after bath; if he weighed more after bath he was declared guilty.

It remains to consider how far the spirit of democracy prevailed in the period under review. The importance of the people as a factor in politics, the sphere of their influence in Government, their share in holding in check the despotic tendencies of the Sovereigns—these have to be considered in this connection.

Mention has already been made of the Nads or certain divisions of the country under subordinate chiefs or feudal vassals called Naduvazhis. Each Nad had under it a body of six hundred, five hundred or five thousand Nairs, the warriors of the time corresponding to the Kshatriyas of other parts. These bands or guilds were entrusted with the safeguard of the rights and privileges of the people, or, as their own tradition expressly says, their function was "to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse." Intended to check the autocracy of the Sovereigns, they were a powerful force in politics. The early Syrian Copper Plate No. III of Mr. Logan's collection,* the famous Tirunelli copper plate, † the stone inscription No. $\frac{9}{60}$ of Professor Sundaram Pillai's collection of inscriptions—all these have reference to the guilds described above and thus bear testimony to their existence.

In addition to this peculiar organisation of the Nairs, there existed also three forms of popular assembly known technically by the name of Koottams. Ancient tradition contained in the Keralotpatti, old documents, accounts of mediaeval writers of repute, and the existence of similar organisations in more recent times—these are the materials from which we infer their existence. TheParavoor Koottam, Iranikulam

* The Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 79.
† Kochin State Manual.

* Vol. II. p. cxxi.
† The Indian Antiquary Vol, XX, pp. 285-292.

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Koottam and Iranjany Koottam are mentioned in the Keralotpatti. A Proclamation of the year 410 M. E. by Sri Vira Eravi Kerala Varma Tiruvadi is very significant as showing the existence, nature and constitution of these Koottams. It runs as follows :—

"Hail Prosperity, in the year opposite Kollam Year 410, with Jupiter in Scorpio, and the Sun twenty-seven days old in Aries, is issued the following Proclamation, after a consultation having been held among the loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Eravi Kerala Varma Tiruvadi, graciously ruling Venad, the members of the Sabha Kodainallore and the people of that village, &c. In seasons of drought and consequent failure of crops, the members of the Sabha and the people of the village shall inspect the lands and ascertain which have failed and which not. If all taxable lands appear to have equally failed, the Sabha and the villagers shall report the matter to the Swami. If the members of the Sabha and the inhabitants agree among themselves, and pray in common for a postponment of the payment, &c."

Observes Mr. Sundaram Pillai,

"Here is proof of the independent nature and constitution of our old village associations. The Sabhas being mentioned side by side with the people it is impossible to take them as mere occasional assemblies of the inhabitants, summoned together for the time being by those in charge of the administration. Here they appear as permanent well-constituted public bodies that acted as a buffer between the people and the Government."

Of the three kinds of Koottams spoken of at the beginning, the first and largest was the assembly of all Kerala. Under ordinary circumstances it met once in twelve years at Thirunnavai on the banks of the Pannani river at the Maha Makham festival for the discussion of matters of national concern. The last occasion of its meeting was in 1743, for, soon after, the raids of Hyder and the ravages of the English threw the whole political situation into a state of chaos, thus rendering subsequent meetings a matter of impossibility.

Next came the assembly of the Nad, which was by far the most powerful and important. It was the meeting of the representatives from all the Taras, Grams and Cheris comprised in the Nad and it discussed matters of importance affecting the whole Nad.

Remarks Mr. Logan,

"The Nad or country was a congeries of Taras or village republics, and the Koottam or assembly of the Nad was a representative body of immense power, which, when necessity existed, set at naught the authority of the Rajah and punished the ministers when they did unwarrantable acts.

"They were in short the custodians of ancient rights and customs; they chastised the chieftains and ministers when they committed unwarrantable acts and were the Parliament of the land." "Subjects are not bound to observe any orders, commands or whims of the King which are at variance with their laws, prosperity, or privileges, and which they have approved of in their own territories and accepted at their political meetings."

These latter are the remarks of Henrik Van Kheede, a former Dutch Governor of Cochin.

Jacob Canter Visscher in his "Letters from Malabar" has left us an account of the National Assemblies as they existed in his time, from which the following is an extract:—

"These are of two kinds; one assembled under orders of the Rajah, the other by the spontaneous will of the people. Those summoned by the Rajah are conducted as follows:—He despatches messengers who by birth and descent are entitled to this office in all directions to summon the people. When collected they sit down in a circle in the open, a number of Nayars keeping guard around them. The propositions are there discussed and measures rejected or adopted by unanimous silence or clamour. But in affairs of minor importance not affecting the welfare of the community, the chiefs of the nation alone are summoned, and decide upon the question.

The assemblies collected by the will of the nation are conducted in much the same manner but with more impetuosity. These are never held except in cases of emergency when the Rajah is guilty of extreme tyranny or gross violation of the law. Then all the landed proprietors are bidden to attend, and any one who dare refuse the summons would be subjected by the assembly to the devastation of his gardens, estates, houses, tanks, &c., and if he were to persist in his obstinacy would be liable to be deprived of his privileges and votes or even to be sentenced to banishment. As the object of these assemblies is to thwart the will of the Rajah, we are not surprised to find that he does all in his power to obstruct their deliberations. He has no right to attempt to put them down by force of arms and besides so many thousands flock to these meetings that he would find difficulty in so doing if he tried. So he sends a troop of lads called Pandarapatti (Pillar) with instructions to provoke them with all manner of annoyances and to pelt them with stones, sand and dirt. The Nayars on guard do all they can to keep off the assailants with their shields. If any one, provoked past endurance, were to strike and hurt one of these youths, it would by their laws be regarded as a crime of treason, the assembly would be involved in a heavy fine and be deprived of its inviolability; and the Rajah might then proceed against them by arms; if he were to fail in subduing, they would desert their allegiance. Allies and neighbours do their best to remedy all the mischief thence ensuing and endeavour so to intercede between the parties that every one is confirmed in his rights."

The right of assembling on its own motion

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on occasions of urgency is a strong indication of the importance of the assembly.

And lastly came the assembly of the Tara, Gramam or Cheri, as the case may be. This was the meeting of the Elders of the village and was a small body of wide and varied powers. It busied itself with matters concerning the particular locality and regulated the affairs of the tiny village it represented.

These village republics were factors of of social and political importance. They were self-contained and were centres of local self-government. Local expenses they met by levying small contributions and in the settlement of local disputes they acted the part of arbitrators. They exercised their powers through officers appointed by them. "They had their own temple, their own pasture lands, their own artisans, their own washermen, barbers, and men of other occupations, in short all that was necessary to make life happy and comfortable." "At appointed places they met occasionally under the presidency of the Asan or headman of the village. All sorts of petty disputes and social disorders were brought to their notice, which were discussed and settled. Their decisions were obeyed without any murmur for fear of social penalties they could inflict far more stringent and far more efficient than any punishment that judicial tribunals could award." Expulsion from society, which meant for the citizen a lot of disabilities and inconveniences, was their favourite form of punishment. In fact in their hands 'social ostracism' was a very powerful weapon. "Every one shuns him, he cannot attend the village temple or bathe in the temple tank, no barber will shave him, no washerman will wash for him. He becomes a social leper. The ban follows him whither he goes and he is treated in the same manner everywhere." These are some of the effects of social ostracism.

Thus the people in their assembly of the Nad effectively curbed the autocracy of the sovereign, while organised in small self-contained village republics formed important centres of local self-government. They were by no means an insignificant factor in politics.

We may well conclude this portion of our subject with the following observations of Mr. Logan* :—

"I would more especially call attentian to the central point of interest as I look at it in any descriptive and historical account of the Malayali race—the position, viz.,—which was occupied for centuries on centuries by the Nayar caste in the civil and military organisation of the province—a position so unique and so lasting that but for *foreign* intervention there seems no reason why it should not have continued to endure for centuries on centuries to come. Their functions in the body politic have been tersely described in their own traditions as *the eye, the hand and the order*, and to the present day we find them spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, but no longer—I could almost say, alas—preventing the rights (of all classes) from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse. This bulwark against the tyranny and oppression of their own ruler secured for the country a high state of happiness and peace, and if *foreign* peoples and *foreign* influences had not intervened it might with almost literal truth, have been said of the Malayalis that 'happy is the people who have no history.'"

S. VENKATARAYA IYER.

* Preface to the Malabar Manual.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

SOME BENGALI IDIOMS.

In the present article, I propose to speak a few words in reference to some points raised by Mr. Anderson in his article in the August issue, taking as his text Milne's Practical Bengali Grammar. I have not seen the book; but it seems to me that some of his great admiration of Bengali expressions and idioms, as I find in Mr. Anderson's article, is due to insufficient grasping of their meaning and inability to analyse them grammatically. But I am far from meaning any disparagement to Mr. Milne's great achievement. He seems to think that the Bengali language is unique in having developed admirable idioms by a morphological laxity in the manipulation of its inflectional trammels. But as far as I know, there is not a single idiom in Bengali of which there is no counterpart in the neighbouring languages, Hindi and Assamese, except that there is no counterpart in Hindi of such Bengali expressions as বেদে বলে, গরুতে ঘাস খাইয়াছে, &c. But we have in Assamese বেদে কয়, গরুএ ঘাচ (ঘাস) খালে &c. The reason advanced by Messrs. Joges Chandra Vidyanidhi, Ravindra Nath Tagore and Milne of such seemingly loose use of the locative ending to express the nominative does not seem to me to stand at least one test to ascertain whether বেদে and গরুতে are in the nominative or in any other case. These savants say that the locative ending is in fact an imitation of the nominative ending in Prakrit. If this were so, how to explain its adoption only by Assamese and Bengali and not by Hindi, the immediate offspring of Prakrit? Let us also see whether such nominatives can be always replaced by regular

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nominatives in Bengali sentences. Taking the sentences বেদে বলে, পশ্চিম দেশে ব্রাহ্মণে তামাক খায় না and রাজায় যদি মারে তবে রাখে কে and replacing the words বেদে, ব্রাহ্মণে and রাজায় by the regular nominative forms বেদ, ব্রাহ্মণ and রাজা, we get বেদ বলে, ব্রাহ্মণেরা তামাক খায় না and রাজা মারে। Now, as the Vedas, Brahmans and Raja are held in great reverence and must always be spoken of with respect, each of the three expressions is a solecism without the honorific ন being affixed to the verbs and making them বলেন, খান and মারেন respectively. From this it may be inferred that বেদে, ব্রাহ্মণে and রাজায় do not connote the same case as বেদ, ব্রাহ্মণ and রাজা. In what case are the former set of words then? Before answering this question and formulating my theory, which is a startling paradox, I would draw the reader's attention to some other linguistic facts so that I may possibly make him glide along with me to my conclusion. The passive voice is very imperfectly developed in Bengali and Assamese. In some instances, the active voice can not be transformed into the passive at all in these two languages, as, e. g., it is not possible to change the voice of the sentences আমি তোমাকে দুই টাকা ধারি, তিনি আমাকে মারিলেন, আমি তাঁহাকে দেখিয়াছিলাম, আমি তাঁহাকে খেলায় হারাইতে পারি, আমি একটা সন্দেশ চাই &c., into passive in idiomatic Bengali or Assamese. An extremely curious form of the word চাই or চাহি is heard in the streets of Calcutta when the hawkers cry পুতুল চাই, খেলনা চাই, চাই বরফ &c., and at feasts when the waiters and hosts ask the guests লুচি চাই মহাশয়, সন্দেশ চাই, কি চাই মহাশয়. In these expressions, the word চাই is simply a corruption of the Hindi passive চাহিয়ে. Taking all these facts into consideration, I tentatively advance the theory that the expressions বেদে বলে, ঘোড়ায় গাড়ী টানে, ব্রাহ্মণে তামাক খায় না, রাজায় মারে, গরুতে ঘাস খাইয়াছে &c., as instances of the ineffectual efforts of Bengali to develop the passive—efforts by which no change is effected in the verbs but by which the cumbrous instrumentals বেদের দ্বারা, ঘোড়া দ্বারা, ব্রাহ্মণদিগের দ্বারা &c., are distorted into the handier locatives বেদে, ঘোড়ায়, ব্রাহ্মণে &c., and that these sentences are in reality abbreviations of বেদের দ্বারা বলা হয়, ঘোড়া দ্বারা গাড়ী টানা হয়, ব্রাহ্মণদিগের দ্বারা তামাক খাওয়া হয় না, রাজার দ্বারা মারা হয়, গরু দ্বারা ঘাস খাওয়া হইয়াছে &c. And so these ungrammatical and mixed expressions have become pithy and beautiful idioms—a proposition involving something of an oxymoron. There is no lack of analogy of this in nature. I once saw a man without an arm, which was represented by three distorted fingers sticking out of that place in the trunk from which the arm should have issued. But the analogy does not extend beyond the morphology of the man and the language. In the case of the man, nature had altogether failed to develop the arm and succeeded only in distorting what should have been the extremities; and in the case of the language, no passive was developed and only the instrumental was distorted. The difference in the ultimate results is however very great. The man was disabled for ever but the expressive power of the language is enhanced.

By impersonal passive, I suppose Mr. Anderson means what is called ভাববাচ্য in Sanskrit. If I am right in this supposition, it is a peculiarity only of Sanskrit. It is possible to translate a ভাববাচ্য into Bengali but the translation will not be idiomatic. When intransitive verbs assume the passive form, they are said to be in ভাববাচ্য and on every such occasion the nominative takes the form of the instrumental. Thus অহং তিষ্ঠামি and সঃ গচ্ছতি which are in the active form, become ময়া স্থীয়তে and তেন গম্যতে in ভাববাচ্য। Their Bengali translations আমা দ্বারা থাকা হয় and তাঁহা-দ্বারা যাওয়া হয় are almost as unidiomatic as their English translations "It is being stayed by me" and "It is being gone by him." It should be remembered that in every ভাববাচ্য and কর্ম্মবাচ্য the nominative becomes instrumental; and in কর্ম্মবাচ্য the accusative becomes the morphological nominative just as in English. তাহা করিতে পারা যায় may be regarded either as কর্ম্মবাচ্য or as কর্তৃবাচ্য in as much as তাহা may be parsed as nominative to the compound verb করিতে পারা যায় in which the verb is passive, or it may be parsed as accusative governed by the verb করিতে পারা which, in this instance, having the force of the gerundial infinitive, is also nominative to the verb যায়. In the কর্ম্মবাচ্য the English translation of the sentence is "It may be done," but in কর্তৃবাচ্য the translation would be "To do or accomplish it is possible." আপনাকে আবশ্যক মতে ডাকা যাইবে is not at all in the passive voice in that আপনাকে the real objective of the verb ডাকা is not the morphological nominative. Superficial observers are apt to be misled by the protective mimicry, as it were, by the verb in the sentence, of the passive form. In order to detect such mimicry, one must examine whether the objective has got changed into the morphological nominative. As there is no such metamorphosis in আপনাকে, the expression is not in the passive voice. But as this may look like reasoning in a circle, I propose another test to expose such mimicry. All Bengali verbs have the same form both in the past participle and in the infinitive, e.g., খাওয়া, করা, ধরা, ডাকা &c., are not only infinitive being equivalents of Sanskrit ভোজন, করণ, ধরণ, আহ্বান &c., and of the obsolete Bengali (though still extant in the colloquial of Eastern Bengal) খাওন, করণ, ধরণ, ডাকন &c., but they are also equivalents of Sanskrit past participles ভুক্ত, কৃত, ধৃত, আহূত &c. So whenever words like করা, খাওয়া &c., are capable of replacement by ভক্ষিত, কৃত &c., there can be no doubt that they are past participles and that they together with some form of the verb to be or its equivalent, form passive verbs. In আপনাকে ডাকা যাইবে, the last word যাইবে is equivalent to হইবে. By substituting ডাকা by আহূত, we get আপনাকে আহূত হইবে, which is nonsense. So it is plain that the voice of the sentence is not

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passive and that therefore it is active. ডাকা here is gerundial infinitive governing the accusative আপনাকে and being nominative to the verb যাইবে. If the expression had been আপনি ডাকা যাইবেন, which is perfectly grammatical, no one would have hesitated to call it passive, as ডাকা যাইবেন may be replaced by আহূত হইবেন. The sentences তাহার খাওয়া হইয়াছে, এ পথে চলা যায় না and এ ঘরে শোওয়া যায় না, must, by parity of principle, be regarded as active as খাওয়া, চলা and শোওয়া can not be replaced by ভক্ষিত, প্রস্থিত and শয়িত। By applying precisely the same reasoning and test, one may be positive that চন্দ্রকে ছোট দেখাইতেছে, তোমাকে ভাল দেখাইতেছে, আমাকে এ পরিচ্ছদে ভাল দেখায় না &c., are not passive but active. I should observe here in passing that দেখাইতেছে and দেখায় are abbreviations of দেখা যাইতেছে and দেখা যায়। They are not causative forms as Mr. Anderson thinks, though both in Bengali and Assamese they are morphologically causative, yet not so in Hindi in which their equivalent is দেখাতা হৈ and not the causative form দেখ্‌লাতা হৈ।

The sentences গ্রন্থকারগণ মারা যাইতেন, authors would have been ruined, and তিনি যুদ্ধে মারা যান, he was slain in battle, are both in the passive voice, because মারা in the first sentence is capable of replacement by the Sanskrit past participle নষ্ট or সর্ব্বনাশগ্রস্ত and in the second by নিহত also a Sanskrit past participle.

But the hardest nuts, culled from the anthology of Mr. Milne (to use a mixed metaphor) and presented to the readers of the *Modern Review*, by Mr. Anderson, to crack are the accusatives in সুশীলকে দশ টাকা দিতে হইবে, আমাকে যাইতে হইবে, হিন্দুদিগকে বিধবা বিবাহ করিতে নাই and আমাকে তোমার মনে পড়ে। I can offer a very tentative explanation as to why সুশীলকে, আমাকে and হিন্দুদিগকে are in the accusative case. In all these instances there is a latent causative force which compels Susil to pay, me to go and Hindus not to marry widows, whence সুশীলকে, আমাকে and হিন্দুদিগকে are in the accusative case. In Sanskrit, the predicate in all such sentences is a verbal adjective formed by one of the three suffixes তব্য, অনীয় and য। Thus in সুশীলেন দশং মুদ্রা দাতব্যাঃ and হিন্দুভি র্বিধবাবিবাহো ন কর্ত্তব্যঃ and in all cases in which predicates are thus formed in Sanskrit, we have the accusative form in Bengali. In আমাকে তোমার মনে পড়ে, we can explain the accusative আমাকে only by the supposition that the grammatically correct expression তোমার আমাকে স্মরণ হয় or তোমার আমাকে স্মরণ পড়ে has been ungrammatically translated into vulgar parlance as তোমার আমাকে মনে পড়ে in which স্মরণ has been rendered into the locative মনে। But I repeat that I offer these explanations very diffidently and tentatively. I hope some Bengali scholar like Babu Joges Chandra Roy or Babu Bijoy Chandra Majumdar will bend these linguistic bows of the literary Janakas of the West. All I can say is that this kind of idiom is not peculiar to Bengali as will be seen from their Assamese and Hindi renderings:—Asssamese—সুশীলক দশ টাকা দিব লাগিব, মোক যাব লাগিব, হিন্দু হঁতক বিধবা বিবাহ করিবলৈ মানা, তোমার মোক মনত পড়ে নে। Hindi :—সুশীলকো দস রুপৈয়া দেনে পড়েগা, হমকো জানে হোগা, হিন্দুকো বিধবা বিবাহ করনা নহী and হমকো তুম্‌হারা ইয়াদ হৈ।

As for আমাকে ভাল লাগে না, Assamese মোক ভাল নে লাগে and Hindi হমকো আচ্ছা নহী লগতা হৈ, the morphological accusative is really dative as in Sanskrit মহ্যং ন রোচতে।

In conclusion I express the hope that the readers of the *Modern Review* will agree with me that Messrs. Milne and Anderson deserve well of the Bengali nation for giving so much of their time and energy to our cause at a time when the majority of Englishmen in India are mere birds of passage. I also hope that, as suggested by Mr. Anderson, some Bengali scholar will set himself to write a history of the development of Bengali idioms.

BIRESWAR SEN.

THE DATE OF BHASA.

It is a pleasant task we have prescribed ourselves. The discovery of Bhasa's plays is an event of recent occurrence and of great interest; and their literary merits are of the first order and of permanent importance. A discussion of his date, therefore, must be a matter of general and not merely antiquarian interest.

Mr. Ganapathy Shastri, the learned editor of these dramas, places Bhasa before Chanakya on the strength of a verse which occurs in his 'Pratijna' and in the Artha Sastra of Kautilya. Against this conclusion, however, Mr. Chaudhuri brings forward two objections. The first of these is that the stanza in question is of a 'memorial' character and does not seem to be necessarily taken from Bhasa. But unacknowledged wholesale incorporation of popular verses is not the characteristic of any Indian dramatist and in Bhasa himself we find no other instance of a similar treatment. It comes so naturally in the play that it must have flowed from the dramatist as the context occurred. The same idea, moreover, with almost the very same words, is found in Balacharitam.

अयं खलु भर्त्तृपिण्डनिष्क्रयस्य कालः। p. (64)

There is one other indirect evidence which bears on this point. Bhasa speaks of the Artha Sastra, not of Kautilya but of Brihaspati. Brihapsati was a predecessor of Chanakya and such was the impression made by the first great minister of an Indian Empire on his contemporaries and on posterity that Bhasa's mention of Brihaspati must be taken to be conclusive as to his priority to Chanakya.

Secondly, Mr. Chaudhuri suspects that the Arthasastra is not the composition of Chanakya himself but a later compilation embodying his principles. But we believe that it could not have been composed by anybody but Chanakya. There is nothing in it which must belong to a later age while there is everything in it which must belong to the Mauryan age. The polity described in the work, its problems and policies, all belong to the age of a great Empire. And after the Mauryas we have to wait for such an Empire till the 4th Century A. D. Mr. Vincent A. Smith is of opinion that the polity described in the Arthasastra is mainly Mauryan. This statement is fully borne out

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by the remarkable way in which the Arthasastra confirms and supplements the remarks of Megasthenes. Where, if not in the Mauryan age, could there be found room for such an imperialistic work which so well tallies with the Mauryan Greek accounts ?

With the one principle of expediency underlying all its notes, the Arthasastra is, par excellence, the work of a man of business and not a mere arm-chair theorist. We are not certain that there is any other politician of ancient India to whom it can be attributed with so much propriety as the eminently practical prime-minister of Chandragupta. No later work, however much it may try to present truly the Chanakyan code, can catch the personality of Chanakya or his times with so much success ; so that we are not prepared to concede that the Arthasastra is not the work of Chanakya.

There is one other objection advanced by Mr. Chaudhuri but it is based on a misunderstanding of the learned editor. Mr. Ganapathi Sastri has collected a number of un-Paninian grammatical forms found in Bhasa and, after explaining them away, he says that it is not a matter for wonder that the dramatist should have used such forms, seeing that he was only a contemporary of Panini, who according to tradition, lived in the time of the Nandas. I quite agree with Mr. Chaudhuri that the tradition is of little value. But how does it impair the view taken by Mr. Sastri ? He does not seek to prove his date of Bhasa by his un-Paninian idioms. Just the reverse. He seeks to prove Bhasa's un-Paninian usage by his date. Only after feeling himself to have fully established that Bhasa lived in the 4th Century B.C. does he make this assumption in a quite different context to illustrate the un-Paninian usage. Thus really there arises no question between Mr. Sastri and his critic; and in raising and pulling down this objection Mr. Chaudhuri has been tilting with the wind mill.

The destructive part of Mr. Chaudhuri's criticism in assailing the position of Mr. Sastri, then, does not warrant success. But he has also a constructive side, which is more promising. According to him, Bhasa was the Court-Poet of the Kanvayana King, Narayana, in the 1st Century B. C. There are three evidences which have been adduced in support of this view and which we now proceed to examine.

Firstly, Bhasa mentions, in his 'Pratima,' Manu's Dharma Sastra, Maheswara's Yoga Sastra and Brihaspati's Arthasastra. There is good reason for believing, says Mr. Chaudhuri, that Manu's Dharmasastra was compiled at about the same time as the Mahabhashya, in the Second Century B. C. and since Bhasa mentions it he must naturally come later. Now there is no irresistable argument to assume that Manu composed—not recast—his work in the 2nd. Century B. C. and with this base the superstructure collapses.

It is significant that Bhasa speaks of the Yogasastra, not of Patanjali as he would have done if he lived in the 1st. Century B. C., but of Maheswara who wrote before him. This seems to us decisive evidence that our dramatist wrote before Patanjali, though Mr. Chaudhuri is inclined to believe that by the time of Bhasa Patanjali's work had not yet replaced the older literature on the subject. To the importance of Brihaspati's mention we have already drawn attention. Thus while Manu fails to support Mr. Chaudhuri, Patanjali and Brihaspati seem to be actually against him.

Secondly, Mr. Chaudhuri has quoted a piece from Bhasa's 'Avimanaka,' wherein the Fool speaks of the Ramayana as a 'Natya-Sastra.' Then he says that the Ramayana was composed according to Mr. Hopkins, in the 2nd Century B. C., so that to the many in Bhasa's time it was a sealed book. Herein lies, according to him, the point of the Fool's joke. If so, Bhasa could have lived only after the 2nd Century B. C., but not long after it ; and the 1st Century B. C. would be a reasonable date.

We say that the point of the joke is precisely the reverse of what Mr. Chaudhuri understands it to be. Only if the Ramayana was a heritage of the hamlet and the hall can the stage be expected to relish the Fool's blunder. If the servant-maid, Chandrika, could find information enough to laugh at it, then can we say that the Ramayana was a sealed book to the masses in Bhasa's time ? Simple as is the point we shall illustrate it from a similar piece in Bhasa. In 'Svapna' the Fool, in relating a story, says, "There is a town called Brahmadattam and over it was a king called Kampilyam." Here the audience will laugh only if it well knew that Kampilyam was the town and Brahmadatta its king. Surely Mr. Chaudhuri does not mean to say that Kampilyum was founded but recently and Brahmadatta was an obscure king, so that the people at large knew nothing of the matter and herein lies the point of the joke! If there is one sound inference that can be drawn from this, it is that Ramayana should have assumed its main form long before the 4th Century B.C., and the present vagaries as to its being a post-Buddhist work and its being composed in the 2nd Century B.C. should cease.

We come to the third and the final argument of Mr. Chaudhuri. He thinks that the Balacharitam is a historical play written to justify the murder of the last Sunga King by Narayana Kanva. This event has a good parallel in the theme of Krishna slaying Kamsa. The political meaning of the play is elaborately worked out and in the course of it Mr. Chaudhuri remarks in support of his position that Krishna is throughout mentioned as Narayana and not once as Krishna, and Balarama is similarly mentioned as Sankarshana and not as Balarama. For the theory itself we can say at present only that it seems to be more ingenious than probable. As for the matters of fact themselves put forward, it must be noted that the hero is at least twice mentioned by the name of Krishna (I. 22 and IV. 3), while in the fifth act the brother of Krishna is so often mentioned as Bala and as Rama that we must be excused if we have not made a reckoning of such mentions.

There is one piece of clinching evidence which Mr. Chaudhuri regards as wholly conclusive. In his Dutavakyam Bhasa makes Duryodhana describe Krishna as वाचद्व्यापहृतविषयकीर्त्तिः । Now Mr. Chaudhuri substitutes Narayana for Krishna, then identifies him with Narayana Kanva and finds in the above description an allusion to Brihadratha Maurya's murder in 184 B. C. But firstly, the passage will not admit of this interpretation ; because 'Barhadratha' will refer only to Jarasandha and not to the Maurya king ; because even if it did, the description will suit the Sungas and not the Kanvas. And secondly, how Mr. Chaudhuri found in the Krishna of Dutavakyam an allusion to King Narayana is precisely what we are at a loss to understand. Is it his assumption that whenever and wherever any epithet of Vishnu occurred an allusion is then and there to be discovered to the patron of Bhasa, King Narayana ? And this is the conclusive evidence of Mr. Choudhuri to prove that Bhasa lived in the 1st. Century B. C. We defer our last words on the subject until we have Charudattam at our disposal.

T. L. VENKATARAMAN.

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MR. GUMMUKH SINGH MONGIAN'S ARTICLE ON "MY IMPRESSION OF ENGLAND."

The above article is exceedingly interesting alike for the frank recognition that it displays of the spirit of human brotherhood which is deeper than all national and racial differences, and for what is, on the whole, a very sympathetic understanding of the life of modern England, and of the "spirit of independence" which is so greatly changing it just now. The article is of the greater interest to me since so far as first-hand knowledge of the outward condition of things in England is concerned Mr. Mongia is more up to date than I am seeing that it is seven years since I left my own country for India. And yet though I have never seen either a suffragette or an aeroplane, two of the most modern products of Western civilisation, I cannot help feeling that he has missed some of the true inwardness of English life, and has thereby misinterpreted some of the things he has seen. An instance of this misinterpretation occurs quite early in his article. He seems, at any rate, to see but little difference between the Labour movement in England and the Nationalist movement in this country. Without entering at all upon any question as to the legitimacy of the aspirations of the English workman or the Indian nationalist, it is surely obvious that the one is striving for social and economic independence and the other for political independence. The one movement is essentially democratic and the other, as far as educational attainment is concerned at least, is equally aristocratic. A nationalist movement however worthy it may be is not necessarily from the point of view of the proletariat, democratic. Probably one of the earliest effects of the creation of a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland, will be the emergence into the arena of Irish politics of a Labour or Socialist party, striving to wrest for purposes of social reform and economic freedom, the newly won political liberty from the hands of the very men who have fought for and won it from the English Parliament. Or to put the matter in another way, I fancy that many of the present leaders of the Indian Nationalist movement would stand aghast at anything in the way of a genuine and widespread democratic movement on Western labour lines. What would be thought for instance if the great Sudra and Panchama communities went on strike and refused to perform their usual labour unless they were granted a larger share of the profits of the same? Such a movement is bound to come some day and then only will it be possible to fully compare the working of the spirit of unrest in England and India, for then only will there be a brotherhood of aspiration and endeavour, not merely between the more highly educated few, but between the toiling masses of each country, whose wrongs and needs are so much deeper and greater than those of their more highly favoured fellow-countrymen.

I venture to think that Mr. Mongia, judging from the latter part of his article, has failed to realize how potent a force the religious spirit is in English life to-day. It may not manifest it itself as does in India, but it is there, a force making for righteousness and that to a far greater extent than even a three years residence in the country would reveal. That an Indian may be a long time in England without discovering this fully is quite possible and indeed extremely probable. I suppose as a rule that Indians in England do not come very much into contact with the organized Christianity of the churches. It must be remembered too that there is an ever increasing number of the most religious people in England whose religion has but very little connection with rites and ceremonies such as would attract the attention of strangers. There is nothing amongst ordinary Christians that is equivalent to the putting on of the namam, smearing the body with ashes, going on pilgrimage, or taking part in a car pulling festival. Such outward evidences of the religious spirit, so universal in India, have no place whatever in modern English life for the vast majority. Apart even from differences of national temperament there is a reason why this should be so, which I may hint at by saying, that such things will become less and less evident among educated Indians as they feel more and more the pressure and complexity of modern life. Moreover there is a large number of educated people many of them of high moral character, and a larger number of men absorbed in "business", whose interest in religion is of the slightest and who do not care even to "assume a virtue they do not possess." And through his association with men who talk but little about their religion and men who have but little religion to talk about, one may come to the conclusion that religion counts for little in England. Now I must admit sadly, that the spirit of materialism and of absorption in things that are of the earth earthy, is all too prevalent in the West generally. But it is certain that whatever religion may be to the average Englishman, to the most thoughtful and serious it is by no means of secondary importance. Christianity still dominates the best thought and is the inspiration of the noblest characters in England to-day. One has only to turn to the address of the President of the British Association this year to see that Science has not yet banished Religion to the limbo of things unworthy the attention of thoughtful men. There were never so many books and periodicals, religious in character, and yet calculated to appeal to the cultured intelligence of educated men as there are to day. Looking at another aspect of the question, it is a matter of no small significance that so many of the chief leaders of the Labour movement, are not only deeply religious men, but also earnest Christians, and some of them preachers of the Christian Gospel. For in their best aspects, the modern Labour and Socialist movements are essentially religious. It may be characteristic of the West, but to many men who have learned in Christian homes and sancturies, the secret of fellowship with the Unseen and the Eternal, the best way in which they feel they can give expression to the religious spirit that is in them, is by working for the establishment of a kingdom of social righteousness, in which, relieved from the crushing burden of poverty, and from the wearying struggle for mere existence, men shall have an opportunity to realize their own souls and enter into life more abundant and more divine. To the most earnest among the workers for social reform, the thing for which they work is not an end in itself but a means to an end greater than itself. If Christianity were as decrepit a thing in England as Mr. Mongia seems to think it is, then the outlook in the struggle between Capital and Labour would be hopeless indeed. But the fact that Christianity is living and at work, to some extent even in the ranks of capital, makes certain the ultimate triumph of righteousness and peace, of justice and brotherhood.

Mr. Mongia's remarks on missionaries and on the missionary attitude and motive, make me wonder sadly, as I have had to wonder before, why it is that a people so religiously minded as the people of this country, should fail to understand and appreciate the essentially religious motive which prompts all true missionary workers in India and elsewhere. It may appear modern, but when one reads such a state

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ment as, "cheap martyrdom seems to appear more attractive to him than the true spirit of Christianity", one is almost tempted to exclaim, that cheap cynicism is easier of acquirement than a spirit of sympathetic understanding of the truth. It may be said of the vast majority of missionaries that they do not seek martyrdom in connection with their work, and if anything worthy to be dignified with such a name comes to them it is anything but "cheap." "This however by the way." The motive which compels us to take up missionary work is the consciousness of what Jesus Christ is to us and of the loyalty and love we owe to Him. To us He is no "dead fact stranded on the sea of the oblivious years",—no dead and superseded Teacher of a creed outgrown, and of an age long since passed away. He is our ever living ever loving Saviour and Lord, the centre and source of all that is worth anything at all in our religious life, the inspiration of all high endeavour and worthy service. We believe and are sure that He and He alone can in Himself satisfy the deep hunger of the human heart for the eternal God, and that whosoever truly enthrones Him as Lord of life shall thereby enter in to possession of life that is Divine and eternal. And to this as a missionary motive there is joined, as a result of the study of comparative religion, and a deeper and truer understanding of the implication of the teaching of the New Testament, the conviction, that the one great centre of life and liberty and progress for the varied and often warring races of mankind, is to be found only in Jesus Christ. We are convinced by what we have experienced of Him in our own lives that Christ can meet the deepest needs of every soul that is truly seeking to know God. We are convinced also that the hope of humanity for the healing of its sorest wounds and the solution of its darkest problems of national and social life, lies in the recognition of the Overlordship of Jesus Christ, and the acceptance of His will as the governing factor, in its wider life, no less than in the smaller life of the individual units of which it is composed. We desire to see humanity welded into one great brotherhood but we feel that no lesser force than the love that dwells in the heart of the Eternal Christ can bring this miracle to pass.

I trust that what I have written will not be regarded as in any way the expression of a spirit of bitterness or mere carping criticism, or that the statement of my faith in the reality of the religious forces at work in my own country, or my conviction as to the absolute supremacy in religion of Jesus Christ, implies that I consider that the West has nothing to learn from India with regard to the transcendent importance of the things of the spirit. Believing as I do that each individual life and each national life in which He is enshrined is only a fresh vehicle for the expression of His glory, I hold that the world will learn more of Him and of His love than it has never known before, when the untold wealth of India's devotion is laid at the feet of the crucified and glorified Christ. I believe that India can never come to her own in the world without Christ, and that He can never come fully to His own in the world without India. And that is why I and hundreds of others are working as missionaries in India to-day.

W. E. GARMAN.

THE SAPADLAKSHA COUNTRY.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, in his review of my paper on the Prithviraja Vijaya in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, published at p. 318 of the Modern Review for September 1913, says:—"He (Mr. Sarda) takes Sapadlaksha (or Sawalakh) as another name for the kingdom of Ajmer: but Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds a different view. (See *Indian Antiquary*, January 1911)."

But the view expressed by Mr. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1911 does not appear to support the above remark of the learned professor. The fact that the kingdom of Ajmer and Sambhar during the Chauhan times and even in the times of Pathan rulers was called the Sapadlaksha Country admits of no doubt and is beyond the pale of controversy.

It was P. Bhagwanlal Indraji who nearly 40 years ago indentified the Sapadlaksha country with the tracts now known as Gurhwal, Kumaon &c. (*Vide* Indian Antiquary for 1879, Vol. VIII), but Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, though he holds that the name Sapadlaksha had originally been applied to the tracts above-named admits that "there can be no doubt that the kingdom of the Chabmans (Chauhans) was called Sapadlaksha"—*Indian Antiquary* for 1912, p. 29, ft. note.

He also says:—"From inscriptions and early Muhammadan writers it seems that Sapadlaksha included Hansi in the Punjab, Ajmer, Mandor the Capital of Marwar and 6 miles north of Jodhpur, and Mandalgarh in Mewar. All this was exactly the territory held by the Chauhans and there cannot be *even the shadow of a doubt as to this province being called Sapadlaksha* only after their occupation."—*Indian Antiquary* for 1912, p. 29.

Whether the country came to be called Sapadlaksha after its occupation by the Chauhans or before that event took place is another matter, but it is clear that even in Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's opinion the Chauhan Kingdom of Ajmer during the times of which the Prithviraja Vijaya speaks, was known as the Sapadlaksha Country.*

I now give below a few out of the many references found in old Sanskrit works and inscriptions to show that the Chauhan Kingdom of Ajmer and Sambhar was known as the Sapadlaksha Country.

The Prabandha Chintamani written in A. D. 1304 (V. S. 1361) by Meerutunga Acharya mentions Sapadlaksha as the country of the Chauhan kings of Ajmer and Sambhar in at least eight different places. Describing the invasion of Gujrat while Mulraja was king of that country, Meerutunga says:—

कस्मिन्नपावसरे सपादलक्षीय क्षितिपतिः श्रीमूलराजमभिषेणयितुं गुर्जरदेशसन्धौ समाजगाम। (P. 40).

Trans: "On a certain occasion the king of the country of Sapadlaksha came to the border of the land of Gujrat to attack Mulraja"—Tawney's Translation p. 23.

This war is described in the Prithviraja Vijaya (Canto V) and the Hamir Mahakavya (written about the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D.), and in both, the name of the king of the Sapadlaksha Country is given as Vigraharaja. The Hamir Mahakavya Says:—

* In my opinion it does admit of serious doubt whether the province came to be called Sapadlaksha *after* the Chauhans came from the Himalayan tracts and occupied it. I am going to discuss this question in a paper on "Sapadlaksha," which I hope soon to contribute to the *Indian Antiquary*.

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अथौद्दिदीपेन य विग्रहाय वक्षायहो विराजभूपः।

अपुत्र्य वीरव्रत वीर वीरसंवेग्रमान क्रमपादयुग्मं।

श्रीमूलराजं समरे निहत्य यो गूर्जरं जर्जरतामनैषीत् ॥

(Canto II).

Dr. Buhler and Mr. Tawney both identify Sapadlaksha with the kingdom of Sambhar in Eastern Rajputana. *Vide* Tawney's Prabandha Chintamani p. 120, ft. note, also p. 23 ft. note.

Again, describing the war between Anak or Annaji (also called Arnoraja) the Chauhan king of Ajmer, who built the famous Anasagar lake at Ajmer (*Vide* Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive, pp. 34 and 152) and Kumarpala king of Gujrat, the author of the Prabandha Chintamani says:—

तदनु श्रीचौलुक्य भूपतिना श्रीमदानाकनामा सपादलक्षनृपः

शस्त्ररुज्जो भवेत्यभिहितः। (P. 199)

which Principal Tawney thus translates:—"Then the Chalukya king said to the king of the Sapadlaksha country, named Anak."—Tawney's Prabandha Chintamani, p. 121.

The Dvyasarya of Jainacharya Hem Chandra written about A. D. 1160 describing this war between Kumarpala and Annaji says that "the Raja of Sapadlaksha whose name was Anna, when he heard of the death of Jaisingh, now thought the time was come for making himself known."—*Indian Antiquary* for 1911, p. 195. Also Forbes' Rasmala, p. 142.

The Prabandha Chintamani calls the famous Prithviraja Chauhan "the king of Sapadlaksha Country". See Tawney's Translation, p. 188. Also p. 190 where the battle between Shahabuddin Ghori and Prithviraja is described. The original says:—

अथ कदाचित् तस्य म्लेच्छपतेः सूनुर्नृपतिः पितुर्वैरस्य स्मरन्

सपादलक्षक्षितिपतिविग्रहकान्यया ...पृथ्वीराजस्खदातदानुपादिकी

भावं भजन्। (P. 302).

Trans: "Then once upon a time the son of that king of the mlechhas, being now himself king, remembering his father's feud and being desirous of making war on the king of the Sapadlaksha country came with his host, but that army was driven away by the arrows of the valiant bowmen that formed the advance guard of Prithviraja's army."

Another old Sanskrit work of historical value, the *Kirti Kaumadi* written about A.D. 1225 (V.S. 1282) by the poet Someshwara who lived in the court of the kings of Anhalwara Patan describing the war between Annaji king of Ajmer and Siddhraja Jai Singh the predecessor of Kumarpala of Gujrat calls Annaji, the lord of Sakambhari (Canto II) and then in his other work the Surothotsava Kavya (Canto XV, V. 22) calls the same Annaji सपादलक्षनृपतिः "King of Sapadlaksha." He says:—

नृपः सोऽपि सपादलक्षनृपतिः पादानतिः शिक्षितः।

श्रीसिद्ध क्षितिपेन... . । (Canto XV., v 22).

Another important Sanskrit work, the Dharmamrita Sastar of Ashadhara, who flourished about A. D. 1230, says:—

श्रीमानस्ति सपादलक्षविषयः शाकम्भरीभूषण स्तत्र श्रीरति-

धाममण्डलकरं नासास्ति दुर्गं महत्।

"There is a country (called) Sapadlaksha the ornament of which is Sakambhari (Sambhar lake), there is a fort called Mandalkara (Mandalgarh) in Mewar."—Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, p. 39. See also pp. 103-6 of the Preface.

And Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar says: "Sakambhari is no doubt Sambhar, the capital of the Chauhan kingdom"—*Indian Antiquary* for 1911, p. 29, ft. note 15.

If we refer to the inscriptions of the Chauhan kings of Ajmer and Sambhar we find the kingdom of the Chauhans called the Sapadlaksha country in a number of them.

The Chitorgarh inscription (Epigraphia Indica, Vol II, p. 423) says:—

महीभृन्निकुञ्जेषु शाकम्भरीशः.....सपादलक्षयामर्घ नमी-

कृत-भयानकः।

Trans: "When this king (Kumarpala) had defeated the ruler of Sakambhari and devastated the Sapadlaksha country, he went to a place named Salipura &c."

The Visalpur inscription of Prithviraja dated Sambat 1244 (A.D. 1187) calls Prithviraja the king of Sapadlaksha territory. It says:—

समस्तराजावलीसमलङ्कृत परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज

परमेश्वर श्रीपृथ्वीराज देवराजेन तस्मिन् काले संवत् १२४४

श्रावण पूर्व्वं सपादलक्षे .....।

Trans: During the reign of Maharajadhiraja Prithviraja deva Sapadlaksha &c. &c.—Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. VI., plate XXI.

Even the Muhammadan historians have called the country containing Sambhar, Ajmer and Nagor as the Siwalikh country. Siwalikh or Sawalakh is only a Hindi rendering of Sapadlaksha. The Tabqati Nasiri of Minhaji Siraj, written about A.D. 1259, mentions the Siwalikh country in more than a dozen places. He mentions "Naghwar (Nagor) in the territory of Siwalikh" and "Naghaur in Siwalikh."—Major Raverty's translation pp. 110 and 200. Speaking of the conquest of Ajmer by Sultan Muizuddin-bin-Sam (Shahbuddin Ghori) the author says:—"The seat of Government, Ajmer, with the whole of the Siwalikh territory &c." were subjugated—p. 468. Further on, the author says:—"In 624 H. he marched against the fort of Mandawar (Mandor, 6 miles from Jodhpur) within the limits of the Siwalikh territory"—p. 61.

AJMER,
15th October, 1913.

HAR BILAS SARDA.

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THE DATA OF ANCTENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY IN SUKRANITI

By Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, Panini Office, Allahabad.

Geology.

As could be inferred from the accounts given above the country of Sukracharyya is mainly agricultural. From the diverse references to the occupations of the people it would be apparent that the soil is one which is fit for pasture and agriculture. And from the frequent mention of grasses, woods, forests and other signs of rank luxuriant vegetable growth, also, one could easily infer that the crust of the earth is made up of damp alluvial soil. But the poets of the Sukra Cycle know of other regions besides these fertile plains. They mention deserts scorched by the summer sun as we have noticed above. Among fortresses* there are those in deserts also, and these are superior to the forts which are surrounded on all sides by ditches only. Then there are the "barren and rocky soils"† from which according to the humane legislation of Sukracharyya the king should realise only one-sixth as Government Revenue, as opposed to one half from lands irrigated by rivers. Sukra mentions "uneven"‡ grounds also and advises the horsemen to take special care in, or rather refrain from, using those regions. It is not clear, however, what is meant by 'uneven' lands. There may be a reference to ordinary undulations as are to be met with often in plains, or even to hilly tracts which are uneven wholesale.

The treatise of Sukracharyya contains several references to the earth underground. That the earth carries in its womb precious metals is a commonplace idea in Hindu literature. Possession of wealth is, in fact, an attribute of the earth. Sukracharyya also says "The man who is powerful, intelligent and valorous enjoys the earth§ full of its wealth." This is Sukra's version of the idea contained in the adage *Virabhogya Vasundhara* (the *Vasundhara*, the earth, which bears wealth can be enjoyed by the heroes alone). "Mines"* have been often mentioned as one of the sources of Government Revenue. The section on Treasure gives details about precious stones, metals and other mineral products.† This will be treated fully in a subsequent chapter—*The Data of Ancient Indian Mineralogy*.

The mention of sulphur‡ and *Suvarchi* salt (Saltpetre) in connection with the preparation of gunpowder has however to be noted here.

SECTION 5.

Flora and Fauna.

We have found the country described in *Sukraniti* to be a land of diverse natural and physical features. Its wealth of mineral resources has also been hinted at in the last section. Nor is the land poor in its vegetable and animal kingdoms. The poets of the Sukra cycle have nothing to do directly with plants, trees and shrubs or with birds, fishes and mammals. It is only in a subsidiary or auxiliary capacity, *e.g.*, as bearing on the social, economic and political life of man, that these creatures of the lower living world have any place in the treatise of Sukracharyya. But even then the authors have displayed a good deal of knowledge about the habits, habitats, food, diseases, and structure or external characteristics of the plants and animals, as well as the uses to which they are put by man for the furtherance of his ends of life. We shall form an estimate of the Botanical and Zoological knowledge of these authors of the Sukra Cycle in a subsequent chapter. This together with an account of the mineral products of the country would give an Economic Geography (as

* Sukra, IV vi. 2, 11-12.
† Sukra IV ii. 230.
‡ Sukra IV, vii 268.
§ Sukra. I, 349-50.

* Sukra II 211-212, 671-672, IV ii, 213.

† These and allied subjects have been dealt with in the Bengali works on Gems by Prof. Yoges Chandra Ray and Dr. Ramdas Sen as well as in that valuable exposition of Hindu Calture in some of its secular aspects, *The History of Hindu Chemistry* by Dr. P. C. Ray.

‡ Sukra IV, vii, 103-104.

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well as history) of the country in ancient times. In this section we propose to give only the names of the plants and animals occurring in *Sukraniti*.

1. Plants.

Grasses and woods have been mentioned several times. Among the functions of the Sudras one is that of carrying wood and grass*. The Capital† should be situated at a place that abounds in trees and shrubs and plants, is endowed with good supplies of grain and is happily provided with resources in grasses and woods. There is an injunction that the wall of the capital city should have many strong shrubs.‡ Among the persons to be expelled from the commonwealth are people "who live on alms even though they are capable of collecting wood and grasses."§ Men who collect grasses and woods¶ have to pay revenue to the state to the extent of one-third, one-fifth, one-seventh, one-tenth, or one-twentieth.

Vast forests || where elephants run to and fro have been mentioned figuratively in connexion with the moral training of the sovereign. "In a forest ** of six *yojanas* (*i.e.*, forty-eight miles) the best *Rajamarga* is to be constructed; in the middle, the average, and between the two the worst." So the Forest-Administration of the State has provision for roads in extensive woody lands. Forests †† are rich in wild game which are to be killed by kings in their hunting excursions that should be regular features of their lives. The forests are administered by a special officer ‡‡ well up in agri-flori-horti-arbori-culture as we should say in modern times. Solitary forests should not be frequented or even visited by people. This is one of the general rules of morality. The man who has a bad wife or who has to live on alms has been advised to "prefer life in a forest."§§ Forests are the places where wild trees should be planted. Among forest-produce there is the mention of honey.

Creepers have been mentioned only once. "Pandits, females and creepers ¶¶ do not flourish without resting grounds." The causes of the development of flowers * and fruits are known to the superintendent of parks and forests. Three of the sixty *Kalas* or arts are the planting, grafting and preservation of plants, the use of preparations from sugar-canes† and the knowledge of the mixtures of metals and medicinal plants. Every root is supposed to have medicinal properties (II, 254-255).

Sukracharyya has divided trees into two classes, domestic and wild and enumerated them in Section iv of Chapter IV. (II, 95—124). Besides these trees several plants have been mentioned in *Sukraniti*, by name, which are being enumerated below: bamboos (IV,ii. 117-118, IV,iii. 190), lotus (I, 211-212) mustard (III, 619-620), betels (IV, iii. 198), paddy, tila, masa, mudga, yava (IV, iv.107-108), peas, (IV,vii, 285-286), cotton (IV, vii. 356-357), arka, snuhi, and garlic (IV, vii. 400-404). It is to be noted that wheat has been mentioned nowhere.

A careful study of the "habitats" or "Distribution" of these trees, plants and shrubs is likely to be of considerable help in determining the geography of the locality which produced the *Sukraniti*. This will be done in a subsequent chapter. The study of Plant Geography in this connexion is more important than that of the distribution of minerals. For minerals as commercial merchandise may be transported easily from the localities which produce them, whereas plants are more or less stationary commodities which tell their own tale as to their soils, surroundings, etc.

2. Animals.

Facts of Zoo-Geography also like those of Botanical Geography, can be gleaned from passages in *Sukraniti*. But the enumeration of the animals referred to in it, though no doubt it may point, to a certain extent, to the physical environment of the authors' lives, is less important in this respect than that of plants, since common domestic animals, *e.g.*, birds, &c., as well as those used in the Army may be brought from a distance as marketable commodities. This aspect of the question together with the knowledge of Zoology displayed in the work will be treated at some length in a forthcoming chapter. Here we shall sim-

* Sukra I, 85-86.
† Sukra I, 425-428.
‡ Sukra I, 478-479.
§ Sukra IV, i. 209-210.
¶ Sukra IV, ii. 237-238.
|| Sukra I, 193-194.
** Sukra I, 528-529.
†† Sukra I, 665-666.
‡‡ Sukra II, 317-319.
§§ Sukra III, 576-577.
¶¶ Sukra I, 767.

* Sukra II, 317-319.
† Sukra I, 141-147.

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ply enumerate the various animals mentioned in the work to give an idea of the diversity of the lower creatures that has left its impress on the work of the authors of the Sukra Cycle.

Snakes and tigers have been often mentioned and in various connexions. Among the wild animals or "big game" of the forest we find lions* and bears†. The domestic animals are many, *e.g.*, cows, buffaloes, goats, cats, dogs, sheep, deer, bulls. The aquatic animals are the fishes, couries (II, 712-713), conches, (II, 402-403), whales,‡ Raghava,‡ crocodiles, tortoise (I, 531), shells.§ The Animal-Force consists of the horse, the elephant, and the camel. Among birds we have the cuckoo (I, 337-338), the peacock,¶ the drake (I, 337-338), the cock (I, 654-51), the parrot (II, 300-2), the crane (I, 654-657), the pigeon, the partridge, the hawk (II, 300-21), and the *chasha*, (IV, ii, 87). Besides these are monkeys, (I, 654-657), hogs, § ants, (III, 20-22), worms, (III, 20-22), flies, (III, 33-34), bees (III, 33-34) and rats (I 654-657).

SECTION 6.

Ethnology.

Having briefly surveyed the plants and lower animals in the preceding sections it now remains to point out the races or tribes of men mentioned in *Sukraniti* to complete the picture of Bio-geography that may be deduced from it. But the poets of the Sukra Cycle are very chary of any positive information about the various nationalities that lived in their time. *Sukraniti* is the last work in which one should search for ethnographical details about ancient India. We have seen also how poor the work is as a manual of ancient Indian geographical names. This is all the more striking since the work being purely socio-economic and socio-political is expected to be rich specially in the names of kingdoms, peoples, princes and cities. But as the matter stands, the authors fight shy of individual names and deal only with generalities. That the country was a land of diverse races, creeds and tongues as well as of diverse plants, animals, minerals and natural features is evident from the references to "other lands and peoples" "strange countries," "countries and languages," we have already discussed as well as from the mention of the writing of the characters of the various languages as one of the sixty-four *kalas* or arts. The caste divisions with their intermixtures and customs (both domestic and social) which the Sukra poets described in detail will form the subject of a separate chapter. Here we propose to survey the few details about the races of men mentioned in the treatise.

1. The Races.

We have already noticed that among the benefits of travel has been mentioned the pleasure of knowing the numerous religious customs, materials, *races of men*,* hills &c. The intermixtures,† and *antyajas* that have been mentioned in the section on the *arts and sciences* refer to the castes and will be treated along with them.

The following are the tribes mentioned in *Sukraniti*: (1) Yavanas (2) Khasas (3) Mlechchhas (4) Purvadevas or Asuras (5) Rakshasas (6) Pisachas (7) Kiratas and (8) Aryas.

We have seen in a previous chapter that Yavanas, according to *Sukraniti*, "have all the four castes mixed ‡ together. They recognise authority other than that of the Vedas and live in the north and west, their sastras have been framed for their welfare by their own masters. But the rules that are followed for ordinary purposes are the same in the two cases." The purport is that Yavanas differ from the children of the soil only in religion, but in matters of business, politics and the like there is no difference. The poets of the Sukra Cycle have mentioned *Yavanamata* or Yavanism as one of the thirty-two *vidyas* or branches of learning. It is that philosophy which "recognises God as the invisible creator of the Universe and recognises virtue and vice without reference to *Sruti* and *Smriti* and which believes§ that *Sruti* contains a separate religious system." It is thus the non-Vedic creed, or speaking generally, an alien or non-national faith.

* Sukra IV, i. 48-49, IV, iv. 331-334, II, 35-37

† Sukra IV, vii, 330.

‡ Sukra III, 446-447.

§ Sukra IV, ii, 117-118.

¶ Sukra I, 335-33, I 665-666.

* Sukra III, 262-263.

† Sukra IV, iii 22-23,

‡ Sukra IV iv, 74-77.

§ Sukra IV, iv, 1-2.

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76360
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We have seen that the Khasas have been mentioned only once. They are a people living in mountainous tracts to the south and west of the vale of Kashmir. They are a people "who marry the widows of their brothers." *

Sukracharyya refers to Mlechchas five times. "Those who have deserted practising their own duties, who are unkind and troublesome to others, and who are very excitable, envious and foolish are Mlechchas."† The term has been used here metaphorically to connote certain undesirable, barbarous or alien characteristics rather than denote a race or tribe of men ethnologically or politically or even socially distinct from the ruling or predominant people. We find the term used in its literal sense as the name of a distinct race, caste or class of men in the following lines which describe the qualifications of men from among whom recruits are to be drawn for the army as "officers" and "men." "Those who are well up in Nitisastras, the use of arms and ammunitions, manipulations of battle array and the art of management and discipline, who are not too young but of middle age, who are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of their own duties, devoted to their masters and haters of enemies should be made commanders and soldiers whether they are Sudras, or Kshatriyas, Vaisyas or descended from Mlechchas."‡ These lines exclude only the Brahmans of the predominant or the Aryan race recognising the system of castes and stages and allow all the other three castes to be enlisted in the army. They however mention a fourth class of men who may be likewise enrolled. They are evidently beyond the pale of Aryanism or Caste-and-stagism and certainly form a social polity by themselves. This literal sense, however, is not observed in the following lines. "The king who does not punish the false speaking spy becomes the destroyer of the people's persons and properties and is called Mlechchha."§ Here it is equivalent to an abuse or condemnation. The fourth reference in *Sukraniti* to the Mlechchhas is in the literal sense of a race. This is in connexion with the Laws of Property.

"In the Sastras sources of income as well as the castes are known to be various, and that Dharma of the Sastras always finds even the Mlechchhas."* According to the injunctions of Sukracharyya the Mlechchhas also must abide by the regulations regarding title to property which are obeyed by the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, *i.e.*, the four castes of the *Arya* race. If the Mlechchhas or whom the Greeks would have called "Barbarians," do not respect these laws, the community would be jeopardised as is implied in the next line. "For the preservation of the community these have been fixed by previous sages." This is exactly what has been said about Yavanas† who, following their own apostles in matters of faith, must respect the civic laws of the state in which they live. The poets of the Sukra Cycle here displayed a pre-eminently modern conception by thus allowing freedom of religious convictions and practices but compelling obedience to one and the same system of non-religious laws throughout the realm. On the one hand, religious neutrality or toleration which implies a diversity of creeds, and on the other uniformity or unity in economic, political and other secular interests,—these are the notions of the statesmen of the Sukra Cycle in the passages regarding the Yavanas as well as Mlechchhas.

The liberal sense of the term is to be noticed in the following lines where Mlechchhas have been taken almost as a fifth caste or, at any rate, representing a class of men who do not fall within the fold of the four castes: "Not by birth are the Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra and Mlechchha‡ separated, but by virtues and works." Here, again, we have a very rationalistic interpretation of the Caste System, and this leads in the following lines to the use of the words, Brahmana, Kshatriya, &c., almost in the metaphorical sense.

Purvadevas§ or Asuras are the disciples of the Sage Sukracharyya. It is in the lectures of this Professor to his pupils that the present manual of socio-political science is said to have had its birth.

The works of Plato and Aristotle in Ancient Hellas had sirmilar origins in the lectures to their pupils at the schools of the Academy and the Lyceum.

Vatapi is a king of the Asuras¶ mentioned by Sukracharyya to have been ruined through folly. Asuras have been

* Sukra IV, v. 98, † Sukra I, 87-88.
‡ Sukra II. 276-280. § Sukra I. 675-676.

* Sukra IV. v. 585-587. † Sukra IV. iv. 76-77.
‡ Sukra I. 75-76, 77-88. § Sukra I. 1-3.
¶ Sukra I. 287-290.

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mentioned as wicked beings or demons who attend the divine beings the gods in the worships which are celebrated for them. They are in fact demigods, and their images have to be constructed along with those of the benign gods who destroy them. Sukra enjoins that "the images of Pisachas and Asuras* are to be always sixteen *ta'las* (12 *angulas* make 1 *ta'la*). Hiranyakasipu, Vritra, Hiranyaksha, Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Namuchi, Nisumbha, Sumbha, Mahisasura, Raktavija—these are to be sixteen *ta'las* in height." These are extraordinary dimensions, considering that the ordinary images of gods are to be not more than seven, eight, nine or ten *ta'las* (or feet), and the normal is always the seven-tala type for *Kali Yuga*. It is clear that Asuras, here do not denote a race of human beings, but a class of demigods or supernatural creatures—the Titans of Hindu Mythology.

Rakshasas are likewise a race of Titans, the enemies or rather rivals of gods, and have been mentioned in Sukraniti not so much as human beings as mythical giants. But as in the case of Asuras, one of their kings has been mentioned along with other Pauranik kings and Rishis as instances of failure through vices. We read that "Rakshasa† Paulastya was ruined through vanity." About the images of these Rakshasas we are told that "they are to be ten *ta'las*.‡ These images like those of the Asuras, Pisachas and Rakshasas, who may be figuratively regarded as their tribesmen, are to have "long thighs and legs, to be ferocious, cruel and vehement§ or some times very lean and thin."

Kiratas are a class of *Aranyaka* or forest-tribes. They have been mentioned only once in *Sukraniti*, and that in connexion with the division of the Army into two orders—that of the Standing Army and that of the Militia or National volunteers. To this latter class belong the "Kiratas¶ and people living in the forests who have their own resources and depend on their own strength." These wild tribes are enlisted as soldiers and they bring their own arms and accoutrements. These are probably independent races who do not ordinarily acknowledge suzerainty of the neighbouring chief.

The word '*Aryas*' has been mentioned only once. We are told that the "man who abuses the Aryas* and the gods" is one of those who are to be expelled by the king and the Commonwealth.

2. Identification.

We have now gone through the accounts of the Sukra poets about the various races mentioned by them in their work. It is doubtful if we should regard Purvadevas or Asuras, Rakshasas, and Pisachas referred to in the treatise as races of men, for they are really half-men, half-gods, belonging rather to the regions of demons, goblins and giants than to the mundane world of human beings. As for the others, the details are very few indeed. Except the Khasas who can be identified, as they have been in Stein's *Rajtarangini*, the Yavanas, Mlechchhas and Kiratas are more or less generic names of races very difficult to identify until the date of *Sukraniti* is fixed. This is, as I have suggested previously, *petitio principii* at the present stage of our knowledge regarding the branch of Hindu literature known by the name of *Arthasastras* or *Niti Sastras* the terms *Mlechchha* and *Yavana* are very elastic, "chartered words" as they are called, and have been very loosely applied by the Indian authors to anybody who is not of their race, religion or country. They correspond to "Barbarism" of the Hellenes, "Pagans" or "Heathens" of the Christians, "Kafirs" of the Mussalmans and "Welsh" of the English people. That these terms had definite 'connotations' as well as "denotations" in the initial stages of their history there is no doubt. But in the course of time, at any rate in Sukraniti, they have come to be almost identical or synonymous, and as we have seen, both of them metaphorically used to indicate anything that is ignominious, vile or despicable. What, however, we can definitely gather from the passages in the works of the Sukra Cycle leads us to the idea that perhaps the term *Mlechchha* is the genus and *Yavana* is one of its species. Thus Yavanas are a class of men who belong to the Mlechchha group of human races.

The ten *Kiratas*, again, had a special significance when first used. But in Sukraniti it seems to be a generic name for all forest tribes without any special race-characteristics.

* Sukra IV. iv. 179-182. † Sukra I. 287-290.
‡ Sukra IV. iv. 171-172. § Sukra IV. iv. 398-399.
¶ Sukra IV. vii. 28.

* Sukra IV. i. 195-196.

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Though *Sukraniti* is silent about the homes, characteristics, etc., of the races incidentally mentioned in it, it would be interesting to know them from other sources. We therefore proceed to throw a sidelight on these races from accounts to be found in Sanskrit literature.

YAVANAS.

We have already discussed the locality and nationality of the Yavanas and quoted at length Dr. Mitra's conclusions. We may mention here that the word *Yavana* is not to be found in Vedic Literature. The newly published "*Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*" (in two volumes) by Messrs Macdonell and Keith does not notice either Yavanas or Mlechchhas among the sixty-six tribes* or races enumerated in its index. The following observations of Principal P. T. Srinivas Iyengar,† however, are important not only as throwing some light on who may be regarded as the counterpart of the Yavanas and Mlechchas in the age of the *Mantras*, but also as contesting the orthodox theory of the Aryan invasion of India.

"The Vedic Mantras mention the names of about forty tribes who inhabited the regions known to their composers.* * * * Scholars have given the name "Aryas" to those tribes among whom the Mantras were composed and applied the name to a supposed Aryan race which sent successive swarms of invaders to India, Persia, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, Britain, and civilised those lands in pre-historic times. But the progress of anthropology has proved the invasion and civilisation of Europe by the "Aryans" to be a myth. Scholars yet cling to the theory of an "Aryan" race so far as India is concerned. * * * The Aryas and Dasyus or Dasas are referred to not as indicating different races, * * * The words refer not to race but to cult. * * * Arya meant a worshipper of Indra (and Agni) and Dasa or Dasyu meant either demons opposed to Indra or the people that worshipped these demons. * * * The Dasyus are without rites, of different rites, fireless, non-sacrificers, without prayers, without Riks, haters of prayer.* * * * Thus the difference between the Aryas and Dasyus was not one of race but of cult. Nor was there any difference of culture between the Arya and Dasyu. The Dasyus lived in cities * * * possessed wealth, * * owned many castles. * * * Indeed Dasyu and Arya have been understood respectively as enemies and advocates of the fire-cult. * * Sayana defines Aryas to be those that sing hymns, practising fire-rites, and Dasyus to be enemies who destroy, the observers of fire-rites, riteless."

Leaving aside the controversy as to whether the distinction was one of cult and faith only or of culture and race also, we need not hesitate to look upon the Dasyus or Dasas, the enemies of the Aryas, as the "Yavanas" of Vedic India according to the definition of Sukracharyya.

The following extract from Mr. C. V. Vaidya's *Epic India*‡ would throw a fresh light on the topic.

"In the Vedas the Aryans speak of themselves as distinguished from the Dasas or aborigines and the Asuras or Iranians. Gradually through the epic period they lost sight both of the Iranians by distance and of the Dasas or aborigines by extinction or assimilation. They now spoke of the Aryans as distinguished from the Mlechchhas who surrounded their country. Let us examine who were included in that word. When the cow of Vasistha created the Mlechchhas to destroy the Army of Viswamitra who was trying to take her away by force it is stated that the cow created from the several parts of her body the Pahlavas, the Dravidas, the Shakas, the Yavanas, the Shabaras, the Paundras, the Kiratas, the Sinhalas, the Barbaras, the Khasas, the Chibukas, the Pulindas, the Chinas, the Hunas, the Keralas, and many other Mlechchhas.† * * * It appears plain that the Dravidian peoples of the South were looked upon as Mlechchhas equally with the Yavanas and Shakas. It seems also probable that the Aryans of India knew these Yavanas and Shakas and Hunas and Chinas long before they actually invaded India."

In *A Peep into the Early History of India*,‡ Dr. Bhandarkar identifies the Yava-

* See pp. 590-1.

† *Life in Ancient India* pp. 8-15.

‡ Sukracharyya's account of Yavanas who respect authority other than that of the Vedas and who have their own spiritual masters exactly corresponds to this description of the enemies of the Vedic Aryas.

* Pp. 25-26 (Edition of 1907.)

† It would thus appear that Yavanas are a species of Mlechchas, as have been suggested above; not Yavanas only, but also the Khasas and the Kiratas mentioned in Sukraniti are thus two branches of the Mlechchhas.

‡ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1900), p. 370-72.

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nas with the Bactrian Greeks on the strength of a passage from Patanjali and the tradition alluded to by Kalidasa in the *Malavikagnimitra*, that Pushyamitra's sacrificial horse was captured on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus by Yavana cavalry. "The instances given by Patanjali * * * are *Arunad Yavanah Saketam : Arunad Yavano Madhhamikam*. This shows that a certain Yavana or Greek prince had besieged Saketa or Ayodhya and another place called Madhyamika when Patanjali wrote this. The late Dr. Goldstucker identified this Yavana prince with Menander. * * * In another place Patanjali gives *Saka-Yavanan*, as an instance of an aggregate *Dwandwa* which signifies that they were Sudras and lived beyond the confines of Aryavarta." In an analysis of the historical Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples of Western India.* Dr. Bhandarkar says : "Gotamiputra Satakarni quelled the boast and pride of Kshatriyas and destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pallavas." On the evidence of inscriptions and coins his conclusion is that the Greeko-Indian or Yavana kings† were in possession of parts of India from about the beginning of the second century before Christ to the arrival of Sakas."

Dr. Bhandarkar's testimony refers to the Yavanas as rulers or warriors, and as such we find them in Ayodhya, in Upper India, and also in the Deccan the land of the Satavahanas or Andhrabhrityas. But as a people with a certain culture, language and faith the Yavanas have been known to the Indians since at least the sixth century B. C. when Panini the great grammarian ‡ flourished.

Mlechchhas.

About the more generic word Mlechchhas we quote the following from Mr. Vaidya's *Epic India* : §

"At the end of the Epic Period the word Arya comprises not only the three castes but also the Sudra within it and is opposed to Mlechchhas." Thus "all peoples who are outside the castes born of the head, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahma whether they speak the Aryan or the Mlechchha languages are Dasyus." (Manu X. 46).

The following is also taken from the same work :

"The Mahabharata, Bhisma Parva, Chapter IX, mentions 157 peoples in Hindustan properly so called, 50 peoples in the south, i. e., to the south of the Nerbudda, and about 14 Mlechchha peoples beyond India in which term we include Afghanistan as well as Kashmir. * * * The countries and peoples to the east * were originally looked upon as Mlechchhas.† They were the Angas, Vangas and the Kalingas. * * The Northern ‡ Mlechchhas comprise almost all those people who were undoubtedly known at the end of the epic period after the conquests of Alexander. But we cannot but believe that many of these people must have been known to the Aryans several centuries before."

"The Mlechchhas § who attempted to speak the Sanskrit language committed mistakes," as would be evident from the following verse in the *Adi Parva* of Mahabharata : "*narya mlechchhanti bhashabhih*" or the Aryas do not mlechchise in speech, i. e., as the commentator explains it, do not commit mistakes in speaking. As has been already alluded to in connexion with Yavanas : "The Mahabharata constantly speaks of the Aryas, i. e., the orthodox population of the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhya range as distinguished from the Mlechchhas who inhabited countries beyond these whether to the East, South or the West. In the Bhisma Parva it is expressly stated in the beginning that the peoples were Aryas, Mlechchhas and mixed races."¶

The metaphorical or non-literal use of the words, Arya, Yavana and Mlechchha in certain passages of *Sukraniti* has already been hinted at. There are instances of this use in the Mahabharata also. Mr. Vaidya says : "The Aryans had not only not forgotten their race but had also not forgotten the superiority of their race in morality, and we find the epics constantly using the word *Arya* to signify what is good and high, conscious of the facts that the word meant originally a race and that high morals were characteristic of that race only. *Anarya-*

* Early History of the Dekkan, Section IV.
† A Peep into the Early History of India.
‡ Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. (Edition of 1881). Pp. 177-178
§ I. 27.

* East of the Gandaki, the river mentioned in *Sukraniti* also.
† Vaidya's *Epic India*, pp. 280-288.
‡ Ibid p. 271.
§ Ibid p. 321.
¶ Vaidyas Epic India, pp. 23-24.

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jushta * is an expression of frequent occurrence in the epics showing that "not practised by the Aryans" was synonymous with "not good" or "not moral."

For the earliest use of the word Mlechchha we have to refer to a passage in the Satapatha Brahmana "where it occurs in the sense of a barbarian† in speech. The Brahman is there forbidden to use barbarian speech."

The long extracts from the works of Mr. Iyengar, Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Vaidya must have made it clear that the Yavanas and Mlechchhas have been names of different peoples in different periods scattered over various parts of India; and until and unless the date of *Sukraniti* is fixed it is impossible to identify the tribes who are meant by the poets of the Sukra Cycle in the passages which describe them as living in the North and West, professing non-Vedic faith and obeying their own spiritual guides. Or perhaps in these lines we have a clue to the date of the work, or at any rate, of certain portions of it. For whatever be the age of other parts of *Sukraniti* it may be presumed that these lines were the composition of men at the time when Yavanas were definitely known to live in a specified quarter of India, namely *pratyaguttara,i.e.*,'North-Western' or 'Northern *and* Western.'

Aryas.

We have incidentally noticed above that the word *Arya* was used often not for a race but for the qualities of good breeding, &c., that the civilised people or orthodox Indian nations represented. In the passage quoted above from *Sukraniti* about the persons who abuse the Aryas as well as gods it is doubtful if the word has been taken literally or metaphorically. But from the general trend of the whole treatise we may gather that a people "consisting of all the four castes is here meant as distinguished from the Mlechchhas. Messrs. Macdonell and Keith‡ give the following history of the word in Vedic literature: "Arya is the normal designation in the Vedic literature from the Rig-Veda onwards of an Aryan, a member of the three upper classes, Brahmana, Ksatriya, or Vaisya. * * * The Arya stands in opposition to Dasa, but also the Sudra. Sometimes the expression is restricted to the Vaisya Caste. * * * The word Arya also occurs frequently as an adjective to describe the Aryan classes or name. * * * Aryan foes are referred to beside Dasa foes, and there are many references to war of Aryan versus Aryan. * * * In the later Samhitas and Brahmanas the wars alluded to seem to be mainly Aryan Wars." It is thus clear that the three upper castes were called Aryas and the lowest the Dasas. In the course of time, *i.e.*, during the post-Vedic ages, the lowest classes, the Dasas or Sudras, constituted the fourth caste of the Aryas. And the name Arya became opposed to Mlechchha as we have seen above in the extracts from Mr. Vaidya's *Epic India*.

Kiratas.

The Kiratas have been mentioned in the Mahabharata as a species of Mlechchhas born out of Vasistha's cow. Kalidasa's hero Raghu in his *digvijaya* or conquest of the quarters of the globe overpowers the Kiratas and other hill-tribes, somewhere near the Kailasa Mountain. The word is found in Vedic literature also. The following is taken from the note on the word in the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*:* "Kirata is a name applied to a people living in the caves of the mountains. * * Later, the people were located in Eastern Nepal, but the name seems to have been applied to any hill-folk, no doubt aborigines, though the Manava Dharma Sastra regards them as degraded Ksatriyas."

Raksasas and Pisachas.

It has already been suggested that Raksasas and Pisachas, as used in *Sukraniti* seem to be half-men, half-gods, and not full human beings. "In the early Vedic literature† Raksas refers to demons, and is only metaphorically applied to human foes. No definite tribe is meant." This is the verdict of Messrs. Macdonell and Keith who also assert that "similarly Pisachas are not a tribe in Vedic literature, whatever they may have been later." The following is their note to the word *Pisacha*: "Pisacha† is the name of a class of demon mentioned in Atharvaveda and later. In the *Taittiriya*

* Vaidyas *Epic India* p. 24.

† Note on the word *Mlechchha* in the *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith. Vol. II. p. 181.

‡ *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*. Vol. I. pp. 64-5, in the "Indian Text" series.

* Vol. I, pp. 157-158.

† Vol. I, p. 484.

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Samhita they are associated with Raksasas and Asuras, while opposed to gods, men and fathers. In the Atharvaveda they are described as eaters of flesh.* * * It is possible that the Pisachas were, as suggested by Grierson, really human foes like the north-western tribes. * * This is, however, not at all likely."

The following extracts from Mr. Vaidya's *Epic India* give us some idea of the homes of the Raksasas, whether regarded merely as 'ghouls' or real human beings: "The Takshas and Raksasas were originally a people who lived on the sea-coast. * * * Even in their conquest of the Punjab and the Upper Gangetic valley the Aryans must have sometimes come in contact with fierce cannibalic Dravidian races. * * * Aryan adventurers * * plant colonies in the Central Provinces only at suitable places, though they were frequently infested by Raksasas. * * * In the Raksasa form of marriage the bridegroom was allowed to abduct by force the daughter of a Ksatriya whether she was a willing party or not. * * * The modern Deccan was preeminently the country of the Raksasas."

Asuras.

Asura is a very important word in Sanskrit literature, both Vedic and post-Vedic. We are specially interested in it as our author Sukra is the *guru* of the Asuras. Rev. K. M. Banerjea is one of the first scholars to have studied the etymology of the word Asura and the nationality of the race denoted by it. The following is taken from the Preface to his *Arian Witness*†: "No term in the Rig Veda seems to have puzzled students, translators and commentators more than the word Asura. The modern idea denoted by the term is that of an ogre and a demon. The idea is annually embodied in the person of the Mahisasura among the figures worshipped at the Durga Puja. He appears there as the fiercest of the goddess's enemies receiving his death wounds at her hands. In the Rig Veda, however, the gods themselves are, all of them termed and accosted as Asuras, and one of them introduced at the moment as the creator of the Universe, is called the *all-knowing and wise Asura*. And yet the same Veda elsewhere gives an opposite picture of the character indicated by the term, corresponding to the modern ideal of a demon and an ogre, and the very same individuals are sometimes represented as Asuras, and again landed as destroyers of Asuras. * * The Rig Veda continues a witness of both senses, but the later Vedas and all subsequent sastras give exclusively the odious sense of evil spirits, hostile to gods and Brahmans and inimical to their long-cherished institution of sacrificial ceremonies."

This double character of the Asuras as (1) gods as well as the people who worship the gods and (2) devils as well as the people who worship the devils has been explained by the evidences of comparative Philology. The two branches of the Primitive Aryans, viz., the Iranians (Persians) who have developed the *Zend Avesta* with the theogony of the Asuras and the Indo-Aryans (Hindus) who have developed the Rig-Veda with the theogony of the Devas were once living on the same soil in a common home. Various causes of differentiation led at last to their separation as enemies and mutual vilification of each other. The two stages of their relations, viz., friendly as well as inimical, have been portrayed in the sacred literature of both the peoples. It is in the second stage of their relations that the Iranian devils are the Indo-Aryan gods, and the Indo-Aryan devils are the Iranian gods. Thus the *Asuras*,* who are the beneficent gods of the western branch of the Aryans have become the worst enemies of the *devas*, the gods of the eastern branch; while the *devas* of the eastern are the devils of the western.

* Vedic Index by Macdonell and Keith Vol. I. p.533.
† Vaidya's *Epic India* pp, 6,7,8, 306.
‡ Published by Thacker Spink & Co. (1875)

* This interesting topic has been dealt with by Dr. Rajendralala Mitram his paper on *Primitive Aryans* in *Indo-Aryans* Vol. II and also in a short article by Mr. Maheschandra Ghosh in the Bengali Monthly, the *Pravasi* Vol. VI. No. 11, pp-587-593. For some of the characteristics of these eternal enemies of the Indian gods and peoples see also Mr. Vaidya's *Epic India*, pp. 23, 25, 27, 93, 131, 294, 293, 353, 464, 504.

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THT SO-CALLED SUPERIORITY OF THE BRAHMANS

WE are apt to take it for granted that the Brahmans of Bengal are intellectually superior to all other castes. It is the object of this short paper to examine this notion a little closely and see whether it is justified by the facts and figures that are available to us. It is well-known that even in ancient India, when the supremacy of the Brahmans was unquestioned, the non-Brahmans often took the lead in matters intellectual and in the realm of thought. The Upanishads were written by the Khastriyas ; the philosophy of the Geeta was expounded by Srikrishna ; and Buddha also belonged to the royal race. Many of the religious leaders of the middle ages were non-Brahmans. At the dawn of British ascendancy, Maharajah Rajbullav, a Baidya, was no less prominent a figure in the administration than Maharaja Nandakumar, a Brahman, and ever since then, the torch of intellectual leadership has been handed down by Brahmans and non-Brahmans alike. In Bihar, the Brahmans are nowhere before the Lala Kayasthas. In Bengal, the two uncrowned kings of Bengali literature, Bankimchandra and Rabindranath, are no doubt Brahmans, but Michael Madhusudan was a Kayastha, while Nabinchandra was a Baidya ; among religious reformers Raja Rammohan and Maharshi Devendranath were Brahmans, Keshabchandra Sen and Protapchandra Mazumdar were Baidyas, and Vivekananda was a Kayastha ; the two Bengali scientists of European repute—Drs. J. C. Bose and P. C. Ray—are both Kayasthas ; and the two greatest benefactors of Education in Bengal —Sir T. N. Palit and Dr. Ghose—also belong to the same caste. But it is not my purpose to confine the enquiry to men of genius or great talent, for they are a class apart, obeying no ethnic or social barriers, and spring from all strata of society. If our conclusions are to have any general validity, our data must be collected from a much wider field than the narrow circle of great men presents to us.

The Census of India, 1911, Vol. V, Parts I and II, and 1901, Vol. VI, Part I and II, and the published results of the different university examinations, will furnish us with the materials we want. We do not indeed get from these records all that is necessary to make the enquiry complete and exhaustive, but they are the only available sources, and we must make the most we can of them. The information supplied by them is often defective, and the directions in which the defects lie will be pointed out at their proper place. At the same time the materials at our disposal will enable us to form a general idea of the relative positions of the different castes with some approach to accuracy.

Of the various castes into which the Hindu community of Bengal is divided, the most numerous is that of Chasi Kaibartas, who exceed 20 lakhs. Next come the Namasudras (19 lakhs) and the Rajbansis (14½ lakhs). The Brahmans come next with a population of 12½ lakhs, and the Kayasthas come immediately after the Brahmans, having a population of over 11 lakhs. None of the other castes count their numbers by tens of lakhs. Those numbering 3 lakhs and above are given below, in order of their numerical strength : Bagdis (7½ lakhs), Goalas (6 lakhs), Sadgops (5¼ lakhs), Napits (4⅓ lakhs), Muchis (4¼ lakhs), Pods (4 lakhs), Baishnavs (4 lakhs), Jogis (3⅓ lakhs).

The Brahmans and Kayasthas therefore come fourth and fifth in the list in order of numerical strength. The Baidyas count less than a lakh all told, and therefore come much below the Brahmans and Kayasthas in the list. But as generally speaking, the Brahmans, Kayasthas and Baidyas constitute a class by themselves, and are usually meant by the designation *Bhadralok*, we shall confine our enquiry to these three higher castes. This will be doing no injustice to the other castes, for except three minor castes (Gandhabanik, Agarwala and Subarnabanik) who will be referred to in their proper place, no other caste can stand comparison with the three castes at the top of the social scale in regard to any matter which may legitimately come within the scope of our present enquiry.

The exact figures for the three higher

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castes at the present census (vide Part II, Table XIII) are as follow: Baidyas :—males, 44,345, females 44,451, total, 88,796; Kayasthas:—males, 570, 819, females, 542, 662, total, 1,113,481; Brahmans :—males, 666,580, females, 587,258, total, 1,253,838.

It is well-known that among Brahmans there are certain degraded subcastes who occupy a lower status, e. g., Agradanis, who officiate at funeral ceremonies, Acharjis, who cast horoscopes, and Daibajnas or astrologers, Bhats or family bards, and Barna Brahmans, who serve castes below the Navasakhs. Besides these, certain Nepali Brahmans in the Rajshahi division have been counted among the Brahmans of Bengal. In the census of 1911, the figures of Nepali Brahmans, Daibajnas, Barna Brahmans, Agradanis (who include Patit Brahmans), have been given for North and East Bengal only. In the census of 1901 the figures for all the natural divisions of Bengal have been given. The total of these degraded Brahmans stood in 1901 at 78,476. No separate figures for Bhats and Acharjis were given, and if their number be added to the above figure, and the natural growth of population during the next decade be taken into consideration, the total number of degraded Brahmans for Bengal at the census of 1911 will come up to over a lakh. To be on the safe side however, we shall raise the figure to a lakh and a half, or to be quite precise, 1,53,838, so as to leave us eleven lakhs of Brahmans in round numbers as the unit of comparison.

In regard to the Kayasthas also, it is a matter of common knowledge and it has also been referred to in the Census Reports of 1901 and 1911, that a large number of low class Sudras have passed themselves off as Kayasthas, so that, in order to afford a reliable basis of comparison, these Sudras should be eliminated, as far as possible, from the ranks of Kayasthas. The Census Report for 1901 (pages 312 and 460) shows that in 1891 as many as 2,34,555 persons entered themselves as Sudras of which 1,24,523 were returned in the Dacca and Chittagong divisions, and 1,10,032 in the other divisions of Bengal. But in the census of 1901 the total number returned as Sudras was 1,85,789 only, of which practically the whole was contributed by the Dacca and Chittagong divisions, and the 1 lakh 10 thousand Sudras returned for the other divisions in 1891 vanished altogether. But this is not all. At the census of 1911, 38,000 Sudras of the Dacca and Chittagong divisions returned themselves as Kayasthas (page 512, Vol. V). Excluding these 38,000 Sudras from the total number of Kayasthas returned at the present census, we find that their actual strength is reduced to 1,075,481. Now the possibility is that the disappearance of 1 lakh 10 thousand Sudras at the census of 1901 was due to their absorption in the ranks of the Kayasthas, and if that be so, the number of these pseudo-Kayasthas, augmented by natural growth, is not now likely to fall far short of 1 lakh 75 thousand. We shall therefore make a further deduction of 1,75,481 from the total number of Kayasthas, so as to leave a residue of nine lakhs in round numbers, which we shall take to be the actual strength of the Kayastha community in the presidency of Bengal.

For facility of comparison, we shall increase the total number of Baidyas by 1,204 persons, so as to give us the round number 90,000 for all Bengal. This will of course prejudice the Baidyas but the disadvantage will be very slight.

We shall thus proceed on the basis that there are 90 thousand Baidyas, 9 lakhs of Kayasthas and 11 lakhs of Brahmans in Bengal. Roughly therefore, in order to make the status of the three higher castes proportionately equal, there must be ten Kayasthas and thirteen Brahmans to every Baidya in every sphere of activity to which we may choose to extend our investigation. Let us now see what the actual proportion is, in the various walks of life for which statistics are available.

Of field-labourers, labourers in mines, artisans, domestic servants, and labourers of all other kinds, there are 896 among Baidyas, 40,844 among Kayasthas, and 48,605 among the Brahmans of Bengal. That is to say, 1 per cent of Baidyas, 4·5 per cent of Kayasthas and 4·4 per cent of Brahmans are engaged in domestic and menial service.

We find that among agents, managers, and clerks in landed estates, plantations, and forest offices there are 1,606 Baidyas, 13,047 Kayasthas and 13,889 Brahmans; among owners, managers and clerks in mines, there are 33 Baidyas, 61 Kayasthas, and 395 Brahmans; among owners, managers and clerks in factories there are 119 Baidyas, 333 Kayasthas, and 2,727 Brahmans; and among contractors, cashiers and clerks not specified above, there are

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799 Baidyas, 2,010 Kayasthas, and 13,397 Brahmans. Managers and owners of mines and factories are extremely few among us, and the vast majority of the above numbers are clerks. Besides the Kayasthas enumerated above, 32,155 persons of that caste have returned their occupation as that of writers or clerks. The total number of clerks, therefore, is 2,557 among Baidyas, 47,606 among Kayasthas, and 35, 418 among Brahmans. In other words, about 3 per cent. of Baidyas, 5·3 per cent. of Kayasthas, and 3·5 per cent. of Brahmans follow the clerical profession. So far as the rank and file of intellectuals among the three higher castes are concerned, therefore, the Kayasthas come easily first, the Brahmans come next, and the Baidyas follow close at their heels.

Among gazetted officers, there are 182 Baidyas, 452 Kayasthas, and 607 Brahmans. That is to say, 20 in every 10,000 Baidyas, 5 out of every 10,000 Kayasthas, and 6 out of the same number of Brahmans, hold gazetted appointments. In respect of these appointments, therefore, where the test of education and intellectual fitness is much higher than that required for clerical service, the Baidyas sweep the Kayasthas and Brahmans before them. Next to the Baidyas, *longo intervallo*, come the Brahmans, and last of all the Kayasthas.

At the last census, a separate table was prepared for Indian Government officers of superior rank in the various departments of provincial administration. Analysing the results, the Census Report (p. 486) of 1901 says:—

"As regards their relative success among themselves, it will be noticed that the Baidyas have by far the largest share of these appointments, and the Brahmans the smallest. The Baidyas are outnumbered by the Brahmans and Kayasthas in the ratio of 34 to 1 and 18 to 1 respectively; yet they can boast of 7 covenanted and statutory civilians compared with two who are Brahmans, and 13 who are Kayasthas. Of the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates, 70 are Baidyas, 128 Brahmans, and 144 Kayasthas. The proportion of Baidyas is not so high among the Sub-judges and Munsifs, but even here, with 40 appointments compared with 136 filled by Brahmans and 160 by Kayasthas, they have far more than their fair numerical share."

Among commissioned and gazetted officers of the Police force, there are 65 Baidyas, 158 Kayasthas, and 289 Brahmans. That is to say, out of every 10,000 persons, 7·2 among Baidyas, 1·7 among Kayasthas and 2·6 among Brahmans are superior or subordinate officers of the Police force above the rank of constables. Here, too, the Baidyas predominate, the Brahmans coming a long way after, and the Kayasthas come last.

Among lawyers, doctors and teachers, who absorb most of the products of our universities, there are 1,995 Baidyas, 15,471 Kayasthas and 89,255 Brahmans. Besides this, 4,249 Baidyas follow the traditional occupation of Kavirajes and 89,255 Brahmans have returned priesthood and the profession of religion as their means of livelihood. If we take 10 per cent. of the former as Kavirajes or physicians of some position and learning, and 5 per cent. of the latter as Pundits of *tols* and therefore fit to be classed with teachers, we have the total figures for Baidyas, Kayasthas and Brahmans following these learned professions as 2,419, 15,471 and 28,416 respectively. These figures work out to 2·7 per cent. for Baidyas, 1·7 per cent. for Kayasthas and 2·1 per cent. for Brahmans.

A more accurate idea can however be obtained if we scan the figures for these three professions separately. Unfortunately such figures are not available for the whole of the presidency, but for the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong divisions only, forming the defunct Government of East Bengal. Here among lawyers (including Law-agents and Muktears) there are 510 Baidyas, 1,709 Kayasthas, and 1,444 Brahmans, which means that out of every ten thousand persons of each caste, 56 Baidyas, 19 Kayasthas and 13 Brahmans are lawyers. Here the advantage is obviously with the Kaidyas, who are followed at a long distance by Kayasths, and last of all come the Brahmans. It need not be mentioned that the profession of law is *the* profession in which the Indian intellect shines most conspicuously, and the relative position which the Brahmans occupy here is certainly not in their favour.

Of medical practitioners of all kinds in North and East Bengal (including dentists, oculists, and veterinary surgeons), there are 2,066 among Baidyas, 4,352 among Kayasthas, and 2,872 among Brahmans. In other words, 230 Baidyas, 48 Kayasthas and 26 Brahmans in every 10,000 are medical practitioners. That the Baidyas should be *facile princeps* in their traditional occupation is not a matter of surprise, but the withdrawal of the Brahmans from the professions of Kaviraj is a matter for profound regret, and Hindu medicine attained

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its highest development in the hands of the Brahmans (see Imperial Gazetteer, edition 1907, pages 457-58, Vol. IV).

In the ranks of professors, teachers and inspectors of schools and colleges, there are, in North and East Bengal, 509 Baidyas, 3,035 Kayasthas and 2,799 Brahmans; which shows that out of every 10,000 members of each of these castes, 56 Baidyas, 33 Kayasthas and 25 Brahmans are teachers. Here too, the Baidyas are easily first, the Kayasthas form a bad second, and the Brahmans are at the bottom.

So far North and East Bengal are concerned, therefore, among lawyers, doctors and teachers, the Baidyas lead the way, the Kayasthas lag far behind, and the Brahmans bring up the rear. The Hindu population of Central and West Bengal exceeds that of North and East Bengal by about 12 lakhs, and there the Brahmans, though more numerous, occupy a relatively inferior position.

From the statistics available we find that there are 26 Baidyas, 175 Kayasthas and 149 Brahmans among managers of factories. That is to say, 3 Baidyas, 2 Kayasthas and 1·4 Brahmans in every ten thousand are factory managers. Poor as the figures are for every caste, here, too, the relative pre-eminence of the Baidyas is evident.

Taking the Income Tax assessees, we find that the Baidyas contribute 480, Kayasthas 3,041 and Brahmans 2,856 to their total number. Thus out of every ten thousand persons belonging to the three higher castes, 53 Baidyas, 33 Kayasthas and 26 Brahmans pay an Income tax. There are therefore twice as many Baidyas as there are Brahmans who attain the assessable standard of competence. It is well known that none of the three higher castes derives its income mainly from trade or commerce, and most of their well-to-do members follow one of the liberal professions. It would thus appear that in these professions there are relatively many more Baidyas and Kayasthas than Brahmans.

"In Bengal, none of the three castes who contribute most largely to the *Bhadralok* class are on the downgrade. The Brahmans in this porvince have increased by 7½ p.c., the Baidyas by 9 p.c., and the Kayasthas by 13 p.c.," (Vol.V, Part I, 1911, p. 509).

From this it would appear that the Kayasthas possess the greatest vitality, the Baidyas stand midway, and the Brahmans come next.

Coming now to the test of literacy, we find that the Subarnabaniks, Gandhabaniks and Agrawalas compete with the three higher castes on very favourable terms, and that these six castes belong to a class apart, having 300 per mille and above of literates; none of the other castes can boast of much above 150 per mille of literates.

In point of literacy, the Subarnabaniks and Agarwalas stand below the Baidyas, but above the Kayasthas and Brahmans; if we confine ourselves to literacy in English, the Subarnabaniks even stand slightly above the Baidyas. This fact, however remarkable, does not concern us at present. Nor are we concerned with Europeans, 88 per cent. of whom are literate, or with Eurasians and Brahmos, of whom 84 and 78 per cent. respectively can read and write. As before, we shall confine our investigation to the Baidyas, Kayasthas and Brahmans.

The standard of literacy prescribed for the census of 1911 was rather high. A person was to be recorded as literate only if he could write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. The test of literacy in English was the ability to read and write a letter in English.

The following table will show at a glance the total number of literates, and of literates in English, both male and female, among the three higher castes:

Caste.	Literates.			Literates in English.		
	Total	males	females	Total	males	females
Baidyas	46,995	31,663	15,332	18,441	17,535	906
Kayasthas	384,783	322,407	62,376	108,512	105,790	2,722
Brahmans	472,342	410,771	61,571	129,223	126,974	2,249

According to the census report, 53 per cent. of the Baidyas, 35 per cent. of the Kayasthas, and 40 per cent. of the Brahmans are literate.

"It is noticeable that not only do the Baidyas come first in general literacy, but that their women are far more generally educated than those of any other caste. No less than 35 per cent. of the Baidya women are literate, and they leave the Brahman and Kayastha women far behind, the proportion in their cases being only 11 per cent. and 13 per cent. respectively. It may be added that the position of the Kayasthas in the list, which is *prima facie* low, may be ascribed to a large number of Sudras, a low caste of East Bengal, passing themselves off as Kayasthas" (p. 359, Part I).

As for literacy in English, the report says:—

"The order of precedence among different castes is different from that for general literacy. The first place is held by the Subarnabanik, to whom however the Baidya is very little inferior. Then come in order, the

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Brahman, Kayastha, Gandhabanik and Agarwala" (p. 361, Do.).

According to the census tables, there are 532 literate Baidyas, 347 literate Kayasthas, and 399 literate Brahmans, in every thousand of these castes; of literate females per thousand, there are 346 among Baidyas, 134 among Kayasthas and 113 among Brahmans. Similarly in every ten thousand of each caste, there are 2,088 Baidyas literate in English, and 980 Kayasthas and 1,090 Brahmans similarly qualified; of literate females for ten thousand, the Baidyas, Kayasthas and Brahmans can boast of 204, 50 and 41 respectively.

Our revised estimate of the total strength of the three higher castes in the presidency, in which due allowance has been made for low class Brahmans and Kayasthas, shows these latter to better advantage as compared with the Baidyas, but even then the percentage stands thus:

I. *Literacy.*		II. *Literacy in English.*	
Baidyas	53 p.c.	Baidyas	20·5 p.c.
Kayasthas	42·7 p.c.	Kayasthas	12 p.c.
Brahmans	43 p.c.	Brahmans	11·7 p.c.

III. *Literacy among females.*		IV. *English literacy among females.*	
Baidyas	35 p.c.	Baidyas	20 per mille.
Kayasthas	13 p.c.	Kayasthas	6 per mille.
Brahmans	12 p.c.	Brahmans	5 per mille.

That is to say, in all the four tests, the Baidyas far surpass the Kayasthas and Brahmans, who are nearly equal among themselves, the advantage being slightly in favour of the Kayasthas.

We now come to the results of the University examinations. We have omitted the professional examinations,—those on law, medicine, engineering, etc.,—and have confined ourselves to the Matriculation, I. A. and I. Sc., B. A. and B. Sc., M. A. and M, Sc., examinations. We have also collected the statistics for the examinations held by the Board ofSanskritExaminations. The figures are of course somewhat conjectural; for instance, Rays are to be found among all the three higher castes; Majumdars occur both among Brahmans and Baidyas; Das and Sen occur both among Baidyas and Kayasthas. In all such cases, we have distributed the number equally among the castesin which the same surnames occur. Again, it is impossible to distinguish between Kayasthas and Sudras among successful candidates, but as the standard of educational attainments among Sudras is not high, the chance of error from this source is small. Further, we have taken the statistics for one year —1911—only. If the figures for a whole decade could be tabulated, the investigation would of course have been far more satisfactory. But as it is, it is not too much to hope that the enquiry will yield us fairly reliable data for ascertaining the relative position of the three higher castes in the matters of secondary and higher education.

We give below two tables, which we have taken some trouble to prepare, and they will explain the situation at a glance. The result of the Sanskrit Title Examination has been taken from last year's *Calcutta Gazette*, as the result of the examination held in 1913 has not yet been published.

Table A.—TOTAL NUMBER OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES IN 1913 ACCORDING TO CASTE.

University Examinations	Baidya		Kayastha		Brahman	
Matriculation	777		2313		1779	
Inter. Art	264	363	698	973	935	830
Inter. Scince	99		275		195	
Total of undergraduates	1140		3286		2609	
B. A.	150	185	353	456	327	415
B. Sc.	35		103		88	
M. A.	32	38	66	75	76	96
M. Sc.	6		9		20	
Total of graduates	223		531		511	
Sankrit Title Examination	Baidya		Kayastha		Brahman	
Priliminary (First)	54		41		376	
Intermediate (Second)	25		17		276	
Final (Title)	23		18		239	
Total	102		76		891	

Table B.—PERCENTAGE OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES IN 1913 ACCORDING TO CASTE

University Examinations	Baidya	Kayastha	Brahman
Matriculation	·86	·25	·16
I. A. } I.Sc. }	·4	·18	·075
Total of undergr.	1·3	·36	.23
B. A. } B. Sc. }	·2	·05	·04
M. A. } M. Sc. }	·04	·008	·008
Total of graduates	·25	·06	·04
Sanskrit Title Examination	Baidya	Kayastha	Brahman
Preliminary (First)	·06	·004	·034
Intermediate (Second)	·03	·002	·025
Final (Title)	·02	·002	·02
Total	·1	·008	·08

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The above tables will show that here, as elsewhere, the Baidyas are a long way ahead, and that as between the Kayasthas and the Brahmans, the latter come off second best. For instance, in every ten thousand, there are 130 Baidyas, 36 Kayasthas and 25 Brahmans among the undergraduates, and 25 Baidyas, 6 Kayasthas and 4·5 Brahmans among the graduates, of the year. Incidentally, these figures will show, even after all necessary deductions have been made, how little headway higher education has made in our midst in spite of the popular notion that the country is being flooded with graduates.

The results of the Sanskrit Examinations show that in every ten thousand, 10 Baidyas, 8 Kayasthas, and 8 Brahmans, have passed one or other of the Examinations prescribed by the Board of Sanskrit Examinations. Now these examinations are mainly intended for scholars of the *tols*, a purely indigenous and peculiarly Brahmanic institution. But even here, we find the Baidyas holding their own if the relative numerical strength of the two communities be considered. The distinction which the Baidya community has begun to achieve in Sanskrit learning was recognised by Government when two learned members of that caste were not long ago honoured with the title of Mahamahopadhyaya.

Before we conclude, we shall take the liberty to make a suggestion for the consideration of the Census and the University authorities. It would be very desirable to have a more complete statistical account of the three higher castes at the next census. The figures for the progressive sections of the Brahmans and Kayasthas, such as Banerjeas, Mukherjeas, Chatterjeas, Gangulys, Chakraburtys, Bhattacharjeas, Sanyals, Lahiris, Bhaduris, Maitras, Ghoses, Boses, Guhas, Mitras, Dattas, etc., should be separately shown, and separate tables should be given for all low class Brahmans and Kayasthas for the entire presidency, and not for selected divisions only. The percentage as well as the total number of successes for each separate caste should be compiled year after year in the University Registrar's office, and published as a part of the annual calendar. In the Census Report for 1911 tables showing the percentages of success at the different university examinations have been given. At the next census figures for the various castes may be separately shown if the university calendar be amplified as proposed above.

The net result of our survey is that on the whole, the Baidyas are far and away the most progressive section of the Hindu community, and that the Subarnabaniks, Gandhabaniks and Agarwalas being excepted, the Brahmans and Kayasthas come next, at a great distance from the Baidyas, but that their mutual position is almost equal, the advantage being rather in favour of the Kayasthas in many important respects, if we omit the Sudras from consideration. One advantage the Brahmans and Kayasthas have over the Baidyas, and it lies in their numbers, but the vast majority of them is sunk in ignorance and misery, and an appreciable portion of the whole employed in menial and domestic service. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not mean to say that the Baidyas have advanced as far as they could or should. In commerce and industry, for instance, even they, the most progressive caste among the Hindus of Bengal, make but a poor show. The army and the navy are of course barred to all of us, and in common with other Indians, the Baidyas hold but an insignificant proportion of the highest civil appointments, owing mainly to the bar sinister of colour. Even in respect of literacy, where their superiority over the other higher castes is so manifest, they have yet to move much faster before they can come up to the level of the Brahmos and Eurasians. Bengali Hindus, as a whole, have made but small progress in the path of modern civilisation, but what we mean to say is, that small as that progress has been, compared with the civilised countries of the West, the Brahmans, who were so long the natural leaders of Hindu society and the hereditary repositories of the traditional wisdom of the race, can no longer claim the pride of place and have been outdistanced in the march of progress by other castes, notably the Baidyas. As everybody will admit, the average standard of intelligence among the three higher castes is the same, specially if the comparison be confined to the upper strata of the three communities. The infusion of new blood from the ranks has at least quickened the vitality of the Kayasthas. But the Brahmans have always been the great conservative force in Hindu society, and even at the present day, nearly ninety thou- Brahmans earn their livelihood by

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following the profession of priests of which a very small minority are really *Pundits* in any sense. It is a matter of common notoriety that these priests are mostly ignorant even of the *shastras* and act as a drag on the wheel of progress. The Census Report truly observes that

"Though they are bound to be consulted about religious ceremonies, their social position is a low one, the calling of a priest being looked down upon because it involves the acceptance of petty gifts."

The proud position which the Brahmans once occupied in the hierarchy of castes was mythologically expressed by saying that they sprang from the mouth of Brahma the Creator. That position still belongs to them in theory, but the facts and figures cited above should leave no reasonable ground for their continuance in that self-complacent belief. The Brahmans are lacking in adaptability to environment, more so than the Baidyas and Kayasthas, and they must move with the times before they can expect to find a more flattering record of themselves in the census reports and statistics. To shut our eyes and imagine that we are not being outstripped in the race, is an ostrich-like policy which can only bring us ridicule and discredit. Facts cannot lie, and they are against the Brahmans. They have indeed fallen from their high estate, and it behoves them how to gird up their loins and once more march at the van of progress. We all know how considerably the Muhammadans had lost ground in the last century and how earnestly they are now trying to make up leeway. They were looking backwards, and in the meantime the Hindus were stealing a march over them, and have now so far outdistanced them that in Bengal only two Musalmans to every five Hindus are literate. Similarly among Hindus themselves, the Brahmans were lost in the contemplation of the golden age while the other *Bhadralok* classes applied themselves vigorously to carve out a place for themselves in the living present, with the result that to-day the proportion of Baidya *women* who can read and write (35 per cent) is nearly equal to the proportion of *male* Brahmans of all classes similarly qualified (40 per cent). As a Brahman himself, the writer cannot help feeling deeply humiliated, not at the advance which the other castes have made —all honour and success to them—but at the relative position which the Brahmans now hold among the higher castes. They have been relegated to a back seat, and instead of wasting their energies in futile endeavours to tie themselves down with more fetters, they should strive to regain their lost place in healthy and honourable emulation with the other castes and races of our common motherland. It is useless to cry 'Halt!' or 'Back to the old groove!' to the other castes, for they will not obey the mandate. They have tasted the divine draught of knowledge, and will not be called back. There is nothing more tragic in the history of nations that while the backward communities of our country cry for 'light, more light,' and continue to forge ahead, the Brahmans, wrapped round with a false pride, and with their eyes ever turned towards the Past, refuse to be hustled out of their reactionary ideals, supremely unconscious of the fact that they can continue to stand still only at the cost of everything that made them the head and crown of the ancient Indian polity.

A Bengali Brahman.

THE GARDENER *

(Some notes on Rabindranath Tagore's new Translations).

I

The English Style and Language.

THE first surface impression gained from reading this new volume of translations by Rabindranath Tagore is the amazing wealth of colour and beauty scattered everywhere in profusion. The artistic and literary sense is so absorbed, that other faculties are, for the time being, almost held in suspense. The sheer beauty, the beauty of a new-found joy in the world enters, bodily, into the reader.

* *The Gardener* by Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan & Co. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

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And then the perfect simplicity and naturalness of it all strikes the attention. Here is a pure, transparent soul expressing its own inner nature; not merely a brilliant and clever writer captivating the imagination by novel literary artifice. Everywhere there is spontaneity and freshness. That straining after effect, that eagerness for a new sensation, which is so painfully present in much modern poetry and prose, is here wholly absent. For the English reader this freshness makes a large part of the original impulse of delight. There are other much deeper things, as we shall see, but this alone accounts for much of the immediate and instinctive response which the Anglo-Saxon world has given to the new poet,—a response that has won for him so quickly the highest literary award of the West.

When we look a little further still, not leaving yet the literary and artistic side, we find that one of the supreme tests which Matthew Arnold applied for the criticism of great poetry is satisfied. What the English critic called the test of 'the inevitable word,'—the word, that is to say, which once uttered, can never be forgotten; the phrase which seems destined exactly to fit the scene; the picture which haunts the memory with a new illumination,—this 'inevitable word' is found again and again throughout the book, and it gives to many of the poems the note of distinction, the mark of genius. To take one example only:—

'The lone night lies along your path,
The dawn sleeps behind the shadowy hills.
The stars hold their breath counting the hours,
The feeble moon swims in the deep night.'

To analyse the beauty of these lines would be a sacrilege; but no one who has felt the wonder and the stillness of the Indian night can fail to be touched by a kindred sympathy with the poet. Every epithet, every word tells: there is nothing otiose. It is as though there had been put down once for all what the reader had wished to say, but could not find adequate words to express. The effect is the same as that produced on the mind by a new strain of music, or a beautiful picture,—the feeling that here at length is the meaning of some obscure inner question, some hidden unexplainable beauty. Before hearing the music or seeing the picture, all was vague and shadowy, or only felt dimly in the self-conscious mind: but the poet, the musician, the artist, awakens the sleeping soul, striking the chord of memory, and there follows an uprush of new-found joy,—that joy of strange recognition or of glad surprise, which is the very essence of romance.

In the greater number of poems the rhythm of the language used is so perfect and the word painting is so simple, that neither the colour nor the beauty of the original Bengali seems to be lost. They seem rather to be transformed: and there is the equivalent of a new poetic creation. This is not always achieved, and now and then a word is translated in a way that the purely English mind could only follow with difficulty. To take an example from a couplet which still remains one of the most beautiful in the book:—

All is done and finished in the eternal Heaven.
But earth's flowers of illusion are kept eternally fresh by death.

Here 'illusion' would be almost unintelligible to those who had not studied the doctrine of Maya; and yet it would be very hard indeed to find a word in English which could express more clearly the meaning. Perhaps, in cases like these, the transliteration of thought rather than its translation is the only thing possible, and the foreign language must perforce accept and absorb the alien idea and even the alien word. Many hundreds of such 'transliterations' are to be found in the New Testament and they have now become commonplaces of ordinary speech. Yet the process, even here, in passages which have become classical, has not at all times been successful, and such phrases as 'bowels of compassion' 'sons of the bride chamber' etc., have never become assimilated. In Rabindranath's translations there are no harshnesses such as these remaining. He has been wise in trusting more to paraphrase than to any attempts to force the English language into new moulds. That he has kept the terseness and the beauty of the original even in and through his paraphrases (where often every word of the original Bengali has been modified) is one of his amazing triumphs.

I do not think the uniqueness of the poet's achievement in language and style has been at all, as yet, adequately understood by Indian readers. Very rarely in the world's literature has a single

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writer become a master poet in two different languages. The attempt to write in Greek by the Latins was occasionally made, but invariably with lack of delicacy and taste. At the time of the Renaissance some passable Latin verse and Latin prose was composed by the greatest Europeans, but none of it—not even that of Milton—is read with much pleasure today. Milton composed also in Italian, but his work in that language has now little more than a purely historical interest. It is, of course, far too early to say whether 'Gitanjali' or the 'Gardener' will become English classics. My own opinion is that some of the poems from both volumes will take that rank, but not perhaps the volumes as a whole. But even though we cannot anticipate the verdict of the future, we can say with absolute assurance, that the living present of English literature has been powerfully and mightily affected by Rabindranath's appearance. This fact has been recognised far beyond the limits of the British Isles. The newest distinction of the poet is a signal proof of the width of interest and appreciation that he has aroused.

It may be objected that these translations of Rabindranath are not true English poems, (in the sense that Shelley's lyrics, for instance, are such) because they are not bound by the laws of verse and metre and rhyme. Such an objection reveals a misunderstanding of what constitutes English poetry. Walter Pater has pointed out long ago, in his famous Essay on Style, in 'Appreciations', that the line between 'prose' and 'poetry' in English literature is more imaginary than real. It is not marked merely by the adventitious aids of metre and rhyme; though these distinctions may denote the normal and conventional difference between the two media. But high imaginative prose, such as Ruskin has given to us in 'Modern Painters', or Carlyle in 'The French Revolution,' crosses over the border into poetry from one side; while rhapsodical and other forms of poetry, such as much of Walt Whitman, crosses over the border into prose from the other. It is along this border line between prose and poetry that Rabindranath has passed with almost unerring steps. Now and again his ear for English rhythm fails him; now and again he drops into bald prose. The wonder, however, is, not that he does these things at all, but that he does them so seldom. The bulk of the two volumes he has published is pure poetry, and poetry of a very high order.

A brief historical survey of the type of poetry which Rabindranath has used in his present English translations may make clearer the character of his success and the difficulty of his theme. A little more than three hundred years ago a volume of the purest English was given to the world in the authorised translation of the Bible. This translation was itself, as Westcott has pointed out, a gradual growth, the work of many minds and many centuries. It was remarkably parallel to the epic growths in other literatures, only in this case there could be no accretion or addition but only improvement of the language and style. The Bible translation was really begun in Anglo-Saxon times. Wycliffe and Tyndall, however, laid the solid foundations of the present English version, and it was completed in the greatest of all periods of English Literature,—the days of Shakespeare, the Elizabethan Age. It is easy to see the height reached by this translation by comparing it with that of Wycliffe. On the other hand it is easy to feel the debasement reached by the modern revised version of the New Testament, published in 1881. Let any one take, for instance, the close of the seventh chapter of the Book of Revelation beginning 'What are these that are arranged in white robes' and compare the Authorized and Revised Versions, and he will see how difficult the pure rhythmical style is to maintain.

When we examine the Authorized Version as literature, we see at once that there are different types of translation suited to different subjects. There is what has been called the grand style of Isaiah, and there is the simple narrative style of the Gospels. But there is something more. There is pure poetry, as well as pure prose. The translations of the prophets and the Psalms and the Book of Job are both lyrical and passionate. Taken together, they make one of the purest fountains of poetry in the whole English language!*

The question has been raised in modern times, why such rhythmical poetry as that contained in the Bible, when once the type

* For examples of this form of poetry, at its best, the thirty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, the twenty-eighth chapter of the Book of Job and the 104th Psalm

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was set, should not have created a succession and a following among later poets. Blank verse, for instance, came into common use in English literature with the early Elizabethans, and a thousand different strains of music have been played by English poets on that instrument since the days of its adoption. The heroic couplet, again, dominated the whole range of English poetry, for nearly a hundred years. Why then not this magnificent type of poetry which did the Bible illustrated so freely, give a model to later English writers.

Something must be put down to the narrow views of Biblical inspiration and sanctity of its very letter which prevented imitation. There is also the fact that English writers themselves even the greatest, were obsessed with the conventions of exact metre which they received from antiquity. These conventions encumbered the English poets more and more as the Seventeenth Century advanced, and the Classical Period began. The Romantic writers of the early Nineteenth Century broke through many of these conventions, but they did not go back to this long unused and unexplored vein of pure golden ore in their own literary past.

But there is a further answer still. The style of this Biblical poetry, though apparently easy, is, as I have already said, very difficult indeed. In lesser hands than those of the great Seventeenth Century translators it becomes either grandiose, pompous and affected, or else it degenerates into unmusical prose. Looking back over our own past literature, I can remember only one great writer who has attempted this style with success, before the volumes of Rabindranath—and that is Newman. It is interesting to note further that he succeeded in it in the very field which Rabindranath originally entered,—the translation of religious themes.

Historically, therefore, we find that this peculiar medium of irregular rhythmical English, which Rabindranath has chosen for both his published volumes, has been found singulary adapted for translation, especially in the case of solemn and mystical subjects. It seems to demand two great qualities from the author, absolute naturalness and simplicity on the one hand, and the spirit of deep reverence, religious spirit, on the other. Where these are both present, this instrument of pure rhythmical English is like a sharp tool capable of producing the most delicate and beautiful work. What, for instance, could be more beautiful and delicate than this ?

"Peace, my heart, let the time for the parting be sweet.

Let it not be a death but completeness.

Let love melt into memory and pain into songs.

Let the flight through the sky end in the folding of wings over the nest.

Let the last touch of your hands be gentle like the flower of the night.

Stand still, O Beautiful End, for a moment and say your last words in silence.

I bow to you and hold up my lamp to light you on your way."

On the other hand, like the same sharp tool, this very instrument of rhythmical English is likely to turn back on the hands of the user, who uses it clumsily and ignorantly. I have in mind certain passages in modern English writers, who have tried with it to represent the war songs or religious songs of other peoples. The effect has been, in every case I can recall, one of bathos and futility,—mere rhetoric rather than pure poetry. Rabindranath's use of this instrument was a daring one, but it was the daring of genius. A lesser spirit would have attempted the same task with the more conventional instrument of verse. Rabindranath's course was wholly original, and it marks a new point reached in English literature.

It yet remains to be seen how far the new poet can carry the practice of this difficult medium which he has adopted. In Gitanjali, where the songs translated were all of a religious character, his master hand wielded the instrument with a power and a delicacy which gained for him an immediate reputation in the West. In the Gardener he has gone still further, and employed it in translating some of his earlier Bengali love poems. Here his success has been almost equally remarkable—perhaps, in certain cases, even more remarkable. The style of his translation has helped to give to the theme of love its true mystical note. But in one or two poems (in which the mystical side of love is not represented) the poet himself seems to find the instrument he has been using hitherto beginning to turn against him, and he frankly abandons it either for prose or for metre. The simple prose form of translation is seen in number

"O revered Sir, forgive this pair of sinners'

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and in number 83, "She dwelt on the hill side by the edge of a maize field." Metre is, on the other hand, fallen into almost unawares in number 42, "O mad, superbly drunk."

This instinctive course which the poet has taken seems, therefore, to point to the fact that, just as there are limits to the use of blank verse, and the sonnet, and the ode, so there are limits to this new, yet old, form of English poetry also. These limits are at present hard to define, for they have never been worked out through a long literary period, but they will clearly include all those subjects which may be loosely called 'mystical'. Furthermore, the simple innocent poetry of childhood may well be brought within their range. It may even be found that drama, in certain of its aspects, will find more living expression in this medium than either in prose or in blank verse. But that is more doubtful. In narrative poetry there will probably be little place for this special style, for it does not lend itself well to long sustained passages, while it is admirably suited to short 'swallow-flights of song.'

In all that I have said above I wish to avoid one misunderstanding. I am not supposing for a moment that Rabindranath originally sat down 'to write English poetry', and after turning over the various styles, etc., in his mind decided deliberately to adopt this form. I no more imagine this to be the case, than I suppose that the English translators of 1611 sat down, and considered whether they should translate the Psalms into blank verse, or heroic couplets! Of course, such ideas of literary origination are absurd. If there had been any such deliberate consciousness, it is probable that the freshness and naturalness, which we English admire so much in Rabindranath's work, would have been lost. We should have had, as it were, artificial flowers made of wax instead of the fresh beauty of nature herself. What really happened was this. After playing the music of his own Bengali mother-tongue he then felt along the chords of the new instrument of English which was put into his hands till he found those notes which would suit his theme; and then with a master hand he began to play. 'Gitanjali' and the 'Gardener' are the first expressions of that new music. And the strange and wonderful thing is that we English can recognise this new music. Truly O many foreigner as our very own. To himself perhaps the surprise has been greatest of all, for he could hardly dare to hope that the barriers of race and climate and tradition would be so easily passed. But passed they were. And the fact of his immediate recognition as an 'English' poet (using the word 'English' of language, not of race) shows how the universal heart of humanity is one and undivided. It puts an end for ever to the theory of a final and ultimate contrast between East and West. It is the harbinger of the new day, which is now dawning, when the East will be able to speak directly to the heart of the West and vice versa. And if this once begins to happen in literature, and in that to which all true art and literature point, namely, religion; then we need not fear that the more mundane spheres of ordinary and common life will remain unmodified and unaffected. For it is the living spirit of man—I should rather say the Spirit of God in man, that leads the world forward and that spirit is first prophetically expressed in the higher ranges of the religious life. From thence it descends through literature and art to the lower ranges of human livelihood and political administration. No people in the world's history, that has kept its intellectual and spiritual life high and lofty, has ever remained in permanent political subjection; and as the life of humanity advances this fact will become more, and not less, apparent.

One more thought presents itself, in this first part of my subject, as I read over and over again with ever greater delight the English translations of Rabindranath. His purity of English speech, so simple and even homely, yet so stately and majestic, comes (paradoxical as this may appear) from his lack of knowledge of current English. For the English of to-day that has filtered into literature from journalism, advertisements and popularised slang, has debased the King's coinage. The royal stamp has been rubbed away by the wear and tear of modern life. Rabindranath's English, which he uses so purely, has come to him not from daily converse with modern Englishmen or daily newspaper reading, but from daily converse with great English books. His unfamiliarity with current English has not made his style archaic. On the contrary it kept his English pure. The dialect of English that is spoken and written to-day is not destined to remain

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permanently and irreparably fixed. As we hope that English life will resume its old dignity and simplicity, when the fever of these modern times is over; so we trust that the English language will resume its old dignity and simplicity. If this be the case, (and there are many favourable omens) then in this respect, as well as in other ways, Rabindranath, by the purity of his English speech, will be more in the line of our true literary development than such masters of current phrases and idioms as Rudyard Kipling and H. G. Wells. That dialect, which they are using in so much of their writing, will be unintelligible in a few generations. Rabindranath's English on the other hand will remain intelligible, for it is always pure and always simple.

If what I have written above is true, then it was no mere accident of good fortune which made Rabindranath leap into fame in English Literature. It was rather the unconscious and natural expression of his own genius meeting our own conscious and deep-felt needs. We, English, were tired of ourselves and of our own literary age, with its restless complexity of life and thought. We knew that the only way for us to go forward was to get face to face with Nature and Simplicity, as Wordsworth and some of our greatest poets in the past had done. But the way was hard to find, and we were sore let and hindered by our own upbringing and environment; and the younger writers felt the sense of bewilderment and oppression most acutely, Much had gone before to make them realize this evil state: there was no lack of self-criticism and even of self-condemnation. But nothing else than a new impulse from without could give the shock needed for revival. Then Rabindranath appeared. He came, he saw, he conquered. All our younger poets have felt the shock of his sudden apparition. There has been no evil spirit of jealousy awakened by it, but a warm-hearted welcome and response, and a readiness to learn from him the message he has to teach. The boon he has given to English literature has not been merely a new type of poetry, a new purity of rhythm. It has been his own simple nature, —himself.

But of the new impulse to thought and emotion that his presence in England has quickened, I must write in a separate article.

C. F. ANDREWS.

VIKRAMADITYA AND NAHAPANA

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE questions of Vikramaditya and Nahapana I have discussed at length in a paper on the *Brahmin Empire* (of the Sungas and Sunga-Kanvas) which is waiting publication. In the meantime I shall briefly notice in these columns the results of my investigations on the subject.

In 31 B. C. the Empire of Magadha, or rather the Imperial throne of Magadha, as the Empire had already passed away, was taken away from the hands of the Sunga, the 11th descendant of the Brahmin hero Pushyamitra. The throne was taken away from the hands of the Sunga king and his Shogun minister the Kanva Suskrama—because those hands had ceased to perform their duty. They could not meet the Sythic invaders successfully and the Imperial throne had to be vacated in favour of a new race of rulers who could meet them successfully on the stage of history. The tragi-comedy recently enacted by Nanda and Chandragupta, by Brihadratha and Pushyamitra was repeated once more. This time the actors were a Sunga, whom history has left unnamed, and a Satavahana.

The first *Sata-vahana*, according to one Purana, had made himself king in a kingless country. In other words the Satavahana (about 213 B. C.) assumed royalty in his republican state over which he presided. The state was that of the Satvats who are described as a republican com-

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munity in the Aitareya Brahmana and who appear as relatives of Krishna in the Mahabharata. The hero *Satyaki*, bears their communal name; and the *Satiyas* is another form of the name of the community found in Asoka's inscriptions. The first Satavahana's name was *Simuka*. He was popularly called *Sudraka*, although he was a Satvat Brahmin. His great achievements are described in the prologue to the Mrit-Sakatika and in an inscription recorded by his wife where his horse sacrifices, bloody sacraments of imperialism, are detailed. The Satavahanas had their capital at Pratishthana (Pethan) in the Mahratta country.

In or about 132 B.C. Sata-karni, "the Arrow of the Satas," came to the throne. His grandfather bearing the same name was a contemporary of Pushyamitra of Magadha and Bhikshuraja Kharavela, the mighty dynast of Orissa. He conquered the Andhras and won the title given by history to his race, "the Lord of the Andhras" (Andhrabhrityas, 'He to whom the Andhras were vassals'). The title confused this Aryan and Brahmin dynasty with the Andhras themselves.

Sata-karni, as his mother the Lady Gautami proudly says in the "chiselled history" of his great son, destroyed the barbarian races who were oppressing the country, the Sakas, Khaharastras (Parthians) and Greeks; he saved the Hindu Law and Hindu civilization from the outlandish intruders.

He defeated and suppressed the Khaharata Nahapana, called *Nahavana* in Jain records, whose date is given there as 132-93 B.C. European scholars have missed the Indian data about Nahapana and have placed him a century later. Nahapana's son-in-law was a Saka and most likely Nahapana was himself regarded as a Saka. His son-in-law, who bears a Hindu name—Rishabhadatta—dates his inscriptions in the era of Nahapana. Apparently Nahapana was the founder of an era commencing with the accession of his sovereign, the emperor of Parthea (136 B.C.). Nahapana was defeated and killed by Satakarni (called the Great in one of the Puranas) who restruck Nahapana's coins.

Satakarni died about 58-57 B.C. and was succeeded by his son who bears a Vedic name, Pulamavi, popularly called only 'Puloma.' Two forms of his name are found in the Puranas. His name on coins which were issued in the Dravida country is given in the Prakrit form, *Vilavaya-kura*; *kura* being a Dravidian word meaning 'king' or 'emperor.' European scholars have treated Vilvayakura as a distinct and separate king, for they could not find the name in the Puranic list which they consequently declared as being incomplete. Vilava or Puloma conquered and annexed Magadha. He reigned from c. 57 to 21 B.C.

There are several legends and traditions about the '*Vikramaditya*'. One school of Ujjain astronomers asserts that the Vikrama era was counted from the death of Vikramaditya, and the other alleges that it was reckoned from the accession of Vikrama. The latter is the statement of the Jains also in their oldest records. Hindu astronomers say that he destroyed the Saka king who had founded an era. European scholars have taken it to mean the founder of the 'Saka era' started more than a century later. But now history discloses the real Vikramaditya, the son of the Lady Gautami, who rightfully describes herself as the mother of a great king, 'the greatest hero' and the grand-mother of a great king, the conqueror of Magadha. The astronomers are not absurd when they say that Vikramaditya destroyed the Sakan era-founder, for that Saka was Nahapana. The history of Satakarni the Great and his son Pulamavi is the basis of the divergent traditions that the Vikrama era was counted from the death or the accession of Vikrama. The year 58 B. C. coincides with the death of a great king and the accession of a great king and a confusion regarding the two events has arisen. When it is alleged that the era of 58 B. C. was counted from the accession of Vikrama, Vilava is intended thereby. The latter name was Sanskritised from the Prakrit records of the Jainas into "Vikrama" (Vilava-Virama-Vikrama). The restoration is based on a mistaken rule of philology, for *k* could not have been dropped leaving *ra* behind, but the Jainas held the rule "kadinam lopah" and they applied it where it ought not to have been applied.

Popular romance remembers him as a great sacrificer, as the greatest king of India, as the Sun of Powers, as the very incarnation of justice, whose throne was too great to be occupied by later kings of Hindu India. The statuettes round the throne of the Ideal Hero are said to have

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laughed at Bhoja when he attempted to ascend the throne of that Emperor, dug out by him near Ujjain. It was not the statuettes which laughed at the pigmy monarchs of mediaeval India, but that humorous populace themselves who once put political science in the mouths of carnivorous crows and jackals. They ridiculed the successors of Vikrama, the moral and political imbeciles of the 13th century.

Jainism claims him as a Jain; inscriptions record his gifts to Buddhists; orthodox claims him as orthodox. But he really belonged to each and all of his subjects, for he, as his happy mother records, equally studied the interests of all his subjects and had merged his own personality into theirs. No wonder then that such a king lived in popular memory, both orthodox and heterodox, while Chandragupta, Asoka and Pushyamitra have been forgotten. No wonder that an all-India era is counted to commemorate his memory, while the memories of Pradyota and Nanda Vardhana, Buddha and Mahavira have faded away.

HOW TO REALISE THE GOOD

(*Continued*)

By Wilfred Wellock.

As the result of the considerations made in our article of last month I think we shall now be able to see more clearly what is meant by self-realisation; what the nature and content of the ideal life for to-day ought to be, and by what principle life can be wholly unified and the Good, or ideal life, attained. It will now be apparent to all that the attainment of the Good implies a certain relationship with the world, a relationship that requires a developed personality, a spirit that can feel, grasp, appreciate and love spiritual being everywhere, in all its forms. To live in a spiritual world as one ought to live, one must possess a keen perception, a sympathetic heart, a habit of thought, a strong love of truth, of light, of beauty and goodness, and a trained power of self-expression. The condition of happiness in a spiritual world is service; and in order to serve well, a man must be well trained to express himself by hard and continued effort. But service wins the right and creates the power to appreciate whatever is good and beautiful; to enter into and to enjoy relationship with spiritual being everywhere. Yes, everywhere; for love and service beget that attitude of mind, those sympathies and qualities of soul, which make the whole world kin, and draw men together and cause them to feel as brothers, no matter of what race or caste they be. But because love or service makes such great demands, it is the means of developing unusual powers of perception and appreciation, and thus of bringing the entire world of spiritual being into the mind and heart of man. And the world a man lives in, the world which his own mind and heart creates, is really the man himself, for it is the very texture of his mind, an indication of the depth and strength as well as of the nature and number of his sympathies. Thought conceives and interprets the world; valuates life, ascertains its meaning and formulates principles of conduct. Service is the application of such principles to experience; it is thus their test and vindication, and the means of creating the world,—a large, beautiful, spiritual and significant world if thought and service be of the best, but a narrow, stifling physical world if they be slipshod, we have to live in. For not only does a man create his own heaven and hell, he also creates the world of his daily habitation. Thus to live ideally is to reside in a wonderful kingdom of spirit and to enjoy an infinite number of spiritual relationships. Just as a man discovers Nature

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and gains the right and power to revel in her moods and her beauty, through contemplation and patient appreciation ; discovers the spiritual nature of God, His wonderful ways, works and laws, through meditation and devotion ; so does he discover man, or the spirit of man, enter into fellowship with his fellows and enjoy the myriad manifestations which they make through love, devoted service.

To discard the carnal and materialistic life, therefore, and to forfeit the barbaric right to fight his fellow-men for the possession of a few things bodily, a man gains the right to possess all things spiritually ; and because spirit is more vital and fruitful than matter, and possesses a far greater power of producing life, or well-being, the man who gives up all to possess it, while he has nothing, yet possesses all things. Thus how foolish to spend all one's days trying to possess one little corner of mere earth, when by living intelligently one might possess the whole world spiritually ! A man must keep his body alive, it is true, but that is no reason why he should destroy his soul, or why such social iniquity as that which Western commercialism is responsible for should be perpetrated. The insipient social evils of the West to-day are not the result of a "struggle for existence", but of a foolish struggle for unlimited power and wealth, for a life of luxury, ease and pleasure.

We thus see how life, by means of the two primary activities work and play, or expression and appreciation, may be the means of complete self-realisation, and at the same time of attaining the Good, the maximum amount of life. Work creates a desire for play, for art and spiritual communion, while play, in its turn, creates a desire for work, expression. It is through love or service that we learn to appreciate more deeply ; so that if we learn to appreciate spiritual reality and spiritual relationships, we shall derive as much pleasure from serving man as from receiving the gifts of his service. To appreciate and serve Nature is to have her companionship, to be blest with her fruits and her beauty ; to love and serve God is to have communion with Him and to feel His benediction ; to love and serve man is to have fellowship with him and to be heirs to an infinite variety of beautiful and inspiring manifestations. To dig, sow and till in garden and field ; to contemplate and to worship ; to hew, weave and build and to create all the wonderful things of science and art : that is work, service, expression ; to enjoy the fruits of man's labour—the ripe fruits of the earth ; houses and clothes, and a thousand other comforts ; the beautiful world of art, etc.: that is play, appreciation: together they make up the sum of human life.

Having discovered, therefore, that the highest life consists of spiritual self-realisation, of spiritual manifestation and appreciation, it is obvious that the aim of life ought to be to multiply and deepen one's spiritual relationships with the world. But one cannot do this, cannot realise more life, intensify the consciousness of life, except through the culture of a finer personality, a more sensitive spirit, a kinder heart, a keener perception, broader and finer sympathies. If we are to realise more life it must be through the development of the self, of the mind and heart, of personality, as the amount of life we can grasp, feel, experience, must necessarily be determined by the largeness of our soul, the power of the mind and heart to perceive, appreciate, and to express themselves. But how is the soul thus developed, cultured, refined, enlarged ? It can only be developed through work, service : through thought, self-expression, self-manifestation, appreciation. There is no royal road to life. All spiritual power and realil sation must be earned, paid for to the last farthing. Neither wealth nor any device can bring into our possession anything that is spiritual,—personality, friendship, power of spiritual perception, true happiness, life. We either gain them through sheer hard work or not at all. An untrain ed eye cannot appreciate beauty or colour ; an untrained ear cannot appreciate good music ; an untrained mind cannot grasp the noble thoughts of the world's great thinker; an untrained heart cannot catch the vibrations of sympathy, yearning, love, aspiration which are ever emanating from the hearts of men and women. But there is a deeper truth still. Before we can work, or serve, express ourselves in the most noble way, we must first love. Love is the key to life, that magic force which opens the doors to, makes possible and creates the desire for, spiritual well-being, spiritual wealth, spiritual life and contact. Love is the source of all that is truly beautiful and truly good. Hence we

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say that love is the first condition of true self-growth, of the highest self-realisation; the principle whereby the spirit is developed, life is attained and real progress made. For progress must ultimately mean growth of the power to feel, grasp, appreciate, realise, life. Selfhood, or personality can only be developed through labour prompted by love, through self-expressive labour which has for its object the culture, edification, beautification and inspiration of the spirits of men. Thus in love or social service we have a principle whose application carries with it the fullest development both of the individual and of society, being a means of self, and at the same time of social, realisation. The individual is to take his life into his own hands, to wield and use it as he deems best, but so as to serve mankind to the best of his ability. But serve he must, and with his whole soul if he would taste life, grow in mind and spirit.

To the question, therefore: How are we to reconcile the claims of the self with those of society? We answer that in a spiritual world there is no real opposition between self and society; that what is really and ultimately good for society must also be good for the individual, and vice versa. There is war and opposition between self and society only under a materialistic conception of life, where it is the primary object of men to seek to possess as much material power as they can. But once we grasp the deeper and grander truth that the highest good is spiritual, and that the law of spiritual realisation and attainment is diametrically opposed to the law of material self-aggrandisement, and is compatible with the fullest self-realisation of every member of the community, physical strife, social war and hatred are rendered unnecessary. It is only where men are governed by materialistic conceptions of life; where pride, envy, love of power and dominion are in full sway, that there is strife and war among men for the necessities of life. Did we but look at life with spiritual eyes, and subserve the physical life to the spiritual, we should find that owing to the consequent destruction of pride and lust, there was more than enough bread, clothing, and means of shelter for every man woman and child in the vast universe, and thus that war and bloodshed, strife and poverty, etc., were horrible and absolutely unnecessary evils. And it is only as the spiritual power and significance of love, or service rendered out of love, is recognised that the foolish lust for unlimited wealth, for economic, political and social power will be uprooted, and that a new era will dawn. There is no denying that the body lives by bread, and that it must needs have shelter and clothing; but how easily are all these needs satisfied when pride and the lust for power have been destroyed!

The chief point for us to notice, therefore, is that with the discovery of the spirit of man, of the truth that by manifesting love towards and thus serving man, war and social strife can be eliminated, and life made a delight. With the recognition of the essentially spiritual nature of man, love is bound ultimately to take the place of physical force, of distrust and fear, and to make the establishment of spiritual relationship with one's fellows the chief object of one's life. The question will then be not how to overcome man so that we may possess his share of the earth's fruits, but how we may overcome ourselves so as to give of our best to others that we may possess spiritual relationship, followship, with men; for we shall realise that to love and serve is to be loved and served in return and to be made the recipient of all the finest fruits and gifts that life affords to the sons of men. The wealthiest man is he who is richest in spiritual relationship, is most closely and richly related to the greatest amount of spiritual reality. Seeing, then, that in spiritual relationship is to be found the highest life, and that love is the condition of spiritual relationship, it follows that love must inevitably be made the fundamental principle of life. The love and service of spirit, of man, is indeed the only complete and adequate principle for the true guidance of life, for the attainment of the good. How this principle operates so as to unify the whole of life we shall try to show in a later article; for the present we will consider a little more closely and fully the merits of such principle.

I think it will now be clearly seen that love, even when it involves self-sacrifice, is in no sense a negative principle, but is essentially a spiritually productive principle, a means of the very highest self-realisation. Life must be, in some way, self-affirmation, and must make possible both self-expression and self-realisation; but self-affirmation is quite compatible with

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the self-realisation of every individual in the world so long as that which is affirmed springs from love, desire for spiritual life. Only with a materialistic conception of life is self-affirmation not compatible with the success of each member of the community, as the amount of materal power and wealth in the world is limited, and may be possessed by a few in exceedingly large quantities. But we have tried to show that a materialistic conception of life, is neither inevitable nor necessary, and that a spiritual conception is possible whereby life can be so unified that every act in a man's life may be a self-producing and self-realising act and at the same time be in harmony with the needs of others. By adopting a spiritual conception of life, therefore, all antagonism between self and others is overcome, while the antithetical principle of self-assertion and self-sacrifice, are unified. In other words, and in order to give the statement more point, it might be said that the principle of love or social service as that has been here developed, is the unification of the doctrine of Nietzsche, say, on the one hand, and that of Tolsty, say on the other. For although there are passages in the writings of both these thinkers, especially the latter, which suggest a point of view similar to that we have here developed, neither Nietzsche nor Tolstoy ever quite convinces us that he has so unified life that the Good, the highest well-being can be secured by each and every man, without absolute sacrifice, on the one hand, or without physical warfare and social strife, on the other. Ultimately both these thinkers fall wide of the truth : the one upholding the doctrine of absolute and undefined self-assertion, whereby society is inevitably sacrificed to the individual, the other the doctrine of self-sacrifice, whereby the individual is inevitably sacrificed to society.

Now we agree with Nietzsche that the ultimate principle of life must be a principle of self-affirmation, because if the Good be not attained nor life realised by the individual as the result of his conduct, I cannot see how conduct would be possible at all. But we maintain against Nietzsche that only upon a spiritual view of life can the highest culture and well-being be realised as the result of one's efforts, or can a man avoid spending perhaps the major part of his life in getting that which is not life, and which, in the mere getting, will degrade him. The weakness of Nietzsche is that he does not specify the nature of the self-assertion that is needed in order to attain the most and the best life, develop the finest selfhood. Thus he is not able to guarantee the extinction of such materialistic and socially disastrous evils as are inherent in modern commercialism. Mere self-assertion may mean the worst forms of materialism ; it may mean social destruction ; so that unless the principle of self-assertion be modified by a definite and distinctly spiritual interpretation of life it cannot be accepted as a guiding principle. In making the fundamental principle of life that of self-assertion, Nietzsche saw truly; but in not making it spiritual, a means of increasing spiritual life, he lost all chance of becoming a prophet to the present age. Unless it be recognised that what man is, and always has been aspiring after is a deeper and fuller consciousness of life, and also that it is only by spiritualising life, adopting the principle of love, that the consciousness of life can be deepened and intensified, no real headway can be made, nor can any prophecy come.

It is the aim of Tolstoy to preserve what Nietzsche would go far to destroy—society and fixed spiritual laws,—and to do away with what upon the philosophy of Nietzsche would probably be a normal condition of things—social strife. But in trying to save society Tolstoy tends to go to the opposite extremity and to destroy the individual. Tolstoy lays so great stress on work, and would reduce to such an exceedingly small minimum man's needs, whether physical, intellectual or spiritual, that one is compelled to ask again and again if life would be really worth living on the Tolstoyan plane. It is not enough to work and work and work, to deny oneself every form of comfort and luxury, and to sit contented, while the greedy and lazy ones come and freely help themselves to the fruits of our labour. Indeed, one cannot help feeling at times that Tolstoy, in his righteous and justified attack on the life of the aristocracy, that he goes to unwarrantable lengths, and tends to make human life so hard and so barred that it seems scarcely worth a man's while to live. Tolstoy sees, and sees truly, that the existing principle of materialistic individualism is a socially disastrous principle; but when he goes to the length of implying, as he certainly does seem to imply, that love carries with it absolute

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sacrifice, the sacrifice of almost everything of a physical nature, for the sake of conscience, we cannot help feeling that he has overlooked an important factor, one of the most attractive and valuable forms of spiritual wealth, viz., human fellowship, and to some extent, art.

Thus with Tolstoy's aim, which was to prevent society committing suicide we are in deepest sympathy. We fully agree with him, too, when he says that love is the principle which must ultimately save the world from such evils as those springing from Western commercialism. But what we cannot accept is the assumption that love carries with it real sacrifice, makes no return to the individual but a sense of moral satisfaction. It seems to be enough to Tolstoy merely to be allowed to work, to produce all one can for the sake of others without getting anything in return, no matter that men come and wantonly eat up, without rendering either labour or thanks, the things we have produced. Where Tolstoy seems to err is in not sufficiently recognising the spiritual productivity of service; the value of fellowship, the beauty of the human spirit, and the infinite possibilities of relationship with that spirit. Tolstoy saw that service and the surrender of things material were necessary to social preservation, but what he did not fully and clearly realise was that such service and surrender do not necessarily involve absolute sacrifice, but might be the means of a higher realisation, of a finer attainment, of establishing relationships in and through which a greater amount of life might be realised. Self-renunciation cannot be an ultimate principle of life, as we have before said, for the simple reason that a man cannot continue to act without reaping some kind of good. What a man does must in some way be for his ultimate good, a veritable means of life, or he could not do it.

As against these two opposed theories we hold that the true principle of life is love or social service, and that by means of such service a positive spiritual good, indeed, the finest form of well-being, is realised. We agree with Nietzsche that the ultimate principle of life must be a principle of self-assertion, and with Tolstoy that it must be a principle of love; but we disagree with the former in so far as his view lends itself to a physical and materialistic interpretation of life, and with the latter in so far as he holds that the sacrifices of love are absolute.

Love is a positive and spiritual principle which brings its own reward. It is the fulfilling of the law; but, as Christ said, it is much more; it is that whereby the individual is brought into touch with the highest form of spiritual being into closer and fuller relationship with the grandest and sublimest form a reality known to man —the human spirit. The conception that spirit is one, is supremely loveable; that relationship and fellowship with spirit is the highest form of human well-being; and that such relationship is the reward of service rendered to spirit, is practically a modern conception, at any rate in so explicit a form. But in that conception the claims of the individual and of society are unified, for the conduct which serves the interest and well-being of the one serves the interest and well-being of the other also. Only in a spiritual world, with a spiritual interpretation of life, where love is the guiding principle of life, can mankind find salvation from all the oppressions, and tyrannies, the strife, hatred, physical and mental suffering, of selfishness and materialism.

Now it is just because Tolstoy does not fully recognise the positive value of love, its spirit-producing, life-creating power, that he so often seems to believe in the principle of absolute self-sacrifice. Love, it would seem, is good rather because it leads to peace, prevents evil and warfare, than because it actually produces a higher form of spiritual reality and of well-being. Life to Tolstoy is work, sheer hard work, and rest, the folding of tired hands in sleep. But mankind cannot be satisfied with such an ideal as that: they must have art, and pleasure, and many comforts too, yea, and social communion, spiritual intercourse with their fellow beings. Besides work and rest life is the cultivation and enjoyment of an innumerable host of realities, material and spiritual: of reasonable comforts and luxuries; of works of art of all kinds; but chiefly of beautiful and cultured spirits, to live in communion and fellowship with which the sweetest and deepest form of life is to be had. To live in a spiritual world and be a member of a vast kingdom of spirits, a producer and recipient of joyous and inspiring expressions, ministrations; to be at one with all spirit, a partner in all tis ideals, efforts and

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achievements, its pleasures and enjoyments, is to live indeed. To give of oneself, to serve man, is not to renounce life but to realise it to bring oneself into closer touch with the entire spiritual world. To serve in this way is to sacrifice in the Christian sense, of giving the lower for the higher, the material for the spiritual. For the spiritually minded man who gives of his material excess what another needs does not thereby make any sacrifice at all; he simply exchanges material for spiritual wealth; for what he actually does is to make a friend, establish a link of fellowship between himself and another, and thus enlarge the world of his habitation. And such service will be the means, through the establishment of new spiritual relationships, of producing new joy and new life, of enlarging and beautifying his spirit, and of producing a new and deeper satisfaction.

The recognition of the positive nature, the spiritually productive power of love, its power to create life, well-being, marks an advance upon the past and opens up the way for great social and spiritual development in the future. Except through love there can be no further advancement of the race, and civilisation must come to a stand-still. Whether we realise it or not, and it is to be feared that not many do realise it, society cannot longer rest on physical force, cannot longer continue under the domination of a materialistic conception of life. Power, in the form of great wealth, has become so unevenly divided, so markedly centralised, and the revolt of the powerless is becoming so real and menacing, that unless the prevailing tendency to seek material aggrandisement and to rely on physical force, be abandoned, we shall not be long before we are witnessing some astounding social catastrophies, passing through a series of terrible revolutions. Both in the West and in the East abundant signs of and cause for revolt are manifest, and unless a new ideal of life be accepted and a new spirit developed, consequences too terrible to contemplate will be upon us. In the far distant past man had to conquer Nature in order to live bodily; at a later stage he had to fight his fellowmen for the same purpose; but now, with the discovery of a new reality, the spiritual nature of man, and the recognition of the fact that there is enough food and clothing, and all other physical means, to satisfy the physical needs of every member of the human family, man's greatest enemy is himself; so that what needs to be conquered in this the twentieth century is the unrestrained desire for material things, for power and dominion, and such comparatively worthless (so far as their life-producing power is concerned) things. With such materialism, and such social iniquity as results from it, as abound to-day, it is impossible to make any real progress. Political and social reforms may take place, but progress, in the real sense of the term, cannot result, nor can peace or equity abound. Materialism, with its consequent selfishness and strife means social disintegration, the impoverishment of consciousness and the abatement of all real growth.

For more than a century the great nations of the West have been spending themselves for wealth that is not life. Riches have been added to riches, and fortunes have been and still are being made which are vaster than the imagination can compass. Of accumulated wealth and power there is no end; and many individuals could, if they chose, buy up a whole country, or finance a war. And yet according to Naturalism, these men would rank as the elect of the earth, the "strong" man whom Nature had "selected" to "survive"!

Happily we are at last coming to realise that these "elect" are the strongest forces of social disintegration, being the tyrants who have robbed the poor of their bread, caused millions of people to live in spiritual, not in physical, starvation. And what manner of men are they when all is said and done? They are physical men, materialists, possessors of wealth only, mere flesh and blood, nerve and brain, so blended as to be incapable of experiencing the finer emotions, perceiving spiritual reality, even of recognising the consequences of their own actions. They are machines for grinding out wealth, machines that, like the salt machine said to be at the bottom of the sea, go on unceasingly, under all conditions, producing that of which they know neither the value nor the use. Hence we need not wonder that the enlightened consciousness of the twentieth century is up in revolt against the breeding of such hybrid types of humanity as the modern millionaire, and against the theory of life which makes him possible.

Western materialism is exhausted; it has had a long reign, but at last its days are numbered. The lie upon which it is based

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has been exposed. The struggle for mere existence on the part of so many is an outrage upon civilisation ; and the time has fully come for its cessation. The very thought of the war of life is weighing heavily upon the spirit of this age and causing a new spirit and a new consciousness to arise. Materiality and spirituality, especially as regards social relationships, are being defined in a way they never were before. With the dawn of free moral self-consciousness and the discovery that social life may and ought to be converted into a very high order of spiritual existence, the possibility of the triumph of spirituality over materiality, of love over selfishness, is at last recognised.

Because then our ideal is the guarantee of a finer and grander consciousness, of a fuller and intenser realisation of life ; and because it utilises all the wealth that is produced for the increasing of life and well-being, both as regards oneself and society at large, the lust for worldly power and dominion having been superseded by something finer, we conclude that spiritual idealism is in the line of real advance. From whatever point of view we look, spirit is always superior to matter ; the service of spirit nobler and productive of more life than the service of self, of the body, with all its devouring lusts ; and relationship with a "living" spiritual environment grander far than the possession of a dead material world. And our ideal is unique in that it involves the sacrifice of nothing that is the promise of real good to man, while it is the condition of everything that leads to true happiness and well-being. To the materialist matter and spirit are diametrically opposed the one to the other, absolute contradictions, incapable of existing side by side ; but to the spiritual idealist, they are not necessarily such, as spirit uses matter, and thus unifies every aspect of life. Matter and the life of the body, as these are for the meterialist, are eternally opposed to, and completely shut out, spirit ; but for the spiritual idealist matter is the servant of spirit, has thus a real function in life, being a veritable means of producing and increasing spiritual life. Spirit makes use of everything that can give real and abiding pleasures to man, and does not hesitate to do so, provided that such use does not involve the suffering or deprivation of others; but it never seeks it from lust, or for the mere sake of possession. When a man becomes a member of the spiritual kingdom he ceases to be a merely physical being, becoming instead a person. And the spiritual idealist instead of laying up for himself treasures of earth, creates, literally constructs for himself a beautiful world of spiritual being, a world of living reality; of trees and mountains, men and women, works of art, etc., a world, indeed, whose power of yielding life, joy, satisfaction, inspiration, is inexhaustible. In the service of spirit man objectifies himself, gives his feelings, his spirit expression, form, and thus adds his quota to the sum of the world's wealth and good. For he thus sends himself, his self at its best, in its most inspired forms, out, as it were, to gladden, brighten, beautify and inspire the world. And by serving a man wins the right and the power to appreciate the expressions of others. Thus the man who accepts a spiritual ideal begins to live anew, to feel his soul coming into the possession of new life as he gives it expression in glorious beloved labour, and as he devotes himself in the hours of leisure after toil to the enjoyment of the expressions of others. And spirit is always young, as free and joyous at the last as at the first: it has no body of death. In spirit is fullness of life and eternity of existence. Matter perishes ; but spirit abides forever.

It yet remains to be shown more fully that the principle of love or social service is a sufficient principle, is capable of unifying every activity which can bring good to man. But before we attempt to do this we proposed to show by means of a brief reference to history, to the developmental process, reasonablenesss and inevitability of the ideal and principle we have thus far developed.

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the supreme development of individuality, the great synthesis, the final union and unity. To the Buddhist mere individual immortality is not an aim, and so certainly is not the highest aim: the true ideal is individual cessation. Everything that is human perishes and passes, except actions and the consequences that follow from them; and this, the metaphysical doctrine of *Karma*, as it is called, involves and necessitates continuous moral rebirth, a series of lives: but eventually, to use the familiar symbol, "the dewdrop slips into the shining sea," all shall be re-absorbed.

This question, again, we Positivists would approach, very much in the Buddhist spirit, from the point of view of Humanity, of whom we are all members. We are constituent parts of the great human whole: and our first consideration would be, What is *her* immortality. Our immortality is conditioned and limited by hers, is contained in hers and cannot be greater: what, therefore, can each of us, as an individual, expect from her? After all it is not we, but she alone, who has anything like immortality, she alone can confer it upon her sons and daughters. We of the Positivist faith hold that we shall be re-absorbed into her being, after only *one* conscious life. In the strict sense there is for us no reincarnation, no series of re-births. We look upon the Karma of the individual life as *dispersive*, not collective: that is, it works only through a variable number of contemporaries and successors. One may think of it collectively, as in speaking of Aristotle or Dante, but its operation and effectiveness are not through a single new individual, but through many individuals. So that Reincarnation, too, with Positivists, is not an individual thing, but dispersive, spread more or less over the collectivity of the generations present and to come. You will recognize the close parallel of these views—the approach to identification of the individual with the Supreme Life, and the ultimate re-absorption of the individual into the Supreme Life.

Some other points I would have liked to touch upon, had there been time. I have, for example, said nothing specifically about Dharma, another view of the great Law, nor about the extraordinary exactness and prescience of the Buddhist scientific ideas. The considerations put before you are merely suggestive: they appeal to me as a Positivist reverencing Buddhism, and approaching it from the point of view of Humanity. It seems evident that our modern world is advancing towards—in fact the world has always been advancing towards—a general world-creed, a unified creed, through processes of revolution and evolution and reconstruction. That creed will naturally be eclectic, composed of contributions from the past partial creeds: and Buddhism has, as we have seen, very much to offer towards it. The religious ideas of man, like all the other achievements of man, are being as it were "pooled," turned into a common stock, for the use and benefit of the whole race on this planet: their common measure or factors, what these creeds have in common, offer the basis for the planetary and final religion. In presence of this large common basis of truth and experience, there will be, for one thing, a cessation of those dissensions which have so sadly disfigured our history. No doubt, sections based on the present creeds may long persist, for the partially developed believers, or indeed for special climates and circumstances. Over all these will be superadded the influence and inspiration of the great social organism, Humanity, and ultimately all will blend together in one great world-harmony. For many of us the great creeds are already on practically the same plane, as being the high preparatory types evolved by Humanity; and it is coming to be recognized that the highest thought and aspirations of religions are largely common property the world over, and that the highest religious minds are largely at one. It is good to think that the time of warring creeds, of separate creeds, of partial creeds, is gradually passing away, and that the world of man is moving towards the practical unity of truth and faith. (The existence of this Buddhist Society is one proof of that fact). The creeds that we know may fairly be judged, on the great scale, according to the facilities they afford towards that eventual unification. They are inchoate and preparatory, the early and introductory chapters in the great book of man's life, the efforts of the childhood and adolescence of our race. Each one marks the stage of spiritual attainment in its particular age and region. They are all experimental, and not final: they are, as already said, the social experimentalizings of Humanity, and are naturally all subject to the general laws of her social evolution.

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The old creeds are, after all, *old* creeds, some of them outworn ; they are not immutable, for they are both being and becoming; they are not eternal, they too are impermanent and transitory. What they hold of real and lasting value will remain in the possession of our race : they are the forerunners, preparing the way for the next following stages of the development of Humanity.

In conclusion. It is incumbent upon each one of us to find out what religious manifestations and methods and associations best suit him or her. It has always seemed to me one of the fine characteristics of Hinduism that one may choose from various paths towards the spiritual life—the path of knowledge for some, and for others that of devotion, and for others the path of works. We may each of us choose what inspiration, what avatar, best suits our needs. From out the creeds of the world take what seems best for us—we need not, we could not, take everything, though some knowledge of all is useful for comparison and supplement. We need not be too rigid or exclusive about creed or formula or observance: but what we do need is a large and wise and sane tolerance. For the individual, the paramount duty is to live out one's life, expressing oneself in thought and action, and fulfilling the law of one's being : that is the true freedom. And for the collective life, Humanity, the same. Religion, Buddhist or other, is but the means to that end.

WALTER F. WESTBROOK.

NOTES

Sport maketh the Lecturer.

We often point to the intellectual eminence of a Dr. P. C. Ray or a Dr. Ganesh Prasad, and wonder why ordinary British graduates are put over their heads into the superior education service. The form of application for the I.E.S. explains the mystery. The fourteenth heading in it is, "University education, *if any*." There is a subtle humour in the qualification "if any." In the opinion of the Secretary of State and his advisers, University education is not *necessary* to qualify a European to work as a College Lecturer ; any European is fit to teach native undergraduates and graduates in every possible subject. What then is the one thing needful in a professor of the highest grade in the realm of Anglo-India? The eleventh heading of the application form supplies the answer. It is, "Athletics, (a) experience in organising games, (b) proficiency in athletics." No 'if any,' in this case.

Dr. Ray may have made the highest kind of original research in Chemistry; he may have established a reputation second to that of no European scientist in his line; but can he loop the loop? He has discovered compounds of mercury; but has he the mercurial temperament which makes an academic Don dance on the tight ropes? We gravely doubt it; at least we are not prepared to bet on Dr. Ray in a foot race with Prof. Hop, or Prof. Skip, I.E.S., at the next Olympic games. How can any rational man expect a professor so palpably weak in athletics to lecture on Chemistry in the class-room or conduct experiments in the laboratory? Let him, therefore, continue as a mere Provincial, a "junior" professor, subject to the control of young Mr. Smith, lately boundary hitter at Clifton or Westminster and *senior* professor of Chemistry at the Presidency College from the day of his joining it.

Dr. Ganesh Prasad may solve the most complex problems in calculus, but he is not a good sprinter, and *therefore* he must remain in a degraded service ; for, after all, it is not mathematics that a high-grade professor of mathematics is expected to teach in British India. In "old" England, Germany, and other decadent mediæval countries, no doubt, they still cherish the superstition that it is the duty of a college professor to teach his *subject*.

Music hath charms.

The twentieth heading of the form of application runs thus : "Subjects the applicant is prepared to teach and *special* qualities or experience, e.g., in music and sing-

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ing, commercial subjects, languages, literary work, organization or instruction."

Not a word here about research, though our newspapers and Vice-chancellors have been crying themselves hoarse over it. The heart of every backer of Dr. P. C. Ray must sink within him as he reads the first two items in the above list of *special* qualifications,—music and singing. Meet it is that

The man that hath no music in his throat,
Is unfit for

the Imperial Education Service, for, is he not haply fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils? Ah, there you are! This explains the bazar rumour that Dr. P. C. Ray, after having been officially informed by the Director that he had been recommended for the Imperial Service, was finally denied such a lift on the ground of being a nationalist. Shakespeare errs not.

"Let no such man be trusted"

—with the education of Indian youth.

Before our Allahabad friends press the claim of Dr. Ganesh Prasad to be admitted to the I. E. S. we must ask them to hold a musical contest by moonlight in Alfred Park between the learned Doctor and Prof. Strum, I. E. S., late chorister, Liverpool University chapel, and at present *senior* professor of Mathematics at——College. We have grave misgivings whether Dr. Prasad will succeed half so well as his I. E. S. rival in making the night hideous. It is then only fair that Dr. Prasad should not be promoted to the I. E. S. and made senior professor of a subject which includes *harmonic* progression.

It is impossible to deny the logic of this arrangement. An American nautch-girl is coming out to India to teach the benighted heathens of this land "a more spiritual kind of dancing"—to make them look upon the dance not as a voluptuous display, but as a potent instrument of moral culture! Then, why not give a chance to music and singing, in which,—as in everything else,—Europe is the master of Asia? It is a "special qualification" in an Anglo-Indian lecturer on Economics or History that he has *music* in his soul; he will at least succeed in keeping his pupils free from "treasons, stratagems and spoils"—which is vastly more important here than the advancement of learning. The native graduate, innocent of European music, cannot render *this* service. Therefore, he must draw half pay as a Provincial Service man.

Indians and the P. W. D.

Mr. Nethersole, Inspector-General of Irrigation, gave evidence before the Public Services Commission at Delhi on November 18. In the course of his evidence, he said that there was a large difference of character between the Englishman and the Indian which had not been eradicated; the Englishman was more practical, the Indian was more or less metaphysical. Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, who, we believe, built the railway which makes the journey to Simla so pleasant to the Heaven-borns, naturally did not agree with the view expressed that the Indian engineer was lacking in energy, ability, power of organisation, &c. It is the old story of giving the dog a bad name in order to hang it. On the same day that Mr. Nethersole's evidence was being recorded at Delhi, the Viceroy was paying a visit to the Cauvery Dam in Mysore, regarding which the following press account was published:—

"The cost of the reservoir and dam which was sanctioned in October, 1911, will amount to eighty-one lakhs, and it is hoped that it will be constructed by the end of 1919. The length of the dam will be 4,200 feet, and its height ninety-seven feet above the bed level of the river, thereby forming a reservoir capable of storing 11,000 million cubic feet of water. The project of raising the dam to 118 feet so as to store 41,500 million cubic feet of water and irrigate about 150,000 acres of land, now subject to periodical drought, forms the subject of arbitration recently ordered by the Government of India. Over seven thousand men are at present at work constructing the earthwork and the masonry work and digging in the quarries. Their Excellencies were met by Mr. Subba Rao, Superintending Engineer, in charge of the work, and Mr. K. Sreenivasa Rao, Chief Engineer of Mysore, who showed His Excellency round."

It will be seen that the Cauvery Dam project, which is to cost 81 lakhs of rupees and on which seven thousand workmen are engaged, is in charge of a mere 'native'——one Mr. Subba Rao. How many native engineers, may we enquire, are employed in the supervision of the Sara Bridge works? We believe none occupies a high position. But we forget that Mysore is a Native State, and Sara is in British India. It would be interesting to know how many 'native' Engineers have failed to perform the duties entrusted to them. We know of none, and what is more, we believe that like many Provincial Service men in other departments, there are many Indian Engineers of the Provincial Service who could give a point or two to their English superiors if placed in the responsible posi-

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tions occupied by the latter. But it would really be too much to expect the managers of a gold mine to say that the mine might have been more usefully worked by another man, and Lord Islington's Commission had better try to extract sunbeams out of cucumber than to extort an impartial answer from witnesses whose vested interests are involved.

Indians in South Africa.

The barbarous and inhuman treatment to which our countrymen in South Africa are being subjected has been flashed to our shores for some weeks past. Imprisonment, flogging, starvation and shooting have been the lot of many, both women and men. When charged with using the methods of slave-drivers and barbarians, the South African officials indignantly and with an air of injured innocence absolutely deny having done anything wrong. But they have themselves to thank if nobody who is at all fair-minded believes them now.

Lord Hardinge has shown the stuff that he is made of by demanding an independent enquiry into the allegations of cruelty; and though the South African papers, General Botha and other South African "statesmen," some British newspapers and some Anglo-Indian journals have threatened him with their displeasure and have almost called him impertinent, he manfully sticks to his guns, as his latest pronouncement on the subject, in Madras, will show. His Excellency says:—

The position of the Indians in South Africa has for some years past received the most anxious consideration of the Government of India and as the Mahajana Sabha acknowledge they are doing all that lies in their power to ensure fair treatment for Indians residing within the Union. The Act of which you complain has in practice the effect of putting a stop to Asiatic emigration to South Africa though it does not discriminate in so many words against Asiatics. We have, however, succeeded in securiug the privilege of entry for a limited number of educated Indians annually. We have also made special endeavours to secure as favourable terms as possible for Indians already resident in the Union and our efforts have resulted in the inclusion of a provision for the right of appeal to the courts on points of law and of a definition of domicile in accordance with which the position of Indians who enter the Union otherwise than under indenture has been satisfactorily laid down.

We are at the present moment in communication with the Secretary of State regarding other restrictions contained in the Act to which we take exception and we trust that our representations may not be without result. You have urged in your address that retaliatory measures should be taken by the Government of India. But you have not attempted to state the particular measures which in your opinion should be adopted. As you are aware we forbade indentured emigration to Natal in 1911 and the fact that the Natal planters sent a delegate over to India to beg for a reconsideration of that measure shows how hardly it hit them. But I am afraid it has had but little effect upon South Africa as a whole, and it is unfortunately not easy to find means by which India can make her indignation seriously felt by those who hold the reins of Government in that country. Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust,—an opinion which we who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated as they intend to violate those laws with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India deep and burning and not only of India but all those who like myself without being Indians themselves have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country.

But the most recent developments have taken a very serious turn, and we have seen the widest publicity given to allegations that this movement of passive resistance has been dealt with by measures which would not for a moment be tolerated in in any country that claims to call itself civilised. These allegations have been met by a categorical denial from the responsible Government of South Africa, though even their denial contains admissions which do not seem to me to indicate that the Union Government have exercised a very wise discretion in some of the steps which they have adopted. That is the position at this moment and I do feel that if the South African Government desire to justify themselves in the eyes of India and the world only one course is open to them and that is to appoint a strong and impartial committee upon which Indian interests shall be fully represented to conduct a thorough and searching inquiry into the truth of these allegations, and as the communique that has appeared in this morning's papers will show you, I have not hesitated to press that view upon the Secretary of State.

Now that according to telegraphic accounts received in this country from South Africa such disorder as arose has completely ceased, I trust that the Government of the Union will fully realise the imperative necessity of treating a loyal section of their fellow subjects, in a spirit of equity and in accordance with their rights as free citizens of the British Empire. Yon may rest assured that the Government of India will not cease to urge these considerations upon His Majesty's Government.

The Viceroy has the support of all Indians, a considerable section of Anglo-Indians and a far larger proportion of the British people at home. What is needed is for us to show by holding men's meetings and women's meetings that His Excellency really has behind his back the entire indigenous population and a considerable proportion of the foreign population of India. We include a section of the foreign population, as the donations of Rev. C. F. Andrews, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Mrs. Annie Besant, Haridwar others show that

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BUDDHISM A RELIGION OF HUMANITY

(An Address delivered to the Buddhist Society, London.)

THIS Society is for the study of Buddhism. The members and friends who gather together need not be Buddhists, but we are persons interested in Buddhism, who wish to carry on the study of it from various points of view and spread in the Anglo-Saxon world knowledge of the Buddhist doctrines and practices, and so strengthen the increasing connections between what are called the East and the West. This is not merely for our recreation or pleasure, or from curiosity, legitimate though these may be; but we are moved by a genuine philosophical and religious interest in those doctrines and practices, and by the desire to apply them in our own lives and in society at large. Other reasons may well re-inforce this: the striking fact that the Buddhist faith is held by so great a proportion of our fellow-men and women on this planet of ours: for us Britons the knowledge that so many Buddhists are within the sphere of British political government: the fact that Buddhism, in its turn, is exerting, through its literature and teachers, a reflex missionary influence upon us of the West: and so on.

The Buddhist Society is carrying on this good and useful work; and my own purpose to-night as a Positivist is to offer some suggestion as to one method of approach in such study. It goes without saying that any real and useful method of approach must be sympathetic, and largely conservative, constructive—of the positive and affirmative order, not of the critical and negative. The one I wish to put to you is the sociological one—the approach from the point of view of Humanity. I shall take the three terms of our subject in the reverse order, speaking first of Humanity herself; next of Religion and the religions instituted by Humanity; then of Buddhism, one of the greatest and noblest of those religions.

We know very well that sociologists and others have now-a-days come to speak of mankind as a unity, a unified whole—the totality of men and women, past, present and future—under the name of Hunanity. This is a comparatively modern sociological conception, not yet a century old, but it is already widely spread, both theoretically and practically. In the world's movement of late years one marked characteristic has been this drawing together of the various parts of the human race—the gradual unifying of mankind, and the practical recognition of the oneness of Humanity. It has been part of the widening evolution of human thought and action. In former times we used to speak of social entities such as nations: then we came to speak of larger, continental, entities such as Europe, Asia, Airica: now we tend to speak, on a still greater scale, of the whole of mankind collectively, of Humanity herself, the great mother of the race of men and women, through the sequence of the generations, great both in time and in space, in continuity and in solidarity. And just as, biologically and sociologically, we have been thus in course of time enlarging our purview to the whole human race, Humanity, so we have concurrently been enlarging our purview geographically to the whole planet, the Earth. We arrive at those large broad relations, Humanity and the Earth; the great living being, Humanity, and her abode, her estate, the Earth; and we come to feel and think and act, not nationally only, not imperially only, but planetarily.

I wish to put to you, then, this point of view of Humanity. We may in imagination picture this great living organism looking back over her history and judging the wide achievement and its component parts, and then surveying her present conditions and all those things that make up our complex human life and its civilizations, and so looking forward to the Future which is to be the outcome of it all. Of that world-survey we take only one part; we fix our attention on religion (perhaps it includes all the other things) and on the creeds to which religion has been shaped by the various generations and varying

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sections of mankind. The survey by Humanity of her religious systems would obviously be a sympathetic one: for they are all her own creations—nothing that is human can be alien to her,—she has sympathy with them all. This should give us the keynote for our own general attitude of mind and heart.

It must often have been painful and puzzling to many good men and women to understand why, among the theologists, there should not prevail greater sympathy with the other creeds: for presumably the God in whom they believe ordained these creeds in the general scheme of things, they are his handiwork, so to speak, and should be respected accordingly. It must seem that theology, absolute in its character, has often shown sadly little toleration.

From the point of view suggested we should recognize that Humanity, throughout the ages, has been making these many efforts to work out adequate systems of philosophy and religion: some of them have gone by, some remain. Necessarily they have all been partial and provisional and preparatory: they have taken the various forms and names we know. All have been in their day the symbolic expressions of the human spirit, the strivings of Humanity toward religious expression and governance; they are great working hypotheses, her great sociological experimentations. They record, they embody, they enshrine, the experiences, the hopes, the imaginations, of the past generations of Humanity, and are necessarily based thereon.

When we speak in this way of religions and creeds, how do we define that term religion? What is the great common factor, so to speak, the central impulse or general principle which forms the basis of intention of them all? It is not far to seek. The common and positive experience of mankind, and the derivation of the word *religion* itself, point out its meaning and purpose. It is that something which, on the one hand, unites man or woman within himself, and which, on the other hand, unites man or woman with fellow men and women: it has a double purpose, an individual and a collective one. History shews that this in practical working out involves three things, corresponding to the three components of human nature: (*a*) a worship, or form of religious exercise, (*b*) a doctrine or system of belief, and (*c*) a method of life, or regulated order of living. In other words (*a*) it must meet the moral needs of men and women, by cultivating and stimulating the feelings; (*b*) on the intellectual side it must offer to men and women a philosophy of the world and mankind; and (*c*) it must guide and inspire men and women in their action and conduct, which is the materializing, or carrying into effect, of those moral feelings and intellectual conceptions: *i.e.*, it must offer a workable philosophy of life. The purpose and effect of religion is individual and collective unity; it is the general equilibrium or balance between the moral impulses, the intellectual ideas, and the physical expressions and impressions; and the problem for any religious system is to ascertain how best these may each be satisfied in due degree. And the test of validity of any creed is how far its believers, each and all, can through it attain this centrality, this coordination, this harmony. The only available criteria (says William James) are those of immediate luminousness, of philosophic reasonableness, of moral helpfulness. And for proof of success, for judgment of results, we have to refer to what is the oldest and the last resort of certitude, namely, the common assent of mankind, or of the competent by instruction and training among mankind. So that for any creed it is not so much a question of origin, or doctrine, as of the way in which it eventually works out in the lives of men and women and in society, and how far it meets with acceptance at large. It is evident that a comparatively effective and enduring religion must be positive and practical: it is a human thing wholly concerned with mankind: it must be worked out in practice by human beings on human lines for human purposes. Any system of religion fulfilling the conditions stated must command our assent accordingly: we cannot help ourselves, we cannot withhold our consent. We may apply the test to Buddhism. Does Buddhism to our mind meet those conditions? Then we must accept it, or accept it in so far as we believe it does fulfil them. And so of any other creed. We may imagine Humanity saying to her sons and daughters, to those who can rise to this wide religious point of view: "Believe, accept, what you find appeals to you most deeply, take what you find suits you, and live in it and by it.

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And just as the race of mankind has in its evolution become unified in Humanity, so we may believe that the religions of mankind in their evolution tend towards unification; and they must be tested by their relation to this process of unification —how far, that is, they are in harmony with, how far they prepare for, the final religion of man.

Using this principle I briefly mention some of the positive contributions of Buddhism towards this Religion of Humanity. One thing we certainly recognize—that hitherto Buddhism as a religion has undoubtedly met the needs of men and women, and met them on a very great scale: and in our own day it is the religion which in one form or another is most largely accepted among men and women. There are hundreds of millions in Asia and elsewhere who do undoubtedly get from it high moral inspiration, intellectual light, and practical guidance for their lives: multitudes to whom it is a strength and an aegis, "the shade of a great rock in a weary land." Looking back upon its history, it has, by the general agreement of mankind, rendered immense services to Humanity—in civilizing the peoples who have adopted it, in encouraging art and learning, in raising the status of women, in repressing war and bloodshed, in teaching the Great Peace, in enjoining love, charity, compassion, in developing righteousness, and in shewing a noble path of religious life. These things are beyond dispute: it is a very noble creed and merits our high respect.

Again Buddhism is an attempt at a universal religion: at any rate it aimed to be the religion for the whole of Asia. Three such attempts at world-creeds have as yet been made: Buddhism for the Orient; the other two, for the Occident, being Catholicism and Islam, both derived from Judaism or Mosaism. The final one is coming. And Buddhism, whatever its future, universal or no, has of all religions the greatest number of adherents at the present day. It is worthy of note that the means used have been preaching and persuasion and example: it has been peaceful, and in accord with the general human evolution. Then, beyond doubt, one of the most effective arguments for the faith is the Buddha himself: a supreme type of the great Teacher and sage, a purely human figure, not deified in the primitive sense, a man who lived among men and women a long and devoted life. He remains for all time a very noble and venerated figure, one of those supreme manifestations of the great Life Force on our planet who from age to age adorn our race, veritable avatars of Humanity herself. His work has been continued down the centuries by a succession of great spiritual teachers. Nor can one be unmindful of the vast treasures of Buddhist literature: through them the peculiar charm of the Buddhist philosophy and the remarkable purity of the Buddhist faith are becoming more and more generally appreciated in Europe and the World at large. All these services to Humanity are incontestable.

One of its great positive contributions has been this—that in its philosophy of the world and the universe it resolutely leaves aside some of those problems which mankind after much striving and agonizing has had to declare insoluble, or which profit little or nothing in man's actual living. Let us take only one example. It ignores any question of a creator of the world, and declares for the agnostic position; and teaches that behind all phenomena, working in and through them, is the great system of Universal Law. These laws are largely known, and where unknown are yet partly knowable, perhaps in part unknowable. There are, however, no fixed bounds set to human knowledge; the Buddha provided for the fullest development of the human intelligence within the spheres of philosophy and religion. Throughout, then, all the beauty and the wonder of the external order, of our solar system, of our planet, of mankind, permeating them, working through them, is universal law. Philosophically that is a very important stage to have reached in human thought. The unchanging God of other creeds is really another statement of universal law. And we may perhaps suggest that just as God is Love, so Law too is Love. And the general ordering of our human life and destiny is necessarily part of that law. One thing in this is to some persons difficult and even unacceptable—the law of suffering. They think that Buddhism is unduly inclined to pessimism in making human lives subject always to pain and suffering, from which man must persistently endeavour to escape. We can not now discuss that in detail. One might do well to think out the comparison between this Buddhist teaching of suffering,

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and the Jewish and Islamic and Western gospel of sin. They are to my mind but different aspects of the same problem. But I suggest that in either case the modern mind would proceed further, and would hold that pain or evil is not fixed by any immutable law, or rather is not a permanent factor, but is a passing condition like all other things, and really part of the general Maya, illusion, or transitoriness. Constrained as we are to admit the existence of pain or evil [we should certainly deny their predominance] we may yet consider that this state is not a fixed one : suffering, like anything else, is in motion, ever changing, indeed always evolving into good : everything is potential of good, in accord with the general hope and practice of mankind, which is, I think we are bound to believe, a progression from evil to good, from material to moral, from physical to spiritual. And by a benevolent law of human things it is the good also which does ultimately persist. That is a pleasant faith to hold and think, the true faith: let us take it as part of the universal law.

We may note that in this matter of individual life, the Buddhist teachings are essentially and emphatically *moral* : their aim is to inculcate, and to improve, and to make supreme, the highest moral motives. Three specially important points we may notice : the incentive to right living that Buddhism gives : it asserts that man is master of his fate : it teaches that by his deeds he shall be judged. It preaches a gospel of moral reformation, of what the French call *perfectionnement*, perfectioning—that shall give to man the full possession of himself and his personality, that shall develop his individuality, give him self-mastery. It is to its eternal honour that it has set clearly before the world that constant moral problem of mankind—the regulation of egoism, the supremacy of altruism. It is the problem that is so expressly dealt with in our time by Positivism and the Religion of Humanity. These teachings are of the highest value, for the individual. If we take the collective side, of the community, we may perhaps doubt whether Buddhism goes far enough ; whether it is able, on the large scale, to effectively organize and direct the social active powers of man ; whether it can, so to speak, run the world as it is to-day. For one thing, it omits from its scheme the human collectivity, the social organism which we moderns call Humanity : that, it is true, is a recent conception, just as sociology as a science is modern too. Between the individual soul and the great universal soul there is no intermediate human aggregation. And hence, without that, unless that be included, there remains the inability of the Buddhist scheme to found for the world a definite organized society—a society with definite regulation and government. At its origin, as a social revolution, it rejected the caste system of Brahmanism, which we know worked out into the most stable constitution the world has yet known ; but it did not replace that caste system by a new social order. It has indeed been said sometimes that it cannot found a permanent social and political order. And further it can make only *saints* ; that it is suitable for special natures—*natures d'elite* but that it is not suitable for the immense majority of men and women who cannot live only on meditation and individual works : there, again, the multitude of its believers offers in part the answer. Both these questions, however, are much open to discussion.

Another contribution of Buddhism to world-wisdom is its teaching on the ultimate destiny of the individual. Let us take the doctrine, stated broadly, that the individual soul or personality (understanding that there is no soul apart from personality or individuality) is not really a separate entity, but a temporarily separated portion of the soul, into which it is eventually after many lives re-absorbed. We might usefully contrast this view with the theory of the Semitic, Christian, and Moslem creeds, wherein the individual soul is and remains individual and separated, and ultimately is not re-absorbed, does not rejoin God's being : the great soul, God, is to man external, separate, self-existent, self-sufficient, and absorbs nobody : to be at one with God is not to be one with God : eternal life for the Christians is individual, and for selected persons only, and life *in* God. On the contrary, the aim of the Buddhist is the extinction of any soul of conscious individual existence : it is to overcome and abolish that separateness and sense of separateness, that individuality or rather illusion of individuality, what is the *causa causans* of human ill, and by so doing to reach Nirvana, that wondrous condition of pure spirituality (the whole aim of existence is the evolution of spirituality), that sublime state of rest in omniscience which is really

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many Europeans are with us. That many Enropeans in South Africa are with us is only too painfully evident from the imprisonment of Mr. Polak and Mr. Kallenbach, and the arrest of Mr. West, the officiating editor of "Indian Opinion." But in India the greatest and most striking proof of European sympathy has been afforded by the readiness of Mr. C. F. Andrews to sail for South Africa at a moment's notice to take the place of the imprisoned leaders and report upon the state of affairs there. This act of loving self-sacrifice on the part of Mr. Andrews is unique. He was to sail from Calcutta on the 30th November. He enjoys the confidence of the Viceroy and the Indian people alike, and his report will be awaited with eagerness.



SOME BRAVE WOMEN PASSIVE RESISTERS

Sentenced at Newcastle on the 21st October, to three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

The only consoling feature of the situation, though it is a painful consolation, is the heroism that is being displayed by men and women whom we are apt to despise as mere coolies, though in reality we are not worthy to wipe the dust of their feet. They are really showing more strength of character and steadiness and faith in their cause than many a leader among us.

Given the hour, and given the MAN to lead them, Indians are capable of any act of heroism and any amount of self-sacrifice and endurance.

We have said above that we should hold meetings all over the country to show that Lord Hardinge has on the one hand appointed Mr. Andrews to go to South Africa and that is being done. Money is also being raised promptly everywhere, *except in Bengal.* On the occasion of the last passive resistance struggle in South Africa, Bengal did her part in a very half-hearted manner. This time, too, she is lagging behind the other provinces. Bengal was the first to preach nationalism; will she be the last to practise it? It will be a great consolation if she does practise it at all, in the manner that is expected of her. Better late than never.

The students of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and of the Gurukula, Hardwar, and elsewhere, are enthusiastically collecting funds for the strikers and the families of the passive resisters in prison. The Gurukula students have worked as coolies digging earth and contributed their wages to the South African fund. In many places women are collecting funds. The example of these ladies and these students ought to be catching.

But even the holding of meetings and the contribution of money do not constitute our whole duty. We should be prepared to suffer, if need be, as our sisters and brethren are suffering in South Africa.

Who is to blame.

There is no injustice in blaming the British Government which sanctioned the emigration of indentured coolies to South Africa and none in blaming the South African Union for its unjust laws and its barbarous treatment of Indians. But we should not rest satisfied with accusing others. We should try to be convinced that we are also to blame. Why is it that indentured coolies have gone from India and not from Russia, for instance? Indian coolies have gone to Natal, because they could not satisfy their hunger in their own native land, and because they were so ignorant as to be deceived into believing that in the land of their sojourn they would receive very good treatment and very high wages. India is not a desert that there is

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not enough food grown for her people here. Indians themselves remain poor, though their country is the cause of the wealth of many foreign nations. If we are poor, and if foreign exploiters grow rich, whose fault is it? Who are most to blame for those political and other causes which are at the bottom of our poverty? Certainly ourselves. Who, again, are most to blame for the darkness of ignorance which covers the land, and which makes it easy for recruiters to deceive poor and ignorant villagers, so that they are led to sell themselves into a life of semi-slavery without knowing that they are doing so? Undoubtedly it is we who are at the last resort to blame for the ignorance of the majority of our countrymen.

The people of Europe also emigrate but they emigrate as free men. Our people emigrate as indentured coolies, with almost the status of slaves, because we are not citizens, we have no effective voice in the government of our country, we are poor and we are ignorant. It will not do to blame only other people for these deplorable circumstances; we must do our duty by the land we live in. We must all win perfect citizenship, we must all become enlightened, we must all grow prosperous; else slavery in some form or other must continue to overtake the majority of our countrymen.

Mr. Sharp's evidence.

In the course of his examination before the Public Service Commission, Mr. Sharp said :—

"Except for the pay, leave and service, the Indian Educational and Provincial Services were regarded as on equal footing."

This is a fine example of unconscious humour.

But Mr. Sharp's exceptions are not sufficiently inclusive. For example, he omits to say that the seniormost Provincial is considered and treated as junior to the juniormost I. E. S., as has been shown in the article on "the Brand of the Helot" in this number.

A proposed remedy.

It has been suggested by some South Africans that all our people there should be deported to India and adequately compensated. We do not think that is a very easy remedy. But should it be adopted, it would mean that Indians must gradually be confined to India. For as soon as South Africa adopts this policy, Canada will make haste to imitate her example and other British colonies may follow suit. Why should we be deprived of freedom of movement?

In any case if other people will not allow us to enter their land, they must not enter ours. Reciprocity is the only just rule, it alone can ensure self-respect. If South Africans will have none of us, we should demand that no South African must come or remain here as a public servant, or trader, or traveller or in any other capacity. Also India must not purchase anything grown in that country.

The Bestowal of the Nobel Prize on Rabindranath.

That the Nobel Prize for literature has this year been awarded to Rabindranath Tagore is significant in many ways. It is a proof of his towering genius and marvellous literary and artistic powers that by a prose English translation of some of his poems he has been able so to impress foreigners, whose mother tongue again is not English, that they have considered his work to be the best literary production of the year in the whole world. Our wonder increases when we consider that he was quite unaccustomed to write English when he began to translate his Gitanjali. It is a wonderful literary feat this, to be reckoned one of the few living masters of English style on the strength of one's first and, at that times, only published work.

This award proves once again the oneness of the human spirit. Thoughtful men have always recognised that in the realms of the spirit there is no East and West. This year's award of the Nobel Prize for literature illustrates this truth by showing that what an Indian writes a Swede can understand and fully appreciate.

Many of us have often indulged in the cheap criticism that the West is materialistic and the East spiritual. We suppose, if a man has the power to amass millions and hankers after these millions, that is materialism; but if a man can earn only a few hundreds and hankers after the same, that is not materialism. The real truth is, there are men in both the East and the West who can appreciate the things of the spirit; and it is as foolish to indulge in wholesale praise of the former as it is to indulge in wholesale condemnation of the latter. We shall be happy if there be among

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us the same power and disposition to appreciate spirituality in foreign literatures as the Swedish Academy of Literature have displayed in the present instance.

The human mind is not divided into independent and watertight compartments. A nation which can achieve greatness in one field can achieve greatness in others as well. That India still continues to produce great literature ought to spur us on to renewed activity in all departments of life so that we may be able to take our proper place in the onward march of humanity.

Hindu Widows of Bengal.

The Census Report just published (Volume V, Part II) discloses the following startling facts (Table VII. Part A, p. 28): In all Bengal, there are nearly 26 lakhs of Hindu widows, out of a total female population of about 1 crore 15 lakhs.

The total number of Hindu widows aged 0—5 years, is 962. Of females aged 5—10 years, 8,681 are widows. In other words, among Hindu women of Bengal, nearly ten thousand babies have lost their husbands. There are 32,075 widows aged 10—15,and 95,363 widows aged 15—20. Among Hindu women between the ages 20—25,and 25—30, the widows number 144,329 and 215,674 respectively. If we take girls aged 15 and under as virgins, and those above 15 and up to 30 as young women, we have 41,718 virgin widows and 4,55,366 young widows among the Hindus of Bengal.

Confining ourselves to the three higher castes, Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas, we find (Table XIV, Pp. 205—6) that among babies aged 0—5 years, there are no Baidya widows, but there are 39 Kayastha and 42 Brahman widows. Among widows aged 5—12 years, there are 20 Baidya,420 Kayastha and 603 Brahman girls. There are among Baidya, Kayastha and Brahmans, 32, 1071, 1350 widows respectively aged 12—15 years. Between the ages 15—20,we find 184 Baidya widows, 4,861 Kayastha widows and 5,451 Brahman widows. Widows above 20 and up to 40 years of age, count 1,973 among Baidyas, 44, 792 among Kayasthas and 42, 357 among Brahmans. In other words, among widows aged 20 and under there are 2,36 Baidyas, 6,391 Kayasthas, and 7,446 Brahmans, total 14,073.

Widow marriage is allowed to some extent among the lower castes, though not to the same extent as in Bihar. But perpetual widowhood is a rigid rule among the higher castes, and so the lot of the sixteen thousand and odd young widows aged 20 years and under belonging to the three higher castes in Bengal, may be better imagined than described.

Honor to Rabindranath.

On Sunday the 23rd November, a large deputation went by special train from Calcutta to Bolpur to do honour to Rabindranath Tagore. Men assembled from other places, too, so that the gathering numbered more than a thousand souls. Science and literature, law and medicine, art and journalism, religion and education, all had their eminent representatives there. The aristocracy and the various religious communities, too, were represented. Dr. J. C. Bose was elected to preside on the occasion. That was a rare moment when India's greatest scientist presented the homage and congratulation to India's greatest poet.

Publications relating to India.

We are glad to find that English publishers are taking an increasing interest in thing Indian, as it shows that their customers are also showing similar interest. As for examples, we draw the attention of our readers to several publications announced by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., in our advertisement columns.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Volume XIV—Part i (No 49), Brihadaranyaka Upanisad, translated by Ray Bahadur Sris Chandra Vasu and published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp 88. Price Re 1-8. Annual subscription :—Inland Rs 12-12as. Foreign £1.

The book contains :—

(i) Sanskrit Text of the Upanisad.
(ii) English Meaning of every word in the text.
(iii) English Translation of the Text.
(iv) English Translation of Madhva's Commentary.
(v) Translator's notes in English.

In this part the first four Brahmans and three mantras of the fifth Brahman have been given. Madhva's arrangement differs from that of Sankar. I. 5.1. of Madhva corresponds to I.4.7 of Sankar.

This book also is being carefully edited and translated.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. Volume XIII Part iii (No. 50). Sukraniti-Sara. Translated by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu, at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 201 and 207. Price Re. 1-8. Annual subscription: inland Rs. 12-12 as. Foreign £1.

This part completes the translation of Sukraniti-Sara based on the Text edited by Mr. Gustav Oppert and published by the Government of Madras.

The Editor has applied to the Madras Government for permission to publish the Text in this series, and intends to issue to the subscribers Mr. Oppert's Text, Varie Lectiones, Parallel passages, etc., in a separate part of more than one hundred pages of royal octavo size.

Besides this Professor Sarkar's Introduction to his own Translation will be published in two parts of 100 pages each, together with a Glossary of technical terms and difficult words occurring in Sukraniti, as well as a Subject-Index.

The book, when thus completed, will be an excellent edition of Sukraniti. The notes given in this part are valuable.

The Vedanta of Shankara expounded and vindicated, Part I, by Shantaram Anant Desai, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Philosophy, Holkar College, Indore. Sold at Madras by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Company and at Indore by the author. Pp. 108 and 190. Price Rs. 3.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part has been named "Studies in the Vaidic Literature" and the second part "The Vaidic Religion."

There are four chapters in the 1st part. In the first and the second chapter the author has adversely criticized Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhusan's exposition and criticism of Sankar's philosophy. He has quoted a number of passages from Pandit Tattvabhusan's works to shew that he has misrepresented Sankar's views. We have carefully read these passages and must say that it is not Pandit Tattvabhusan but Mr. Desai himself who has misunderstood and misrepresented the philosophy of Sankara. In reviewing the "Study of Indian Philosophy" by the same author we had to point out some of the serious mistakes into which he had fallen. In this volume also we find that he has failed to grasp the spirit of Sankara.

In the third and the fourth chapter Mr. Desai has collected texts from some of the Upanisads and from the Gita "in order to supply the reader with material for enabling him to judge for himself whether the objections brought against the teaching of Sankara by Pandit Tattvabhusan are justified." But how can texts which are not Sankara's refute objections against Sankara?

In the second part—the Vaidic Religion—the author "expounds the dominant philosophical thought of Shankara." But, we are afraid, the author does not seem to be a reliable guide. He has treated of the subject under the following heads :—

(i and ii)The Vaidic Religion made easy.
(iii) Place of authority in the Vaidic Religion.
(iv) All this is Brahman.
(v) What is Brahman.
(vi) Man and the World.
(vii) The Law of Karma.
(viii) Objections against the Law of Karma.
(ix) Does the Soul act.
(x) Has the Soul Freedom of the will (with an appendix to the chapter).

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

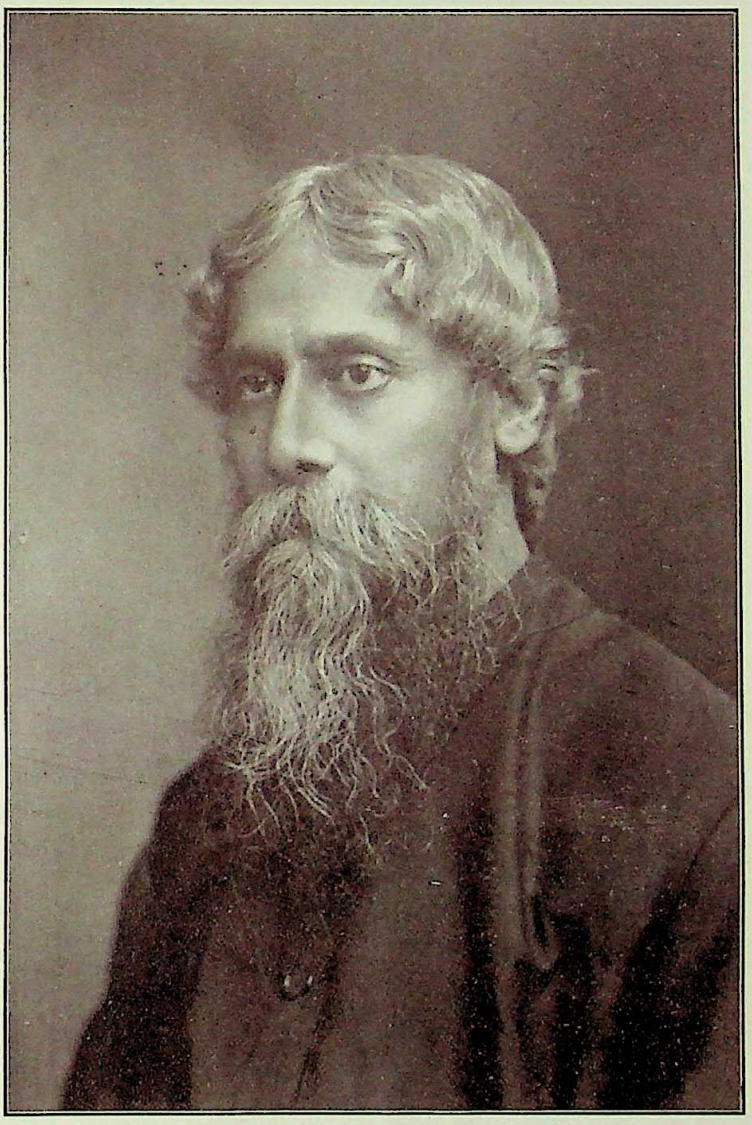
1. A Practical Bengali Grammar, by W. S. Milne, I. C. S. Published by the author himself. Small 8 vo. 561 pages. Price Rs. 10.

We are all grateful to the author for compiling the volume under review, which is bound to be of great service to all who wish to make a serious study of Bengali Grammar, though the author, in his modesty, has stated in the preface to the book that he intends the work mainly for those in the service of Government, "who propose to take the higher examinations in Bengali, such as the High Proficiency." The price Rs. 10, fixed for the book is rather very high, seeing that the general get up and typography are not what can be highly commended. The long list of errata running over 8 pages is rather discouraging.

We generally get some needy incompetent men to compile our school books, and it is therefore no wonder that a decent text book on Bengali Grammar is not easy to discover. In the name of Bengali Grammar we get from the writers of school books some rules and forms of Sanskrit Grammar which are never applicable to Bengali. What a Bengali Grammar should be was suggested some time ago by Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Shastri, and some practical hints as to how a Bengali Grammar should be compiled were given by our renowned poet Babu Rabindranath Tagore in his highly interesting and suggestive work Shabdatattva. A systematic Bengali Grammar in a thoroughly scientific basis has since then been composed by Prof. Jogeschandra Ray of Cuttack College. This work of Prof. Ray is very learned, but I do not think it will be of practical help to the foreigners who want to learn the language without going deeply into the meticulous consideration of the origin of words and of the syntactical forms.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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U. RAY & SONS, CALCUTTA.

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The readers will no doubt meet with some mistakes and inaccuracies in the work under review, but these are inevitable in a pioneer work like this. The statement of the author that the Bengali language is derived from Sanskrit and that the Bengali script comes from the Devanagri through the Gupta scripts is very wrong. It is true that we freely use Sanskrit words in our Bengali language, but it is the old Magadhi Prakrita which has been transformed into our Bengali language, being influenced and modified by the languages of some non-Aryan tribes. The Nagri letters or the socalled Devanagri letters cannot claim much higher antiquity than the Bengali letters, and it must be remembered that many centuries after the time of the Imperial Guptas the Nagri letters came into existence. No doubt, the 10th century letters of Bengal and Orissa have been mentioned by the author as Kutila letters; the term should have been wholly avoided.

Not to find fault with the author, but sincerely with the desire of helping him in bringing out an improved revised edition of this book, I intended making out a list of some serious inaccuracies and mistakes occurring in this excellent work; I hope to refer to them when writing for the Pravasi some essays on the origin and structure of our Bengali language.

2. The Crown of Hinduism, by J, N. Farquhar, M. A., Oxford Uuiversity Press, 7s—6d. net.

The title of the book is rather curious ; it implies that the Crown of Hinduism is Christ. With a view to establish the fact that Hinduism to be effective as a religious system must wear the crown of Cristianity, the author has given an exposition of Hinduism, viewing the whole system, as might be naturally expected, from the standpoint of the Christian missionary. No doubt, the author has imbibed to a certain extent the new liberal spirit and does not consider like other Christians that all non-Christian systems have proceeded from the Evil One ; but as scholars free from any bias or religion have written much on the subject, the reading public cannot easily be persuaded to approach the author for an exposition of Hinduism. Failing to study the religious institutions including Christianity from the standpoint of Anthropology, the author has not been able to account for the origin of "sacrifice and the priest." It is not a correct statement as the author has made that the history of the ceremeny of making sacrifices to God and of the institution of priesthood" have not been investigated by scholars." It is rather surprising that the author of this ambitious work is not conversant with the investigations on the subject by the sociologists and did not care to refer for the solution of the problems to the epochmaking works of Dr. J. G. Frazer. Very likely the author looked for such an explanation as might be consistent with the orthodox Christian doctrine. This very mood of mind makes one unfit to make research in the field of Anthropology.

Consistently with what the author has said of the programme of the Hindu reformers, he cannot offer the Crown of Christ to the Hindu for headgear. Mr. Farquhar has no patience with the Hindu reformers who propose to infuse new life into the old body of the Hindu society ; for according to his Biblical tenet new wine cannot be poured into an old bottle. I may remark in passing that the eminent modern sociologists are of opinion that the history of the development of all societies proves unmistakably that new wine is always being poured into old bottle with great success. Prof. F. H. Giddings has stated in his excellent wor' on sociology that what was regarded true in respect of the old spiritual bottle of the Jews of the time of Jesus, cannot be regarded true in other cases: the social bottles of all times and climes have been found new-wine-proof. Be that as it may. If our Hindu society be unable to accommodate and assimilate new ideas without casting off the old body and without assuming a radically changed social system, how it can be possible for Hinduism to retain all its systems of thought and action and to accept the Christianity of the author as a complement and not as a supplement is difficult to understand. The head-gear proposed by the author cannot be called crown for we are a subject-people; it is not even a Jewish cap today ; it has assumed the form of a European hat in the religious machine of the West. How this hat will improve the Hindu dress, consisting of *dhuti* and *chadar*, the readers may imagine.

3. Tantra of the Great Liberation (Mahanirvana Tantra)—A translation from the Sanskrit with introduction and commentary—by A. Avalon. Pages 359-i-cxlvi. Luzac and Co., London. Price 10s. or Rs. 8.

The author tells us that his translation of the Mahanirvana Tantra is the first translation published in Europe. He has not failed also to note that "it was first published by the Adi Brahmo Samaj in 1876 and was printed in Bengali characters with the notes of the Kulavadhuta Srimat Hariharananda Bharati under the editorship of Anandachandra Vidyavagis." We all know that this edition of the Tantra is very popular in Bengal and that it was edited with great scholarship and ability. There are now several editions of the book with Bengali translations and one of them is sold for the price of 8 as. only. Two or three cheap editions in Nagri character with Hindi translations are also extant. It is cheering to learn from the author that the extant text of the Tantra is only the first part of it, and he hopes to publish at a later date the remaining portion of the book with his translation.

So far as this first part is concerned, the Hindu reading public will not be much benefited by the publication of this work which does not contain the original text and has not been moderately priced. If we exclude the notes by the author we may at once say that *the European scholars will get in this book a thoroughly reliable translation of the text.*

The learned introduction which extends over 140 pages, shows that the author has not only studied many works dealing with the so-called Tantric doctrines, but has made himself acquainted with the Yoga systems of later times with a good deal of care and patience. This lengthy and erudite introduction as well as the explanatory foot-notes will rather have the effect of misleading the readers instead of helping them in understanding the simple purpose of the author of the Mahanirvana Tantra, since the author has not made a chronological study of the different works bearing on the subject, and has not critically studied as to when the Tantric doctrines originated and how the Mongolian and the Dravidian mystic cults were incorporated by the Brahmans in the Tantric works of rather recent growth. He has been misled to form this opinion that the Mahanirvana, the Yogini, the Kularnava and other such works bearing the title "Tantra" may be grouped together in one group to represent one special form or system of religious culture. It is because of this initial mistake that the author has considered all the Tantric works as complementary to each other; and as such he has explained the simple text of the Mahanirvana by esoteric interpretations [illegible] some other books. It is not easy to dis-

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cuss here, how the Tantras originated at different centres and how to put down some practices of questionable morality. Some books entitled Tantra were composed at different times giving either esoteric meaning to some rituals or prescribing altogether new doctrines declaring the old practices to be out of date. The learned author will excuse me, if I refer him to two papers of mine on the subject published some years ago in the Bengali magazine "Sahitya" (Asarh and Bhadra nos. 1312 B. S.) and to my article, "Thakurpujar Itihas" published in the "Pravasi" (Phalgun no., 1319 B.S.). The subject has not been exhaustively dealt with in those papers; but some hints as to the origin of the Tantras may be obtained in them.

4. *Hymns to the Goddess, translated from Sanskrit by Arthur and Ellen Avalon. Luzac and Co., pp. 179. Price 4 s. or Rs. 3.*

In this book the authors have given us the metrical translation of several Sanskrit hymns occuring in the Tantras, Purana as well as in some other books. The hymns selected are neither very striking for literary merits nor are they all very typical effusions of the Tantric adepts. As to the hymns selected from the Mahabharata, I beg to refer the authors to my humble paper on "Durga" published in 1906 in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

As we always expect the European scholars to be critical, I felt greatly disappointed to find that the poems composed by many and different persons and none by the renowned Sankara who is the author of the Sariraka Bhasya have been attributed to one and the same person bearing the title Sankaracharyya. The text of the Anandalahari which the author had before him differs wholly from what appears in the collection of Jivananda Vidyasagara. Whatever that be, the author should not have relied upon the Bat-tala editors to collect poems composed by some Sankaracharyya or another.

We hope that in bringing out other works on the subject of Tantra, *e.g.*, the Kularnava Tantra, the learned and capable author will use more discretion and will exercise his critical judgment.

B. C. Mazumdar.

Gujarati.

Primary Arithmetic, Part I, by K. T. Desai, B.A., S. T. C. and G. R. Naik, B.A., S. T. C. D., both of the Bombay Educational Department. Printed at the Jain Printing Press, Surat. Pp. 216 and 24. Cloth bound, Price Rs. 0-9-0 (1913).

The experience that the publishers have acquired as teachers in the Educational Department has certainly stood them in good stead in preparing this work, which is sure n to prove useful for school purposes.

Kahanad De Prabandh, by Padmanabh Kavi, published with suitable notes and commentaries by Dayappai P. Derasari, Barrister-at-law. Printed at the Union Printing Press Company, Ahmedabad. Pp. 168. Cloth bound. Re. 1-4-0 (1913.)

This poem describes an important part of the history of Gujarat, viz., the invasion by Alaf Khan, the lieutenant of Ala-ud-din Khilji of the Province. It is written in the fifteenth century A. D. and throws a flood of light on the philogical side of the Gujarati language. Unknown till comparatively very recent times, the publication of this work, in its original from, is a great service to the literature of Gujarat. In fact the credit of drawing attention to this very important unit of the language and literature of the Province belongs to Mr. Derasari who for the last three or four years, has been at it, in variovs ways. We welcome the publication with feelings of great obligation, and trust that those who are interested in the history of the Gujarati language would make the fullest possible use of it.

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INDEX

	Page.
Ali, Hasan and Moawiah - S. Khuda Bukhsh, M. A., B. C. L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law, Lecturer, Calcutta University	121
Ancient Hibrew Prophet, An—Prof. P. E. Richards, B.A., (OXON.) ...	575
A. O. Hume—P.	241
Arab Town Life—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law, Lecturer, Calcutta University ...	48
Art of Ajanta, The Classic—Samarendranath Gupta	560
Automatic Record of speed of nervous impulse in Plants—Professor J. C. Bose, D. Sc.	331
Behar University, The—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law, Lecturer, Calcutta University.	463
Bengali Passive, The—J. D. Anderson, I. C. S. (retired), Reader in Bengali, Cambridge University	365
Body of Humanity, The—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	272,379
Bombay Students' Brotherhood, The	262
Brand of the Helot, The—Arcades Ambo	579
Buddhism a Religion of Humanity—Walter F. Westbrook... ...	631
Can finite mind discover new Ideals ?—Wilfred Wellock	357
Chautauqua : a system of Popular Education—Rafidin Ahmed ...	342
Christianity and other Religions—Rev. J.T. Sunderland, M.A.	118
Christian Subjects and Mughal Masters —Samarendranath Gupta ...	250
Comment and Criticism (Professor Homersham Cox on Religious Education)—Haris Chandra Misra and Ganga Shanker Misra	481
Comment and Criticism—	
Some Bengali Idioms—Bireswar Sen	595
Date of Bhasa—T. L. Venkataraman	597
Mr. Gurmukh Singh Mongia's article on "MyImpressions of England" —W. E. Garman	599
The Sapadlaksha Country—Har Bilas Sarda	600
Conservation and Reformation—Dhirendranath Choudhury, M.A. ...	368
Constructive Programme, A—B. P. ...	294
Co-operation as a measure for the improvement of our Cottage Industries —Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A.	374
Cornwallis the Civil Ruler—Historicus	571
Cornwallis the Warrior – Historicus ...	466
Data of Ancient Indian Geography in Sukraniti, The—Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A.... ...	405,493,602
Date of Bhasa The—P. Choudhury, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW ...	382
Economics of "Native India": a plea for a better study, The—S. Ranganath	286
England (a poem)—D. L. Roy, M.A. and Harinath Dey, M.A.	173
First Andhra Conference, The—V.G.K. Iyengar, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law	169
Gardener, The (a review)—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	617
Germany's Greatest Religious Poem—Rev. J. T. Sunderland, M.A. ...	349
Gleanings	86,225,298,396
Goddess Durga, The – Abinashchandra Das. M.A., B.L.	387
Guru Nanak (a poem) – Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	201
Hindu Polity, An Introduction to— Kashiprasad Jayaswal, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, ...	77,201,288
Hindu University, The—Professor Homersham Cox, M.A.	83
History of the Press Legislation in India—R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B.	131,256
How to Realize the Good—Wilfred Wellock	624
Humanity, The Body of - Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	272,379
Huxley,s Letters—Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A.	456
India and the British Parties—Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Editor, The Rajput Herald	62
Indian Architecture: a review—Ordhendra Coomer Gangoly, B.A. ...	291
Indian Geography, The Data of Ancient —Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.	405, 493, 602
Indian Wrestler in the West, An – M.R. Rao	518
Indians in Canada—Nand Singh Sihra	140

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	Page.
Indira—Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and J. D. Anderson, I. C. S. (Retired)	503
Interpretation of Indian History, My—Rabindra Nath Tagore, and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S., ...	231
Introduction to Hindu Polity, An—K.P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW	77,201,288
Kalidas, the moralist—Rabindranath Tagore and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.	347
Kangri Guruklua Academy, The—G. A. Chandavarkar	545
Learning during Muhammadan Rule, Promotion of—Kumar Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L., ...	18,150,269
Life-Work of Shri Ramadas, The—P.K. Kotval	174
Match Trade and Industry in Burma, The—A. Ghosh	284
M. Loisy and the Roman Catholic Church Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A.	190
Moral Freedom the Goal of History—Wilfred Wellock	6
More Letters of Sivaji—Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.	39
Musalman Artisans of Kashmir——Mukandi Lal	153
Musalman Peasants of Kashmir, The—Mukandi Lal	65
My Impressions of England—Gurmukh Singh Mongia	489
My Interpretation of Indian History—Rabindra Nath Tagore and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.	113,231
Nature of the Good, The—Wilfred Wellock	446
Notes ...	93,207,303,421,526,632
Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, The—Sarat-chandra Roy, M.A., B.L. ...	71,279
Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915, The—D. R. Guha	56
Patriot, The (a poem)—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	502
Place of India in the Empire, The—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A. Ph. D., Lecturer, State University of Iowa, U.S.A. ...	278
Poems—Rabindranath Tagore ...	431
Polity in Ancient and Mediæval Kerala—S. Venkataraya Iyer, M.A., ...	591
Possibility of a Science of Morals, The—Wilfred Wellock	243
Press Legislation in India, History of the—R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B.	131,230
Promotion of Learning during the Muhammadan Rule—Kumar Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L. ...	18,150,269
Proposed Technological Institute for Calcutta—Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.	515
Rabindranath Tagore—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	27
Radharani—Bankim Chandra Chaterjee and J. D. Anderson I.C.S. (Retired)	550
Relation of the Universe and the Individual, The—Rabindranath Tagore	1
Relative Claims of the Factory, the Work-hop, and the Cottage Industry in the Economic Life of India, The—Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A.	35,126
Religious Education—Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A.	237
Reviews and Notices of Books,—	110,229, 317,416,475,641
Ruin of Indian Agriculture, The—Dwijadas Datta, M.A.	182
Satire in Art—Samarendranath Gupta	483
Scourge of Bengal, The—Politicus ...	521
Sir Thomas Munro - Politicus ...	41
So-called superiority of the Brahmans The—A Bengali Brahman ...	611
Some Bengali Idioms—J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (Retired), Reader in Bengali, Cambridge University	129
Some Economic Theories of Hindu India—K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW	514
Stage, The—Rabindranath Tagore and Surendranath Tagore	543
Student in London, The—R. N. Ainger, BARRISTER-AT-LAW	344
Taj Mahal, The (a poem)—Late Satischandra Ray, W. W. Pearson and Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	277
Temper of Agnosticism, The—Prof. P. E. Richards, B.A. (Oxon.) ...	15
Vikramaditya and Nahapana—K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (OXON.), Barrister-at-Law	622
Vitality of Hindu Civilization, The—A Bengali Brahman	435
Work on the Commercial History of India: a review, A—K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW ...	566
World's Greatest Exposition at San Francisco, 1915, The—Taraknath Das, M.A.	197

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page.
Appearance of Kausiki... ...	390
Asoka Pillar...	22
Automatic records of speed of nervous impulse in plants—	332-341
Babu J. C. Goho alias Gobar—	519
Babu Nagendranath Chatterji	210
Bergson, Henri	91
Bird of Paradise	404
Birth of the sacred plant Tulasi (in colors)—by Abanindronath Tagore C. I. E.	113
Bose, Professor J. C.	333
Bridges, Robert	402
Caricatures	488
Caricatures of ascetics	487
Carrel, Dr. Alexis	226
Chaitanya bidding farewell to his mother (in colors)—by Gaganendranath Tagore	419
Chandavarkar, Sir Narayan ...	263
Christian subjects (unknown)—by a Mughal painter	251
Christian Oraon's House ...	284
City College Students at Relief Work near Amta	315
Cooch Behar-Baroda Marriage—	533
Depressed Classes Mission	106-107
Distressed people at Bamoochar, a village in Amta Sub division. They have all come to an abjacent village for help.	316
Dome in the Ajanta Cave ...	293
Durga—Ashtabhuja	392
Durga slaying Asura	391
Egrets	404
Equine Writing Machine ...	221
Eucken, Prof. Rudolf ...	17
Gobar swinging clubs ...	520
Gobar with the stone collar ...	520
Gurukula Bhojan-shala	546
Gurukula Acharya, Professors &c., assembled to celebrate the Founder's Day	547
Guru Nanak and his disciples ...	200
Handloom Weaving of the Oraons	581
Horse's answer-stamping on a block of wood ...	227
How pearls grow ...	397
Husein Nourie Chaoosh ...	109
Huts of the Korwas	283
Image illustrating the Canons of Indian Image making	294
Indian Women Passive Resisters in South Africa	636
"Indira looks out on the lake" (in colors) —Nandalal Bose	431
Inside a Chota-Nagpur Village ...	282
Italy's Great Educational Reformer	87
Jesus Christ—by a Mughal painter	253
Kadam Sharif	151
Kashmiri Gypsies	156
Kashmiri Musalman Silversmiths	158
Kashmiri Metal Works ...	159
Kashmiri Musalman Weavers ...	159
Kashmiri Embroidery Workers ...	160
Kashmiri Papier Mache painters ...	160
Kashmiri Pots	155
Kashmiri Peasant at the water-lifts	68
Kashmiri Peasant women threshing corn	69
Kashmiri Shepherd Girls ...	70
Kashmiri Peasant woman at the spinning wheel ...	71
Kumhar (Potter at his wheel making roofing tiles	282
Lafcadio Hearn and his wife ...	398
Lord Lister	299
Low Class Hindu women of Chota-Nagpur	286
Madonna (in colors)— from an old Mughal painting	231
Mahatma Munshiramji	549
Members of the Managing Committe of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood ...	265, 266, 267, 268
Miller, Joaquin	91
Minstrels of Kashmir	154
Mr. Bhag Singh and his family ...	144
Mr. Hakim Singh's family ...	142
Mr. Jiwan Singh and Hakim Singh	143
Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Pillay ...	534
Mr. Narain Singh, Mr. Nand Singh Sihra, Mr. Bulwant Singh ...	141
Mr. N. G. Welinkar	263

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	Page.
Mr. Ratan Tata	264
Montessori and one of her pupils ...	89
Mulla do-piyaza	485-486
Noyes, Alfred	93
Object Lesson for Montessori teachers	88
Oraon boys enacting the Passion-play	74
Oraon boy, A Christian ...	75
Oraon boys, Non-Christian ...	75
Oraons collecting gravel ...	281
Oraon dance—A Ladies' day ...	76
Oraon Girls, Christian ...	73
Oraon Musical and household instruments, ornaments, etc. ...	285
Oraon Village mela ...	72
Oraon Youths, Non-Christian ...	280
Parvati's marriage	389
Peasant Boys of Kashmir ...	67
"Pilgrims waiting for the Temple-door to open."—By Gaganendra Nath Tagore	1
Pir Gaib	a3
Professor Sinha in his Wireless Telegraph Laboratory	548
Rabindranath Tagore	640
Rabindranath Tagore (in colors)—by Babu Abanindronath Tagore ...	543
Radharani weaving her garlands (in colors)—by Babu Surendranath Kar	550
Ram tells his mother of his exile—by Sailendranath De	433
Ranchi school band	74
Rashbehary Ghose, Dr. ...	309
Rizal, Joze	92
Saracenic and Hindu Domes ...	203
Saraswati—by Surendranath Kar	124
Serai Scene	484
Shakespear of Japan, The ...	400
Siva as Paterfamilias (in colors)—from an old Painting in the Lahore Museum	331
Some World-poets	33
Staff of the Gurukula, Kangri ...	547
Students of the Agricultural Class working in the Gurukula Garden ...	545
Suffragette parade	491
Suffragette selling papers ...	490
Suffragette preaching ...	532
Surrender of two sons of Tipoo Sultan as hostages	474
Tipoo Sultan	469
Tomb of Firoze Shah Tughlak ...	24
Virgin Mary, Christ and the Saints—by a Mughal painter	252
Vishnu	124
What the eye betrays ...	90
Wood Carving of Kashmir ...	157
World of the Musalman Peasants of Kashmir	66
Yasoda and Krishna—by Asitkumar Haldar	110
Zamindar in the Oraon Country ...	289

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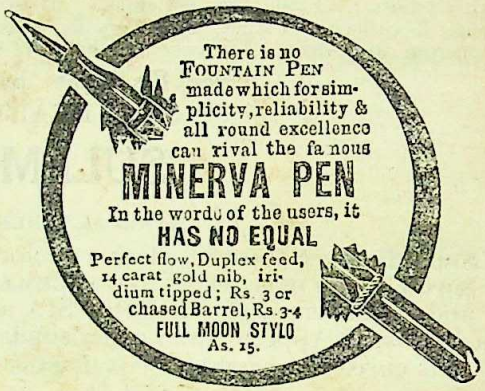
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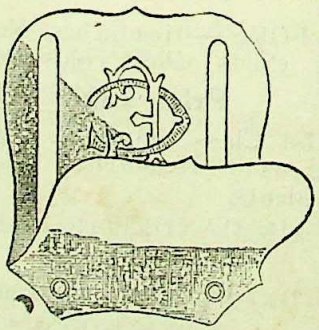


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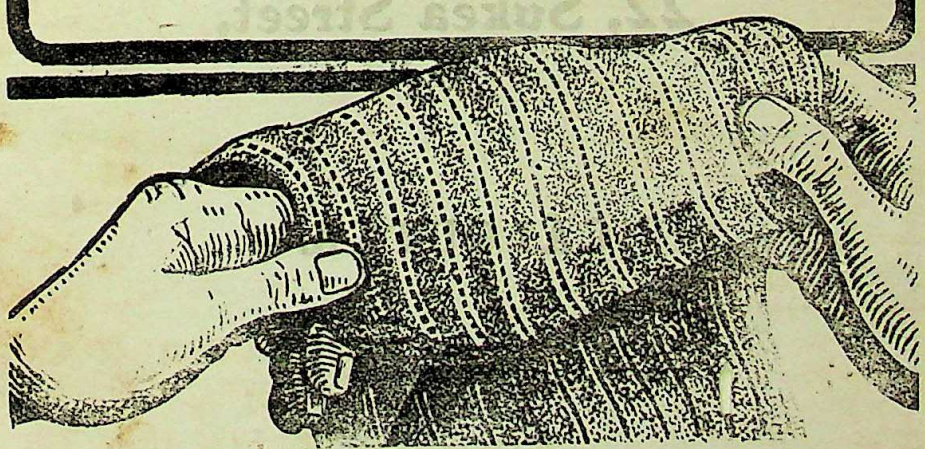
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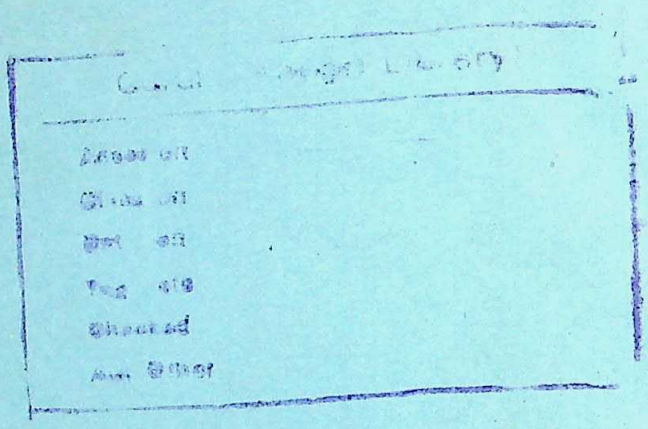
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